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19 September 1980

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1814

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CONTENTS

ALBANIA

Role of Parents in Transmitting Religious Customs to Youth Viewed
(Ramazan Sherja; BASHKIMI, 11 Aug 80)..... 1

Hoxha Sends Condolences to Academy on Cabej Death
(Editorial Report)..... 3

Failure To Improve Miners' Living Conditions Deplored
(Editorial; PUNA, 18 Jul 80)..... 4

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Briefs
Security Corps Building Inaugurated 7

HUNGARY

Government, Party Officials Reassigned
(PARTELET, No 8, 1980)..... 8

Workers React to Directives With Confusion, Anger, Cynicism
(Various sources, various dates)..... 11

A Mixed Picture, by Peter Szekulity
Individually Tailored Solutions Needed, by Istvan Matko

Shed Disenchantment, Rebel for Right To Act, Writers Urged
(Sandor Csoori; ELET ES IRODALOM, 9 Aug 80)..... 22

Provincial Vocational School Trainees Alienated in Budapest
(Ferenc S. Vidra; VALOSAG, No 7, 1980)..... 26

POLAND

KSS 'KOR' Declarations on Meat Price Increases, Strikes
(DZIENNIK POLSKI, 26 Jul 80)..... 39

KSS 'KOR' 11 July Declaration
Account by Dissident Strike Participant
Meat Price Increases

Leszek Moczulski Interviewed on Opposition in Poland
(Leszek Moczulski Interview; PROFIL, 18 Aug 80) 47

ROMANIA

Italian CP Official Stresses Common Views With RCP
(Giorgio Napolitano Interview; LUMEA, 28 Aug 80)..... 52

Consequences of Poor Training of Workers Examined
(Andrei Gutan; ERA SOCIALISTA, 5 Jun 80)..... 54

Briefs
Bani-Sadr Congratulates Ceausescu 64
Karmal Greets Ceausescu 64

YUGOSLAVIA

Origins of Current Social Conflicts Analyzed
(Milan Milosevic; NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE, 8 Jun 80) 65

ROLE OF PARENTS IN TRANSMITTING RELIGIOUS CUSTOMS TO YOUTH VIEWED

Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian 11 Aug 80 p 3

[Article by Ramazan Sherja: "Self-satisfaction Reduces Vigilance"]

[Excerpts] Along with the great transformations in the field of the awareness of our people, there are still, here and there, some individuals who preserve in the recesses of their awareness some "traces" of religious views and of backward and reactionary old customs. These remnants, often unintentionally, through discussions or concrete actions, are transmitted by them to children or youth who, if they have not established healthy scientific convictions, often believe them as the truth.

For example, in a plowing brigade in the Lumik agricultural cooperative in Librazhd District, a cooperative member did not eat his lunch with his comrades during the lunch break. It was learned that he was celebrating Ramadan. This caused great anxiety in the mass organizations and in the Democratic Front, youth and women's organizations among all activists. It was learned that the parents of the cooperative member fasted and that they told him that he should do so also since it "was good for him." Either because he did not want to go against his parents or because there were defects in his ideological development, he did not find the strength to oppose them and he submitted to the will of his parents.

There are many cases where family members and sometimes even the youth observe backward old customs not out of conviction but out of respect so as not to oppose their parents. Therefore, as the party teaches us, it is essential that we carry on a united front in close collaboration with the mass organizations, the family and the school.

The remnants of old customs which are still observed in some families often act as obstacles in the affirmation of the new socialist law. For example, influenced by an old superstition, several cooperative members in the area of Krrabe did not wash their clothes on Tuesday because that day is unlucky. The activity of casting light on old habits, especially among some unformed youth in this area, involves another aspect: during their school years, they seem to be very active in the struggle against religious ideology; they propagandize the new, they combat old customs

and they take part in various activities. However, when they leave school, they have nothing to do with this activity, they do not speak up in meetings, they wear veils over their heads and conform to old customs and religious prejudices. These attitudes are often instigated by a fanatical parent who, when he finds the proper "terrain" and a situation where the new ideology has not been adequately rooted, speaks in the name of the "morality" of religion.

The youth organization in Funar has had difficulties in getting participants for an artistic group. Some girls who just graduated from 8-year school did not join the group. Some activists said that "fanaticism was operating here and there and we were hindered by the fact that the girls were influenced by some parents who are still contaminated by the spirit of remnants of religious ideology." The worst thing is the fact that these phenomena are not combatted constantly, every day, but are recalled only when backward customs reappear and, at that time, the struggle against them begins again and the work of persuasion and clarification intensifies. But, the old, conservative viewpoint, often under the cloak of "what is good" for the girls, is doing its evil work. Therefore it is essential that a healthy educational milieu be created in the family and that the terrain be cleansed of petit-bourgeois and religious vestiges.

But, of course, this does not happen by itself. It requires systematic, persistent work, healthy convictions, close collaboration with the mass organizations. Only in this way will such harmful influences be cut off and the "bridges" for the movement of religious ideology, disconnected, especially in the younger generation, whom we have the obligation to raise ideologically pure, morally healthy, and worthy to build socialist society.

CSO: 2100

HOXHA SENDS CONDOLENCES TO ACADEMY ON CABEJ DEATH

[Editorial Report] According to the Tirana weekly DRITA of 17 August 1980, Professor Eqrem Cabej, linguist, teacher, member of the Academy of Sciences and of its Presidium, died on 13 August 1980 at the age of 72. DRITA publishes the following telegram from Enver Hoxha to the Presidium of the Academy of Sciences on page 1:

"Premature death has removed from your midst one of the most eloquent representatives of science, culture and our national education, the member of the Presidium Prof Eqrem Cabej. With his death, science has lost a person with rare creative skills who put his entire knowledge in the service of the people and of the socialist fatherland.

I express my deepest sympathy to you on the occasion of this sad event.

Prof Eqrem Cabej worked untiringly and with great passion for the development and the advancement of the science of Albanian linguistics and of our people's education. His scientific research activity, especially in the area of the origin of the Albanian language and the genesis of the Albanian people, is rich and comprehensive. It is of national and international importance. With competence, he made a valuable contribution to the documentation of the originality of the Albanian language and of the indigenous character of the Albanian people in their present-day territory.

The work of Professor Cabej in the field of linguistics remains an esteemed treasure in the hands of present-day and future scientists and scholars in our country."

CSO: 2100

FAILURE TO IMPROVE MINERS' LIVING CONDITIONS DEPLORED

Tirana PUNA in Albanian 18 Jul 80 p 1

[Editorial: "Let Us Struggle Against Any Negligence in Regard to the Continuous Improvement of the Living Conditions of the Workers of Mines, Geology and Sawmills"]

[Text] Everything created and produced in our country is made in the name and in the interest of the working people, because there are the workers who, with the teachings of the party and of Comrade Enver Hoxha in their hearts and minds, break through the mountains and blockades, build socialism and continually invigorate the economy and the defense of the country.

There are wonderful achievements in our country: they show the great concern of the party and of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat for our working people. Everywhere in our country, various social and cultural projects, dwellings, creches and kindergartens for children, cultural houses, shops, vacation centers for workers and pioneers and centers for relaxation, education and entertainment have been built and are being built. Substantial funds are allocated each year for these purposes. The expenditures for financing socio-cultural projects amount to 1,919,000,000 leks in the state budget for 1980.

In this framework, the funds have been approved and dwellings, dining halls, baths, shops for communal services, centers for relaxation and education and many other socio-cultural projects have been earmarked for construction this year for providing treatment to and supplying the working people of mines, geology and sawmills--the difficult and remote sectors in which a heroic working class works. The construction of these projects is planned on the basis of coordination between the Ministry of Industry and Mines and the Ministry of Domestic Trade in regard to their needs for these projects.

But, what is the situation? One half of the year is already gone and the work has not begun in the two-thirds of the projects to be constructed. Even in those projects, where work has been started, the progress is slow and it is not known when they will be completed. Three years have elapsed since work was started on the construction of a dormitory at the Thirre

sector of the Spac mine in Mirdite District and only three trucks of bricks have been dispatched there. Work has not started yet for the construction of the bath and dressingroom at the Manze mine in Durres, the laundries in Bulqize, Kalimash and in other places, the food store in Memaliaj, the dining hall and dormitory at Uji i Ftohte in the sawmills in Pogradec, and the dormitories of the sawmills in Tropoje, Kolonje, Skrapar and so forth. We can enumerate a number of other projects, but we think that what we have already mentioned is enough to show that the great task, which deals with the further improvement of the living conditions of the workers of these very important sectors, has been neglected. The party teaches us that the struggle for fulfilling the economic tasks cannot be detached from the struggle for fulfilling and continually improving the living and working conditions of workers.

Why, then, do all these things happen? These things happen because the working and living conditions of the workers of these important sectors and because the problems are not correctly understood and not properly considered from the political and ideological aspect by some administrations and, concretely on these occasions, by the responsible directorates of the Ministry of Industry and Mines, by some executive committees, such as in Mirdite, Diber, Librazhd, Pogradec and other districts and by some leaders in the mines, such as those in Bulqize, Kurbnesh and Memaliaj and the geological enterprise in Rubik and of the sawmills in Librazhd and so forth. All the opportunities exist to complete these works on schedule. The government has granted the funds and has planned the materials. Only the correct evaluation of the problem is lacking. Comrade Enver teaches us: "...that the method and practice of some cadres, especially of the government and economic organs, who are interested in everything, in bolts and in cows, but who forget about the essential and decisive factor in everything--the human being, his well-being, life and health, his technical safety, hygiene conditions and in a cultured environment, and his relaxation, education and entertainment--must be severely criticized and seriously condemned."

Nobody is allowed to fail in implementing the tasks dealing with the working and living conditions of workers. The party demands that each manager execute his tasks with responsibility and with complete party-mindedness. For this, all the political, ideological, economic, financial and organizational conditions exist. With a correct revolutionary Marxist-Leninist understanding of these problems and of the lives of the people, all the obstacles and difficulties will be overcome. Therefore, it is here that one finds the source of the problem: the correct understanding [of things] is lacking; there are delays and open manifestations of bureaucracy; and this situation must be fought with force. This is a repeated criticism and, when it is so, then, measures must be taken to prevent it from happening again. The failure to correctly understand the problems dealing with the lives of the people is the expression of bureaucratic manifestations and of the class struggle. In those enterprises, where we find these unpardonable negligences, our trade union organizations, strongly relying on the directives of the party and on the laws of the state must stop and analyze the problem, and the directors of the enterprises and the people entrusted with these problems, up to the Ministry of Industry and Mines and the Ministry of Domestic

Trade, must be made to face responsibility and must give account to the workers. The trade union organizations must stir up workers opinions against these negligences. To fail to construct the projects stipulated by the state plan for the continual improvement of the living conditions of workers means to violate the party line. He who struggles for the fulfillment of the production plan and forgets his duties in regard to the well-being of workers is not a good leader. A good leader is the one who cares for both, because they are inseparable from each other and, above all, at the very end, there are the workers who fulfill the plan and, the greater the concern for the workers the more assured the fulfillment of the plan.

But, why do the trade union councils in districts and the trade union organizations in these enterprises merely look at this unsatisfactory situation? When the government allocates the funds and when the projects are designed, then, the projects must be constructed on schedule, otherwise, we have violated the state laws and, for each case of violation, the trade union organizations must speak up loudly. In this work, we must struggle to execute the tasks assigned by the most recent plenum of the Central Council of the Albanian Trade Unions, which analyzed the work of the Trade Unions in the light of the decisions of the Seventh Plenum of the Party Central Committee. The plenum recommended that "the trade union organizations must struggle with greater force against negligence, carelessness and bureaucratic attitudes which violate the rights of workers and of the working people which are guaranteed by laws." It is not fair at all to wait for the others to do this for us, or for recommendations to be given from above for this purpose. The tasks are implemented every day; therefore, their pursuit must also be carried out every day and every hour. The voice of the working people must rise immediately against every instance of negligence in order to prevent it from becoming greater, so that everything will be as required by the laws of the state, the Labor Code, as the party and Comrade Enver teach us.

9150
CSO: 2100

BRIEFS

SECURITY CORPS BUILDING INAUGURATED--Inauguration of a 12-story building for scientific and pedagogic studies took place at the VS SNB [College of the National Security Corps] complex in Prague 4-Lhotka on 29 August 1980. The opening ceremony was attended by CPCZ Central Committee Secretary J. Havlin, CPCZ Department Director J. Majcharcik, CSSR Minister of Interior J. Obzina, CSR Minister of Interior J. Jung, and other officials. [Text] [Prague SVOBODNE SLOVO in Czech 30 Aug 80 p 1]

CSO: 2400

GOVERNMENT, PARTY OFFICIALS REASSIGNED

Budapest PARTELET in Hungarian No 8, 1980 pp 18-19

[Article: "The Politburo's Resolutions Concerning Changes in Personnel"]

[The Politburo has appointed the following members of the Working Collectives attached to the Central Committee, the Youth Committee, and the Physical Education and Sports Committee attached to the Secretariat:

PARTY CONSTRUCTION WORKING COLLECTIVE

CHIEF: Karoly Nemeth

SECRETARY: Janos Peter

MEMBERS: Tibor Baranyai, Sandor Borbely, Gabor Deak, Gyorgy Hegedus, Ignac Horvath, Miklos Horvath, Sandor Jakab, Vera Lajtai, Janos Lukacs, Istvan Petrovszki, Sandor Somogyi, Imre Takacs, Istvan Takacs, Istvan Toth, Janos Toth, Jozsef Torok, Tibor Ujhelyi, Imre Vertes, Laszlo Zavori

ECONOMIC WORKING COLLECTIVE

CHIEF: Ferenc Havasi

SECRETARY: Bela Szikszay

MEMBERS: Miklos Ajtai, Jozsef Bognar, Ivan T. Berend, Marton Buza, Bela Csikos Nagy, Lajos Dozsa, Janos Fekete, Istvan Foldes, Karoly Grosz, Istvan Hagelmayer, Istvan Hetenyi, Lajos Hethy, Robert Hoc , Laszlo Horvath, Mihaly Komocsin, Imre Kovacs, Ferenc Kozma, Istvan Kortvelyes, Sandor Lakos, Istvan Martos, Endre Megyeri, Tamas Nagy, Rezso Nyers, Jo sef Nyilas, Mrs. Ferenc Nyitrai, Tibor Palankai, Bela Rabi, Aladar Sipos, Imre Szabo, Jozsef Szabo, Kalman Szabo, Imre Vincze, Lajos Zelko

COOPERATIVE POLICY WORKING COLLECTIVE

CHIEF: Antal Kovacs

SECRETARY: Ervin Zsuffa

MEMBERS: Gabor Nagy Apati, Ferenc Biro, Erno Csizmadia, Ferenc Dobi, Istvan Gergely, Gyorgy Gondor, Istvan Gyenesi, Lajos Hegedus, Janos Hont, Jozsef Molnar, Imre Molnar, Miklos Nagy, Sandor K. Nagy, Vilmos Saghy, Aladar Sipos, Istvan Szabo, Istvan Szlamenicky, Lajos Rev, Pal Romany, Mihaly Vasko, Miklos Villanyi, Mrs Sandor Tuza

CULTURAL POLICY WORKING COLLECTIVE

CHIEF: Miklos Ovari

SECRETARY: Ferenc Molnar

MEMBERS: Gyorgy Aczel, Miklos Almasi, Eva Ancsel, Ivan T. Berend, Otto Bihari, Jozsef Fuleki, Tibor Huszar, Gyorgy Jozsa, Istvan Kiraly, Andras Knopp, Mihaly Kornidesz, Bela Kopeczi, Sandor Lakos, Jozsef Lukacs, Pal Pandi, Imre Pozsgay, Ferenc Ratkai, Peter Renyi, Mihaly Simai, Miklos Szabolcsi, Jozsef Szigeti, Ferenc Tokei, Dezso Toth, Ivan Vitanyi, Adam Wirth

YOUTH POLICY COMMITTEE

CHIEF: Karoly Nemeth

SECRETARY: Gyorgy Fetti

MEMBERS: Janos Barabas, Gabor Borbely, Lajos Csendes, Janos Gosztonyi, Tibor Halay, Bela Hary, Mrs. Gabor Kohanyi, Istvan Kortvelyes, Laszlo Marothy, Istvan Olah, Ibolya Ovari, Gyorgy Sikula, Ferenc Solyom, Maria Szabo, Miklos Szabo, Vilmos Thernesz

PHYSICAL EDUCATION AND SPORTS COMMITTEE

CHIEF: Mihaly Korom

SECRETARY: Jeno Kovacs

MEMBERS: Laszlo Ballai, Janos Borbandi, Istvan Buda, Lajos Csendes, Gyorgy Fejti, Laszlo Fodor, Maria Hanga, Lajos Kiss, Dezso Papp, Sandor Racz, Miklos Raft, Ferenc Solyom, Mrs. Istvan Szucs, Laszlo Varga

The Politburo has appointed the leadership of the MSZMP group of the National Assembly:

SECRETARY: Mihaly Korm

MEMBERS: Antal Apro, Miklos Horvath, Imre Katona, Mrs Gyula Szentistvanyi

In addition to the already announced decisions concerning personnel, the Politburo has made the following resolutions:

It has relieved Andras Korcsog of his position as a deputy chief of the Central Committee's Department of Scientific, Public Education and Cultural Affairs, and has approved his appointment as state secretary for cultural affairs.

It has relieved Ferenc Ratkai of his position as a deputy chief of the Central Committee's Department of Scientific, Public Education and Cultural Affairs, and has agreed to his appointment as a deputy minister for cultural affairs.

It has relieved Ferenc Molnar from his position as state secretary for cultural affairs, and has appointed him as a deputy chief of the Central Committee's Department of Scientific, Public Education and Cultural Affairs.

It has relieved Andras Knopp from his position as a deputy minister of educational affairs, and has appointed him as a deputy chief of the Central Committee's Department of Scientific, Public Education and Cultural Affairs.

It has relieved Sandor Boros from his position as a deputy minister for cultural affairs, and has appointed him as a deputy chief of the Central Committee's Department of Agitation and Propaganda.

It has appointed Istvan Marko, a section chief of the Central Committee's Department of Political Economy, to be deputy chief of that department.

It has relieved Gyula Mona of his position as deputy chief of the Central Committee's Department of Agitation and Propaganda, and has appointed him as a deputy rector of the Central Party School.

9271
CSO: 2500

WORKERS REACT TO DIRECTIVES WITH CONFUSION, ANGER, CYNICISM

A Mixed Picture

Budapest ELET ES IRODALOM in Hungarian 19 Jul 80 p 16

[Article by Peter Szekulity: "Three Rounds into the Air?"]

[Text] An industrial city somewhere in Hungary--a few monuments, three factories, half a dozen bad girls, 9,000 noisy students, a ramshackle hotel, an IBUSZ [tourist and travel] office and early closing hours. Green peas cost as much as in Pest; new potatoes are more expensive. Since fall you have to pay to park on the square; most of the foreigners loitering in the shops are Poles; the jokes, made up in Pest, have a materialistic view and concern "domestic" matters.

Have you heard this one?

A bigwig takes home 34,000 forints, the Angry Man explains. Then he tells his wife: Woman, put it in the cabinet but don't touch it because they may want it back.

A cabaret story?

Its tone gives it away. You may have heard it 3 years ago in some program. "There are all kinds of people, they talk," the policeman says and laughs with a full mouth. "Anyway, I am not on duty," he says and takes out a ten forint note. The bartender stops him, "Forget it, now I'll pay."

Uncle Sogorka tears off a bunch of parking coupons without counting, "However many there are."

He stutters, "C-c-count them. Its O K-k-kay."

"And the tip?"

Beat, Uncle Sogorka stands and waves hesitantly at the departing Volga. "You see," a man with a beard behind me says, "the differences in property

are increasing." The girl beside him says, "This is not a property difference, this is standard of living, you nut." "You don't understand," the beard answers and embraces his girlfriend.

The girl shivers, "Breathe some warmth into me."

They are out of spirits. Keszeg, the misshapen one, crosses the square. He laughs and puts the pocket radio to his ear. "Stay fresh," the market woman says, and sprays beer on her seedlings.

At two thirty Pal Balogh is waiting in his apartment. One and a half rooms with all the comforts, and the house and yard. He and five others got it from the council in 1960. Since then the prize has shrunk, the man is outgrowing the apartment.

Balogh had worked until two and he is mad.

"Rejects come to 17 percent. Three is permitted. The man in charge of usable scrap begged me with hands together: Pal, my friend, do something. Me? I am only a worker."

"They say you are an outstanding expert, only a little stubborn."

Neapolitan biscuits are served in a little dish. Aranka, the oldest girl, encourages me, "Take some!" I crunch some lemony biscuits and drink ice cold raspberry juice.

"I have had it up to here," my friend says, clenching his fist.

His wife turns toward him with an anxious face.

"You crazy old man! Did they entrust the factory to you?"

He answers quietly, "That's the trouble, that they didn't entrust it to me."

"What would you do?" I ask lightly.

"What? Pow-pow-pow-pow. Three rounds into the air, to scare them."

"Who?"

"Everybody who steals, cheats, lies, bamboozles, loafs."

"They would slap your face, you are just running your mouth." the woman warns.

"Slap? Who is slapping whom here? They robbed the automatic vending machines. And what do you think happened? Instead of trying to find out

who did it they took out the vending machines. In our factory the situation of the NATIONAL ECONOMY really worries the bigwigs. But about what happens in the factory? They are silent about that. It is as if the national economy had been entrusted to them, but not this cruddy factory."

"What are they silent about?"

"What's wrong. That's what. About why they do not dare to make demands! Why are they afraid?"

"Who is afraid?"

"Both the workers and the leaders."

"You will be cutting off the tree from under you if you fight with each other," I pontificate.

"Cut, hell. Since last year we have been blowing, we had to do everything.. And what changed? Nothing has changed. Everything is the same as it was and everybody is where he was. There's lots of people carrying signs and even more word farters. What do we have to do with it? But who cares? They nod or shout and everything remains as it was. Only the prices change."

"Should I speak in your name?"

"You want to ruin everything?" He grimaces, his face is distorted and he pulls at his hair. He mimics a common acquaintance, Daniel, a barber who was made a technical supervisor, who is always afraid he will be dropped and when dismissal threatens always reports in sick and goes to a hospital for a checkup. He is a trained gold brick.

Pal Balogh stares into space.

"Nothing can be done."

Now he reminds me of the scrawny English teacher on television who, in cork hat and with net, hunts for the peacock butterfly--in vain. He is a bitter man, accusing the system of weakness, counting the days, and if he could be would have retired already.

I wanted to see the factory from inside.

"I haven't been here long," the softspoken party secretary says the next day, and introduces a lively looking main department chief. In general he speaks as follows:

"The comrade is a journalist. He would like to talk with a few workers. Quality, productivity, thrift, etcetera," he says and leaves his desk and sits with us, but to the end acts as if he was not there.

The main department chief squirms and wipes his glasses like Vitray on TV. Both of them murmer the same magic words, they are speaking in economic policy. This is the fashion now in Hungary. Yesterday Uncle Sogorka stuttered to the icecream girl on the corner about the negative aspects of stockpile management, the butcher at Hidegkut gave a lecture on economizing on imports while slicing ham, especially emphasizing the replacement of raw materials of foreign origin. The man selling soda in Hangod surprised me with economic policy quotations, instead of words from dance tunes, so I would consider him cultured.

I know the lesson, and so does the main department chief. We perfectly intone the 130 magic words of economic policy. The party secretary sits quietly in his armchair. If he is giving grades, I think, he will give us both good marks.

The main department chief looks up: "What's this, you're not writing?"

I ask courteously: "What should I write?"

He goes on with disapproval: "We know the given situation better and it is in our common interest to avoid mistakes. No?"

"But, of course," I say and I think: Time is passing, the sermon better be over soon. "What has changed?" I ask him with pen raised, but dreamily, as if it just came into my mind.

"We have become more strict. Yes, more strict," he says emphatically.

"Strict. In what sense? Maybe you mean taking the vending machines out of the factory?"

He just goes on. He says nothing definitely, and takes back four of every three sentences. In the meantime he makes a call to get me a guide and spells out what is worth seeing. He is wasting time and I am afraid that I am going to be caught in the network of offices. My attention is wandering. I ask tiredly: "Is my guide coming?"

"We have sent for her."

"I've got to go."

He winks.

"Ah, well, does the comrade director know you are here? In any case it would be proper for us to talk to him. A mere formality." He reaches for the phone with an uncertain movement.

"Isn't the comrade secretary enough for you?" I ask.

He is confused. He doesn't know what to say.

"So," he drops his hand and shrugs, what do I care.

Someone calls. The lady comrade has come.

"Let's go, let's go, take a good look around," the worry-burdened main department chief sends me off.

Antal Gulyas, the shop chief, is escaping from me. I go in and he goes out and he evaporates like camphor.

I finally catch him and start talking.

"Work time is 8 hours. Do they work the whole time?"

"Yes, indeed."

"When is the breakfast break?"

"From seven fifteen to seven thirty. A quarter hour--10 minutes, 20 minutes, whatever it takes. The shop clerk writes down what people want and goes to the buffet to get it. An unskilled worker helps bring the stuff."

"Every morning?"

"Every morning. People have to eat."

"That's true. But in that case they do not work 8 hours."

He is silent, and pulls his neck down between his shoulders. A man, his hair thoroughly greased, grins through the door. I know him, it is Keszeg, the misshapen one. He wants a light. Comrade Gulyas lights his cigarette and the greasy one wanders off. The shop chief gives me a painful grin.

"You saw?"

"I saw."

"He farts in his pants but he is a WORKER. With capital letters, a WORKER. He has little talent but his self-respect is magnificent. This morning I said to him: What's happening, Keszeg, are you waiting for the pohtographers again? He objected and sputtered: How are you talking to me, am I what you are? I thought: No indeed, Shithead! But I didn't dare say it. As long as I cannot hit such a shithead in the face with the truth, and with his work book along with it, just so long there will be no order in Hungary and there will not be 8 hours of work. Seven maybe, or six, but not eight. That's what I say and I will eat my hat if you write it," he bellowed.

"Others have written it already. This requires no courage. It is action which requires courage."

"Good shot. Only here everyone always has his thing. There is always an explanation and excuse for everything. It is not only the leaders who are appointed, even the models are nominated in a campaign."

He shrugs.

"It is a bitter struggle. I have an unskilled worker here, one of those 'uh, yeah' types. A person would think he couldn't count to three. I swear, this guy figured out how to rob the vending machines. But who has the energy to prove it and take action in hundreds and hundreds of cases."

What can be done?

"Didn't I tell you so?" Antal Gulyas says and turns away.

My guide takes my arm, "Come, I will show you the future, the great assembly hall."

In the anteroom of the new gate a man in a velvet jacket is holding up the wall. He is waiting for his brother-in-law from the package room.

The way he feels at home is fascinating--and the fact that he picked working time to cultivate his kinship relations. My Gos....

Did they send for the brother-in-law? They did. I laugh. This is the situation here with us. There is always somebody waiting for somebody at the gate. And somebody always sends word from the gate. With the inimitable familiarity of the peasants of yesterday they now wait, not at the end of the field, but in the cool of the factory gates to talk about the christening, the engagement and the use of green manure with the old buddy, the happy father or the father-in-law chief agronomist, who now learns everything from the son-in-law.

"Where can I get some coffee here?"

I had hardly said it when Auntie D. cut across the smooth factory courtyard toward the foundry. She cried out eagerly: "How many sugars?" The service is quick and obliging. One can get a black coffee more quickly in this factory than in the elegant Eva espresso on the main square.

"Do you always have it?"

"If not, we make it. How long are you staying?"

I know. Hanna A., one of the warehouse workers, makes the best coffee. She works a mini-espresso for her own profit, and asks three fifty for a double. She has been warned a few times to quit it. Only she is a sign carrier and word farter; she doesn't quit it. The business runs all day; she plugs in in the morning and doesn't unplug until evening. She has 18-24 customers, loading workers, cart operators.

Six or seven are lounging in front of the warehouse.

"How much do you brew every day?"

She reflects a moment about how much to say.

"Twenty or twentytwo doubles."

I think, only one kick in the pants would make her come to her senses. Now it is too late. She is of protected age and everyone is afraid of her mouth. I think about Beni Boldizsar. This Boldizsar was worn out from walking and went to the refrigeration plant in B. as operator of the weigh house, but they offered him one of the fish shops too, where there was no business all year long. Beni Boldizsar considers the link position to be an allowance. "The workers march, but we carry the sign, we are the enthusiasm." I recall Balogh's words. "What do we have to do with it?" he said.

The assembly shop is a spooky pantomime hall.

The factory is working on a western order. The customer looks for faults in the final product with a magnifying glass. Thanks to this these workers, even those who have only read about it in books, also hate capitalism. The capitalist quality control official is merciless. This is no good, this is no good... even goods which look perfect to the naked eye but which are not perfect for some reason are thrown away one after another.

"There will have to be some accomodation here. If we don't talk to the customer someone else will," the shop chief explains.

Some of the work is jobwork. Sandor H., semi-skilled worker, says grinning: "I am a guest worker here, but I don't like it a bit."

"Our chief goal is to reduce waste," the shop chief emphasizes.

There are all kinds of people. How to reduce waste? One recommends punishment, another raising the pay, a third patient enlightenment work. Pal Balogh recommends three rounds in the air and I, as a fifth recommendation, recommend a psychologist. I believe people must be relieved of tension and of the dread which is acquired, which is born with us, if waste is to be decreased.

"Organizing the work processes would not hurt. But tell me, isn't it odd that we must learn from the capitalists what 100 percent perfect work is?"

"They are teaching us," the shop chief says with a grim face. "Anyway, we are not learning from the capitalists but rather from the most developed."

It is a fitting rebuke.

The uncle of my girlfriend Marlen is a skilled worker in the FRG. The tempo there is simply breath-taking. After supper the uncle drinks half a bucket of beer and falls into bed. This is the price there of a car, color TV and a trip around the world. Workers, officials, professors and everyone who gets paid all work as hard as they can.

Do we need this? My heart says no; my brain says yes.

Marlen says with alarm: "I'll never get to ride in a Volvo."

I look around the pantomime hall with a rather guilty conscience. Have we thought this through? To lead in a socialist manner and to make strict demands at the same time--isn't this squaring the circle? People have both hearts and brains. Somebody tell me, which should Antal Gulyas, the communist shop chief, listen to there in the plant, to the one or to the other?

The woman guarding the new gate growls at an approaching slovenly woman: "Dear sister, you want something perhaps?"

She begins to make excuses.

"Goodgye."

The woman guarding the gate chases her away and sits back down with satisfaction. Put an end to the in-and-out. Last year virtually anyone could sign people out; this year only two people have this right and the number of those leaving on their own has been reduced from 45-50 to 2-3. The woman at the gate repeats what the main department chief said, "We have become more strict."

It is scary. Is it right to say such things?

It is evening in the cantine and the Angry Man is storming against the laxity. The bartender scratches his back and says wisely: "This noon I was listening to the radio. They said effort was in vain if the conditions did not exist, nothing could be done."

"Do you believe in God?" a middle aged man asks. The bartender wipes his hands and turns to me: "Mr. Editor, you are now my guest, but tell me, why are you upsetting my friend? If he makes money you badger him for that and if he doesn't make any money you badger him for that."

The policeman answers: "Although I am not on duty, still the press is very powerful."

Very powerful? The Angry Man looks up with emotion and says in a solemn voice: "Well, then, turn on your radio. Quickly. Let's hear the news."

Individually Tailored Solutions Needed

Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 10 Aug 80 p 5

[Article by Istvan Matko: "Scaring People"]

[Text] "Three rounds into the air, to scare them," says a worker named Pal Balogh in a report in ELET ES IRODALOM. "Because people are stealing and there are too many sign carriers and word farters and trained goldbricks. And everything stays the same. Only the prices change." The reporter presents this Pal Balogh as a bitter man; and if he could he would have retired already.

What the man in the report feels--that is his own affair. It is also his own affair what he thinks proper to end the problems. For example, the three rounds into the air in the title, or a psychiatrist or work organization or agitation. It appears that the reporter is sympathetic with scaring people. It is true that he does this carefully, because he puts a question mark after it. And I may take it seriously even if he does not. I confess that I do not like expressions of opinion which leave doubts because if someone publishes something it is no longer a private affair. As a result I am involved, we are involved, and we have the right to know what is being proposed to me, to us, what they want to call our attention to. because of these doubts, among other things, I do not take the three rounds seriously. Let them go into the air, past my ears.

But there are things which cannot be escaped so lightly. The report describes a plant where they manufacture much scrap--where there is a private coffee shop being run for private profit. Where they basically misinterpret worker self-awareness and worker status and do not dare fire a worthless loafer because they are afraid of somebody or something (?). And where, by the way, they are working on a western order, where "the customer looks for faults in the final product with a magnifying glass, thanks to which these workers, even those who have only read about it in books, also hate capitalism." For the sake of weaker spirits the report underscores this with emotional content, with the words of semi-skilled worker Sandor H., "I am a quest worker here, but I don't like it a bit." It is unfortunate that this certain Sandor H. does not say in more detail what he is against. Is it that he must meet strict norms and must work more precisely? Or that he must do jobwork on a western order? Or is he protesting out of self-esteem, "just because"?

There is no answer--only one sort of explanation. There is talk of somebody's uncle who is a skilled worker in the FRG, where the tempo is "breath-taking." The uncle drinks half a bucket of beer after supper and falls into bed. Everyone there who gets paid works as hard as he can...

Ah, now I understand. Is this the alternative which Sandor H., for example, rejects? This would be capitalism--the breath-taking tempo, to quote the report. "I look around with a rather guilty conscience.... Have we thought this through? To lead in a socialist manner and to make strict demands at the same time--isn't this squaring the circle?" the reporter asks.

Much comes into my mind in connection with this poetic question. For example, that something has been hopelessly misunderstood here. One can hardly base a judgment--at least a worthy one--on this; things can hardly be decided on this basis. No, because I have been hearing this not rarely recently, from here or there, similar "clever, concerned" people who appeal to public opinion and emphasize the "doubts." Thus: Does a strict demand for performance suit the spirit of socialism? Do the strict quality and quantity norms and distribution according to performance suit our historic aspirations and goals? In this case--the "breath-taking tempo"?

I have a modest observation. In my opinion, when one says "socialism", when one builds and cultivates socialism and at the same time demands and works strictly and distributes on the basis of performance, even works sometimes with breath-taking tempo, one is not squaring the circle.

It is true that in order to understand this one must start from the real facts, from an understanding of political-economic laws. One must not start from chance, vexed impressions, from the pretended wisdom of kibitzers, from what seems to be or from an emphasis on primitive questions. This would provide no way to evaluate what it is that characterizes the industrial production of developed capitalist countries today (which the report tries to do in order to scare people). It is sufficient to recall that one does not have there a self-serving campaign which ignores economic considerations. This no longer pays.... The mechanical production line of Chaplin's "Modern Times" is becoming as much a museum piece as the famous Model T Ford.

But what is more essential--it would be a mistake to equate efficient, strictly controlled production aiming at maximum achievement with capitalism.

If you will forgive the simplification, I mean by capitalism the exploitation of man by man, the unjust expropriation of the work of another. Productive, efficient creation of value is not (only) a capitalist category! It fits very well into the frameworks and circulation of socialist management; although there was a time when this was not seen so clearly as it is now.

We know very well that it is not easy to clarify concepts. Drawing conclusions and putting them into practice is even more difficult and more complicated. It has taken long years to prove that the ingrained reflexes, rules, customs and institutions are insupportable. Automatisms which had been believed eternal have been abolished. Who would doubt, for example, thatthe egalitarianism so often condemned in so many forums maintains its positions by the work benches, within the walls of offices--and deep in the souls of men?! Where do they accept with a self-explanatory shrug of the shoulders the fact that simply to maintain the standard of living already achieved it is necessary to work better and more productively? That even less may be created of what formerly there was more of officially.... We know very well that human interests do not adjust automatically according to the commands of time and social needs. There must be a struggle for this. Conflicts must be faced and battles won. In the social arena and in human thinking alike.

The struggle taking place in souls--the reporter feels this himself--requires many sorts of tools--a scientifically precise evaluation of the situation, the realistic experiences of the practice of socialist construction, a correcdt interpretation of world processes and communist steadfastness, just as much as flexibility in tactics. Passionate, critical and self-cricital debate or cool, temperate economic analysis, depending on the given situation.

Although the range of tools offers many other methods and tools in the interest of a solution, we must eliminate from this range those things which are obvious mistakes. Especially the apostasy which irresponsibly and light handedly would fire warning rounds into the air.

The task before us is so honorable and at the same time so difficult that we must spare ourselves superfluous fear. So let us be thrifty with gun powder. There is no sense in firing blindly. It would rob us all of too much energy.

0984
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SHED DISENCHANTMENT, REBEL FOR RIGHT TO ACT, WRITERS URGED

Budapest ELET ES IRODALOM in Hungarian 9 Aug 80 p 4

[Article by Sandor Csoori: "Concerning the Plaintive Voice"]

[Text] I do not envy anyone who, out of obligation, curiosity or individual initiative, reads through our literary papers and journals week after week, month after month. It would be a demanding task simply because of the volume--but the emotional effects! Most of what appears--be it poetry, short stories, novellas, drama or articles--reeks of blood and gives off a foul odor, like meat in a can.

I am reading this week's ELET ES IRODALOM, the "light reading" paper of our intellectual life. I begin on the last page with a moving, colorful report by Peter Szekulity. His quick sentences seem to skate on the surface, but by the time a man is finished with them there is a bitter taste in his mouth. The world is a mere grimace. Confusion and impotence everywhere. A swindle, fruitless, a hip-swinging fiasco. Do those in the report speak of honor? The world is dandelion fluff blown in the wind. It was, it is not, seek it no more. The eye and the soul are empty and parrots speak of the weighty problems of society... What I might make of his lines, if I really tried, is that here to our left trembles a country worthy of a better fate, a distorted smirk at the corner of its mouth; an antispasmodic might help it but there is none at hand.

Szekulity packages his dejection so finely, with such educated distrinction in style, as if a cut-off pig's head were wrapped in tissue paper.

He does not want to pretty up reality, only to get it accepted. To make fit for high society a rumination over shocking things.

Let no one misunderstand; I am not barking at my colleague, I am only saying how well we have learned to formulate things and slip around in circumstances which are getting hard. The "literary pessimism" of the 1950's was a hanging crime. Admitted ill humor was treason. The present disenchantment, despair and beastly tone are the signs of moral behavior. Appurtenances of telling the truth. With the passage of time a softened

revolutionary spirit has become absolutely grand; we can even feel repugnance in a gilded language! We can dangle swamps and polluted continents on our arms like Juhasz and we will be acceptable, even fascinating, because of their scale!

But let us look through the paper further. A debate has been started on the situation of young writers. The tone of the contributors is just as veiled, wry and bitter as that of Szekulity. As if we were not reading debate articles but rather plaintive messages. Like a letter of Kelemen Mikes from some present day exile. "I am not a young writer," writes Gyula Kurucz. "Nor are the members of my generation. Ours is a generation tired out in struggles to survive, in resistance, in cunning and uncertainty. That literature is young the authors of which are truly young...."

The tone surfaces without apology. Because it has long been free to confess such things--to grumble, lament and mock, all day long. To admit our defeat; to admit that death is playing with us in the summer afternoons, that we are weak in resistance; but to ask for whom and for what we have remained spiritually rachitic is no longer recommended. And what is even worse, a voice which would call someone to account does not enter out minds.

Even going beyond the journals, independent authors also pile up a multiplicity of perplexing questions in work after work. The ruins mood of unassimilated, shameful, stupefying lives. He who has carefully read, for example, the novellas of Galgoczi and Hajnoczy, the dramas of Csurka, the meditations of Gyula Fekete or the sociographies of Moldova, written with the point of a knife, might be dumfounded by the mass of depressing phenomena, by the condition of public morale, morality and overthrown hopes. What crystalizes out as the sum of all their books is that the Hungary of the 1970's--despite the more optimistic counterpoints, the standard of living and the freer movement--is a country sick at soul. The neglected, the maladjusted, those who would destroy themselves reel through every stratum of society. The swindled, the confirmed alcoholics, the rejected suitors of socialism, the prematurely old, the hand wavers, the apathetic citizens who feel themselves to be lodgers in the country. Believers and attractive enthusiasts? There are none. Or if there are still a few. sooner or later the will, and for that very reason the musculature of hope, will curdle within them and they will recoil from themselves.

Moldova's latest book, "The Sacred Cow," can be regarded not only as a masterpiece but also as a work illustrating the psychological state of the country. Every line is about the textile industry; but the book itself is a good bit more than this--it is a devils' seesaw of hair-raising things turning in the din of futility. Iron workers, teachers, construction workers, nursery school teachers and office workers have snapped up a hundred thousand copies as if it had been suddenly permitted pornography, with titillating, rogish chapters.

What the shameless voracity of the readers discloses is simply that the thirst for social truths now stands where lurk the images and stimuli of a sexuality kept under wraps--it is a form of satisfaction to be permitted only to speak of them!

From time to time literature exudes from itself even the most bitter gall, but at such times the reader gets only as far as a "spiritual exercise," because at the very time reality is being expressed most nakedly he experiences the torture of knowing that one can speak, but one can hardly implement the words, the recognition. Such one-sided spiritual action only fattens illusions, or makes the individual inhibited. As with the disorders of sexual life, it can cause confusion in our relations with the world also. For he who cannot exercise an everyday, rational speaking of the truth is gradually forced to avoid even obvious truths. He thus kills in himself every seed of communal life, communal feeling and communal undertaking and he necessarily beats about the bush. A man left to himself can get ahead only by selfishness, accomodation and compromise. This is the moment when society begins to crumble and fall apart into its individuals. I lie, I cheat, I am cunning, I wear a mask, I wave my hand and I adjust my future to no commonly approved idea but only to my own.

In this way the part is not a part; on the contrary, it remains a secret rival of the whole.

So one does not absolutely need another organized force for there to be a "dual power" in one country; it is enough to have a quarrel played out in souls. It is enough if the individuals--instead of open opposition--split themselves from the central will and set up in themselves another order of values from that of the official organs. Another order of values in work, in the concept of honor, in the wounded relations of words and actions. But mute criticism is only a partial solution because it will not lead to true victory, what remains will trip a man up; it leads to fatigue, apathy, barrenness, perplexity.

Let us not try to gloss over it; contemporary Hungarian literature gives a dismaying report on this social condition, this general state of health. Our bad dreams in which we weep over the early death of a friend or run naked through the streets with a knife; we drink, we rage, they put an oily rag in our mouths and then throw us on a truck among the dead fish.

Of course, our awakening to our psychological condition does not help much because we will continue to regard our neurosis as a given, just as the Eskimo regards the endless fields of snow.

I feel in my skin, in my nerves locked in a vice, that in the long run self restriction is also the restriction of being. A decimation of the varied possibilities of life. It is an idea which gives birth to boredom. The expanded re-production of the plaintive voice has become independent of our will.

As a writer and as a reader I note with alarm the sameness of contemporary Hungarian literature. Is some change approaching? Will someone write a book, will someone edit a journal in which something different will flare up beyond the production of truth for the warehouse? Strength, enthusiasm, some confession or desire increasing to intoxication? Something, be it super-human or sub-human, but which will break out of the internal infinity of the soul? Ady, Attila Jozsef, Moricz, Laszlo Nemeth or Lorinc Szabo gave us a personal gift because, breaking out of the frameworks offered by society, they always viewed society from the heights of human existence. Thus their plaint was not a mere complaint, but a view of existence. Their confidence was not a simplified confidence but rather a condition of the search for the salvation of man.

According to Ortega every nation has a different spirit. And so a different culture--let us add. Different feelings and a different system of recognition. This statement, which at first hearing sounds nationalistic, is nothing more than if we said, speaking of fruits, that this is meaty, this has seeds, this has a stone. Such a distinction in itself does not at all mean isolation.

At most it means self-identity, without which no people can live as an adult people.

I see our literature struggling in a condition of melancholy vegetation, achieving only half-successes even with its outstanding values, because if a nation is not a common undertaking then there is a reflex of uncertainty in its every movement. And in its spirit too.

The present regime has obviously and primarily economic goals. It believes that economic achievements will of themselves be transformed into national values. They will not be transformed! Indeed, it may happen that the well known example will be realized in our case--we sit with ill temper in the beautifully built house, we eat cold raspberry cream and listen to the news reports about our barrenness.

Going beyond the lamentations and the inventories of scandal, our literature, stewing in its own bitter juice, must learn to rebel in the name of life struggling for the right to act. Laszlo Nemeth teaches with the wisdom of life: "A man can be of use to the world in one way, if he comes to terms with himself."

Not only an individual needs self-identity--so does a nation and the literature of a nation.

8984
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PROVINCIAL VOCATIONAL SCHOOL TRAINEES ALIENATED IN BUDAPEST

Budapest VALOSAG in Hungarian No 7, 1980 pp 65-73

[Article by Ferenc S. Lidra: "Provincial Vocational Students in Budapest"]

[Text] The student hostels' task--especially as far as the vocational schools are concerned--is the stepchild of our professional literature in education, sociology and psychology. While, for example, the problems of boarding school education and of the overall problem of vocational training have for years been the focal point of research, we find only occasional professional studies dealing with this specific area. However, vocational schools have a tremendous role in the development of the world view, life style and perspective of youths from peasant rooted families and rural milieu, who are becoming city dwellers and workers at the same time. Practice, however, illustrates that those concerned are either failing to recognize this important role, or are attempting to set educational goals for themselves and serve unreal, irrelevant concepts. In this work I cannot even attempt to survey this unrealistic educational practice. My undertaking is considerably more modest. I followed 50 students from their selecting a trade to their becoming skilled workers. I sought to discover how much their lifestyles changed from the standpoint of one of its important constitutive elements: how their free time was spent.

The 50 students selected filled out questionnaires on three occasions: in September 1976, in their first weeks in Budapest; in the spring of 1978, in their second year; and in the spring of 1980, nearly one year after taking their skilled worker examinations. On all three occasions the gathering of data was supplemented by tape recorded in-depth interviews. Additional interviews were also conducted with residence masters, the director of the vocational school, parents and village teachers.

Characteristics of the Group, Family Background

The vocational school, in addition to providing instruction in a given field, also serves other social functions. It prepares one for the worker's life, itssocializes. It provides refinement and general culture. Since it is a mid-level training institution, it provides the opportunity for further

study. In the performance of all these tasks, it participates in the promotion of social mobility, when it provides urban work opportunity to children who were rurally raised, or when it provides a trade to the children of unskilled parents.

Of the 50 observed students, 33 studied construction industry trades (insulator, parquetry inlayer, mason, painter), and 17 studied wood working industry trades (carpentry, upholsterer). Of the construction industry students, more than half were from Szbolcs Megye, more than a quarter were from Hajdu Megye and nearly 10 percent were from Bekes Megye. The remaining 10 percent were distributed from other parts of the country, but were chiefly from Fest Megye, and were mainly children of the "first generation" who had previously moved to the vicinity of Budapest. In examining the occupations of household heads, unskilled parents who worked in industry or agriculture were predominant. The fathers of only three children were skilled workers, and in only one case was the head of the family not a manual laborer. This was a mother who is an administrator, raising her child alone.

Although it would be incorrect to draw far-reaching conclusions from the data of our 50-person sample, it still appears--and other sources also corroborate this--that these students are in a multiple disadvantage situation among the already disadvantaged vocational students. They have a longer road to travel from the peasant background of their grandfathers and fathers to become skilled urban workers, and they have more obstacles to overcome. In such families the number of children is considerably larger than the national average. Only 3 students are only children, while 15 have 4 or more siblings. In the majority of the families the other siblings have not progressed beyond the life of a skilled worker either. We find secondary school graduates in only 2 families, and white collar employment among older siblings in only 2 cases.

For a long time, the inhabitants of less industrially developed areas have been looking upon the construction industry as the first stage towards their moving to the city. There are always openings in the construction industry, the work there is less frightening than in the factories, and they have acquaintances working in it who can help them in the initial difficulties of beginning employment. In such families the child, for the most part, clearly realizes as soon as he reaches the senior section, that his future is to go to Budapest to learn a trade. "It is not specific trades which attract them, but rather the skilled worker status which promises a secure existence," write Mihaly Csako and Ilona Lisko in their study analyzing the role of vocational school training in social mobility. We may add that the certain advancement is through the capital city's vocational training institute. Nearly free hostels, nearly free board, scholarships, social scholarships, travel home at reduced rates--all these are attractive to the parent. For the youths, however, the romance of the capital is the attractive force, since everything that counts comes from

there--this is where blue jeans may be purchased; this is where popular beat editions may be acquired; this is where the new films are first shown.

In most cases, the parents are happy to be relieved of the burdens of child rearing. This does not mean only financial burdens--although these must not be overlooked--but those of caring, providing and disciplining. Among our students, the number of those from divorced parents, orphans and semiorphans is considerably greater than average. Alcoholism and families in process of disintegration are common. It also often occurs that there are serious, difficult to discover tensions beneath the apparently orderly surface. In the group of 50 children, the parents of 9 are divorced. Of these, there was remarriage in 5 cases, and the mother is rearing the children alone in 4 cases. Being semiorphaned is also frequent. We have five families in which the father has died and the mother is rearing the children alone.

Mothers remaining alone without male support because of death or divorce, remarried parents in the crossfire of the cruelties of the adolescent boy, older parents with "late" children--all these are reasons why the child should go to the college, to relieve the burdens of childrearing and to ease the problems.

Types of Activities Before They Went to Budapest

One question was: How did you most like to spend your free time at home? Most selected sports activity. (Here I included all activities which indicate regular physical exercise, not only sports conducted competitively.) The kind of replies most often given were: playing soccer and table tennis, swimming, and bicycling. Many also participated in organized sports, such as the village soccer team, or in various school sports circles.

"We always played soccer in the large field on the edge of the village. For a while I used to play ping pong at school... There were several of us chums who used to go out on Sundays to the Keleti channel to swim and go boating. Occasionally we took a tent and slept out. We roasted bacon. Sometimes there were also girls with us and we cooked..."

Reading also appeared as a favorite method of spending free time for significant proportion. "I read quite often at home, nearly every day. I read 4 to 5 books a month, or even more. I had a friend who always recommended books. I read everything that was recommended or appealed to me. 'Tarzan, Son of the Jungle,' for example, I liked very much--how he grew up among the monkeys. Or I also liked the 'Jungle Book' very much; or 'Adventures on a Pirate Ship.'"

In the evaluation of the replies it is apparent that watching television was raised to the status of a favorite way of spending time by only one boy. But only 6 did not watch television on weekdays, and 12 on Sundays. Movies and television will also have significant roles later. In terms of

quantity, we may safely call these two the msot significant culture carriers. However, if we also consider quality, then the pciture which is common knowledge unfolds before us--the lowest level in everything.

Working at home should also be mentioned, since a large proportion of the students worked at home. It can be concluded from the replies that in most cases they realized the importance of the work, and of the income derived from it. The jobs, for the most part, involved taking care of animals, garden work, cleaning and chopping wood.

"Every summer I worked in the nursery. We planted and hoed. I worked not so much for the money, but rather so that I would not be bored at home. My chums always went also, so we had a good time together."

"I helped to chop wood and sweep the yard. I was always told what to do. I was happy to chop wood because I knew that it would strengthen me. Previously, I kept rabbits, and we had pigs. But I did not feed them because I always confused what I was supposed to feed them, the grits with the bran."

In examining the childhoods of the students, we may conclude that they had much more appropriate possibilities for spending their free time at home than at the hostel. They had more opportunity for play, for outdoor activities, and for spontaneous social intercourse. Although the selection of the rural libraries did not approach that of the college library, quite a few of them learned to like reading. Thus in these areas there was appropriate background for further progress. Cultural disadvantage appeared much more in the areas of the theater, serious music and the fine arts. Very many of the youths arriving in Budapest had never been to the theater, to an exhibit, and had never listened to a complete serious music composition.

Types of Activity at the End of the Second School Year

The vocational school hostel which the observed young people attended was founded in 1976 through the merger of three independent schools, and is located in a neighborhood of workers' hostels and suburban taverns. Its capacity is currently about 1,200, but there are plans to increase it shortly to 2,000. This will make it the country's largest vocational studen home. The area was previously very disreputable, and serious and minor crimes were frequent. The students were just as much at the mercy of the "tubers" [hippies] as of their stronger, more aggressive fellow students. It was hoped that order would be created in the area with the merger. It was also intended to raise the level of the training effort. The students are housed in three buildings which were originally built as workers' hostels. This fact has determined their "material" conditions. The 50 first year students were located on the third floor of the building designated "A". In the rooms there are 8 metal beds, 1 table, 8 chairs and 2 closets. The walls have been freshly painted, but the parquet has come

loose in many places to the extent of half the room. The wash basins and toilets are operable for the time being. It will take several months before they become stopped up and cease to function. By the time the cooler weather arrives, the windows in the lavatories will be broken, allowing the wind and the cold to enter.

The furnishings for each group consists of a study room, a television set, and perhaps a chess set or other parlor game. There are no club rooms, and the possibilities of playing sports are minimal. There are five groups on the third floor consisting of nearly 180 students. (In other places this is the total population of smaller hostels.) The impression of the initial days must be rather important for the days to follow. During the first few days here, beds are assembled, lockers are moved around, and carpets, curtains and bed linens are drawn. Everybody is giving orders, everybody is making demands. The rooms are rearranged several times--not only in the beginning, but during the year as well. No one can be sure of sleeping in the same location in which he slept today.

Ervin H. is a 31-year-old residence master. He has been working at the hostel for 2 years. Previously he taught at a rural school. "The child arrives in Budapest. Suddenly a multitude of regulations descends upon him and he is unable to discern the relationships among the rules. In general, the teachers and vocational instructors enjoy this defenselessness in the student--how he grasps at every straw, is astonished at everything, accepts everything that he is told and can be made to do anything. A short time passes, however, and he very rapidly discovers the teacher's blunders, and very rapidly discovers methods of evasion.

"In several months the child becomes completely without a master. Neither workplace, school nor hostel can provide him with concrete direction. I will risk stating that they do not even desire to provide it. In the rural surroundings they could easily grasp the situation and they knew the rules of the game. Now they are finding themselves in utter chaos. A good example is the situation at suppertime. Someone pushes in front of him in line and he does not dare to say anything. I saw a case where a puny youngster pushed into the head of the line and no one dared say anything to him because they did not know whose friend he might be. Their situation becomes completely obscure. From that moment on, the hostel does not serve them. Instead they become not only the hostel's victims, but those of the capital, the work place, and the school.

"We the residence masters should be creating order out of this chaos. Unfortunately, I discovered in these 2 years that in all areas of our training a complete lack of system is the rule. The chief principle is the change which can be statistically reported--there were so many theater attendances, library books or scholastic achievements. However, no one is interested in what is behind the data. Not only is it unimportant what method I used to convince my group to attend the theater, but even whether we really did attend! If it is noted in the work plan, in the workbook and in the competition notebook, then we were there..."

The size of the home requires factory-like direction: director, general deputy directors, deputy building directors, floor monitors and residence masters. Directives arrive in this way, and the initiatives which are "from the bottom up" proceed back in this manner. There is no viable self-government, and there is no hope for its formation. The function of the KISZ [Communist Youth Organization] is primarily mobilization for various demonstrations.

Our group began its life in the capital under such circumstances. The woodworking industry vocational students were the most fortunate among them. They stayed with the same residence masters for 2 years, and as much as circumstances permitted, managed to establish a certain "local" democracy. They went on many tours and managed to go to several theaters and exhibits. One half of the construction industry students also belonged among the more fortunate. They also had the same residence master for 2 years, and often organized theater visits and sports activities. The rest, when it came time for their second questionnaire, had been through several residence masters. The seed of their ties to the hostel had been extinguished. They spent their free time outside of the walls whenever possible.

During the week, house regulations permit very little time for various free-time activities. During the weekends, however, there is considerable free time. For the most part, during the week only the time between dinner and bedtime can be spent freely. During the weekends, however, complete lack of organization and supervision is the rule. Because of the unresolved evening head counting, there is no absolute necessity even to spend the nights inside. How are the youths managing with the partially restricted, partially lax, time possibilities? What habits, what needs have evolved within them during these two years-spent away from their families.

Sports activities were forced totally into the background in Budapest. The youngsters were separated from the sports organizations at home and have not yet found their way to the ones in Budapest. The only potholed handball court of the college is not able to replace the soccer fields on the village outskirts. In addition, college policy lays down conditions here--good scholastic achievements and exemplary conduct are required to play sports. Instead of stimulating participation in sports organizations, such participation is rather hindered. Play has disappeared from among their activities. Of course, maturing also had a role in this. During the more relaxed moments, however, the suppressed disposition to play breaks out vigorously. One parlor game placed in the study room, or one successful outing is sufficient for this. The number of those who like to read had decreased. Puttering around, primarily because of the lack of opportunity, has disappeared without a trace. The victor is the movie house. After the worn out films of the rural cultural center, dozens of movie houses await the youths, with their deluge of dozens of films. There are some who sit through three, four or even more films during a weekend. The enthusiasts are limited only by their pocketbooks, or perhaps by competition from television. Closely related to attending movies is the second most popular activity

type--doing nothing, loitering. There is also a certain positive side to loitering and roaming around. While doing this it is possible to gather impressions of the city. In any case, however, it can only count as a substitute activity. There is something infinitely depressing about a healthy 16-year-old young man who replies to the question of what he most likes to do in his free time by, "doing nothing."

It is sad how little sensible activity there is in their free time. During the week, watching television and reading are the chief activities. On Sundays, it is watching television again, followed by the movies, roaming around and doing nothing. Work performed willingly and with a sense of responsibility has disappeared from their daily agendas. However, several new activities, such as listening to music and recreation, have appeared. (By the latter we mean the coffee house, dancing, etc.) Thanks to the organized programs of the hostel, nearly all of the students have been to the theater and to exhibits. However, when we examine what is read, what theater performances are preferred, and what kind of music they listen to, we have little reason to be proud. It is apparent that our earlier conclusion is valid: the lowest level in everything. Only the woodworking industry group members managed to go to the then operating 25th Theater, and to the Academy of Music several times. Several of them went to the Bakonyoszlop reading camp, through the influence of their residence masters.

My second questionnaire contained a time study spanning a complete weekend. The previous observations were borne out. Those who remained in Budapest primarily went to the movies, watched television, and visited relatives. In contrast, those who went home helped with the household work considerably, and a good number of them visited public places of recreation.

Let us examine the weekends of several more closely.

Last Friday, George V. left school at 2 PM, ate lunch and went to the hostel where he "sat in his room" from 3 to 4. From 4 to 5 was a study hour followed by housecleaning. From 6 to 7 he sat in his room again. There was dinner at 7, followed by watching television. He went to sleep at 10. On Saturday morning he was at the movies. After lunch he visited his sister's home, where he ate lunch and watched television. He left at 7, arrived at the hostel at 8, watched a film on television and went to bed. Sunday morning he listened to the radio and record player at the hostel. Between 10 and 11 he played soccer. He ate lunch, then slept from 1 to 5. At 5 he ate the cold supper and went out to the movies. He came back at 9, lay down and went to sleep.

Ferenc B. also spent his weekend in Budapest. There was a study period on Friday until 6, after which he went to a disco and did not return until midnight. Saturday morning he was at the movies. In the afternoon from 1 to 4 he loitered around the vicinity of the nearby girls' hostel. He was at the disco again between 4 and 9. From 10 to midnight he played

cards with his roommates. Sunday morning he went to the movies. At 1 o'clock in the afternoon he met his girl friend. The following is noted for 9 PM: "I drank alcohol;" for midnight: "I fell asleep".

Tibor G. went home on Thursday night. Friday morning he went to the doctor for an excuse, although he was not sick. In the afternoon he went to Nagyhegy with his friends, then went to the club with them to play table tennis. He went home at 7, watched television and fell asleep at 11. He rose at 9 on Saturday, went to the sawmill, helped load a wagon with scrap wood, which was taken home and unloaded. He ate lunch at 12:30, went to the store, then went out to the woods with his friends to look for snakes. From 6 until 10 he again played table tennis at the club. On Sunday morning he watched television in bed. At 12 there was brunch. He went to the tavern for beer, then watched television again from 1 o'clock. At 4 o'clock he want to the field to play soccer. At 5, he and his friends went to the cultural center to see the film "Kuldetes," which they did not like and left in the middle. At the club they played records until 8, when he went home, watched television until 10, then read the book, "A Passenger Disappeared," until nearly midnight. He got up at 3:45 AM on Monday and rode the workers' bus to Budapest. He arrived at the hostel at 6, and together with his roommates ate the food he brought from home. When they were full they did not feel like going to work, so they went to the movies to see "Body in the Thames." He returned to the hostel at noon, lay down and went to sleep.

This same boy describes one of his Sundays spent in Budapest. "I rise at 7, eat breakfast and clean the room. Then I go to the movies, come back at noon and eat lunch. From one o'clock I stay in the hostel and either watch television or sleep. There is nothing to do so I lie in wait. The others return from home around 6. Then we begin to eat. We watch a film on television, go to bed where we fool around a while. Around eleven o'clock I fall asleep."

Sandor F. spent his weekend at home in Szabolcs Megye. Before he left for home on Friday afternoon, he visited his sister. He saw their new apartment and they chatted. At 6:30 he left for the hostel, packed his bag and left for the railroad station at 8. He bought his ticket, met his friends and they talked. The train left at 10 minutes to midnight. Soon he fell asleep, but around 1 AM a fight broke out in the compartment. One drunken boy stole his companion's money. The conductor called the police who took the drunken boy to the front and gave him a good beating. They arrived at Mateszalka at 7 in the morning. The next train left shortly thereafter and arrived at Tiborszallas at 8:30. He went home, ate breakfast and chatted with the family. He turned on the television at 9, but fell asleep during the program. He awoke at 3, ate lunch, listened to the radio and watched television. At 6:30 he went to the coffee house and met his friends. They went to a disco where he danced, chatted and drank a while He went home at 11, ate dinner and went to bed. He rose at 8 on Sunday,

watched television in the morning, then went to the coffee house at about 10. He ate lunch and listened to the radio in the afternoon. His return train left at 3:30 and arrived at the West railroad station at midnight. He went to the hostel and went to sleep. He rose at 7 and went to school.

Sandor P. also spent the last weekend at home. He arrived home at 7:30, dropped his luggage and immediately left for the neighboring village where there was a "party." "I socialized with the girls, and drank beer. Three of us left for home on foot at 1 in the morning. I arrived home at 1:45 and went to bed. I awoke at 10, listened to the record player until noon, then went to play soccer. At 3 I went to see the game on the field. Then we went to another village because that is where the party was. My girl friend also showed up and we stayed until 1 AM. I walked the girl half way home, we fooled around some, then I went home. I arrived home at 3:30, ate and went to bed. I had to get up at 5:30 to catch the bus to return. I arrived at the hostel at 8, and we ate. Then instead of going to school we went to the movies... (Together with Tibor F. mentioned earlier.)

The hostel, beyond giving the young people shelter is satisfied with apparent results. It cannot arouse the feelings of a home, cannot create communality, cannot aid in overcoming cultural disadvantages and cannot be the intermediary between the big city and the student.

The integration is not promoted by the institution, and assimilation is hindered by the city itself. The big city is like a magician who always shows only one side of his cape--the world of movies, display windows and subways. He who wishes to penetrate deeper is immediately enmeshed in the trappings.

My questionnaire asked three questions, with the aid of which I had intended to acquire a glimpse of their relationships with the city. Are you a member of a capital city--not hostel or school--sports circle, club or professional club? Do you have any friends in the capital? Do you have a girl friend in the city? Eleven percent replied affirmatively to the first question, 23 percent to the second, and 16 percent to the third. In analyzing the replies, however, it is apparent that these percentages are probably lower in reality. Most of the friendships do not amount to more than participation in a few mutual programs, and sports club memberships seems to spring from momentary enthusiasm. I found no example of lasting and deep friendships between genuine city dwellers and ruralites who live in the hostel. Similarly, serious love between a vocational trainee boy and a city girl develops only in the rarest cases. One of the cases of few visits to clubs and professional groups and the bypassing of sports clubs is the restrictive house rules of the hostel; others are fear of unfamiliar surroundings and lack of contacts.

We quote the views of several youths. Bela B.: "I don't know. These Budapesters appear to be very conceited. Perhaps the problem is with me,

but as far as I am concerned, they are conceited. They practically look down on us because we are from a village. They nearly ostracize us. Some are made fun of because of their speech, and we are baited in all different ways. I have a few chums at school. Sometimes we go to the movies or to look around. But I have never been to any of their homes and have never been invited."

Bela D.: "I have not yet had a Budapest girl friend... One needs a glib tongue for that, and maybe I cannot learn to turn a phrase like the Budapesters. Womanizing went better at home than here. We have been to discos a few times, but we failed there also. When we asked someone to dance, we did not know whether we would be attacked or not, since we are not very husky fellows. We asked a couple of girls to dance, girls who were not very attractive and whom we would not even notice at home. They were city girls and they said no. They did not say it, but they surely thought it. We could sense that they kept trying to get away from us... We are also looked down upon in class, even by the teachers. It is somewhat painful, but we do not care any more. All of the fellows have their programs, so it is not possible to make friends with them. Good friendship can be expected only from our fellow residents and no one else."

The road to the city and to the city dwellers--no matter how paradoxical--is found most easily through the subways. The difference between the country folk and the city dwellers are more easily blurred in the world of the "tubers". The recourse of withdrawal from society otherwise arouses feelings of belonging together.

Laszlo S.: "I came to Budapest, made friends with a couple of fellows on the Blaha and became a 'tuber'... I feel more comfortable with them than with anyone else also because of the solidarity, because what is theirs is also mine. There is an old man who has no relatives, and who is practically supported by the 'tubers.' Because of this, we can sleep at his place. Sometimes there are as many as 20 of us in his apartment, and at least 12 are women. These are tuber girls. Everything goes on there; drugs, sex, drinking--everything. In the morning I go to school and they go to the Blaha or to the movies. But if I should meet them anywhere, I am always invited along. If I have something to share, I also invite them. The good thing is that whenever I go out I always find someone I know. Right away time passes much more pleasantly."

One Year After the Skilled Worker Examination

Two more years passed. During this time, most of the students passed their skilled worker examinations and went to work. One significant event did take place, however, at the end of the second school year. The "B" building renovation was completed, and the complete renovation of "A" building was begun. The students were divided into two groups. The "good" trainees were moved into the newly renovated building, while the "bad" ones went to the

even more unfavorable circumstances of the "C" building. The same selection method was also used for the residence masters. Thus two camps emerged--the elite, well behaved group, and the remainder who showed poor performance in everything. Those who ended up in the "C" building felt that the discrimination was prejudicial, and during the remaining year did everything to validate the judgment made about them. (The residence masters certified themselves by doing nothing, and the students by breaking the already lax rules by fighting, stealing, and in several cases, by more serious criminal acts.) In the "penal colony" where approximately three quarters of our 50 students ended up, all earlier accomplishments were quickly destroyed. Although a few of them tried to maintain their relationships with their previous residence masters by going on outings and to the theater with them, the majority were lost in the vacuum which resulted from disorganization and negligence. Those who went to the renovated "B" building also fell into a trap. The autocratic leadership there nipped individual initiatives in the bud, and the strict house rules encouraged them to seek their individual well being outside of the hostel walls.

Under such circumstances all of them looked upon the skilled worker examination as salvation. In the "C" building such wild enthusiasm was manifested that several 10,000 forints worth of damage resulted. (Shattered lockers, window frames hurled out and broken up wash basins.)

The institution did not assume even a nominal responsibility for assisting with the problems of finding and beginning employment. The goal and the practice was to rid themselves of the trainees as quickly as possible before they did any more damage. If the students were not aware of it earlier, they most certainly now realized the fundamental truth here: the hostel is not operating for their good, but rather needs them only so it can operate. (One of the reactions to this realization is the annually recurring destruction, from which, strange to say, no one is drawing the proper lesson.)

Our young people may choose from among the following possibilities; they may remain in Budapest and move into a workers' hostel, or they may go home and accept the disadvantages deriving from the more limited employment possibilities there. I sent the third questionnaire by mail and received only 22 replies. Of these 22, only 7 went back to work in their villages or in their vicinity. The rest all accepted employment in Budapest. Four commute daily to the capital from distances of 30-60 kilometers. Three are living with relatives in Budapest. One is renting a room. The majority who remained in Budapest have ended up in the workers' hostels.

We may read many works about the life and double life in the workers' hostels. (Katalin E. Csaplar, 1976; Sandor Veres, 1979, etc.) Those who were sent to the hostel because of family problems are also in unfortunate circumstances, since they have now returned to the still unresolved problems.

The parents of Laszlo J. were divorced when he was still small, and his mother raised him by herself. While the boy was studying in Budapest his mother remarried. Laci now feels that he was manipulated and pushed out of his previous position. "My family problems were not only not resolved, but have become more complicated. Mother had a heart infarction because of the quarreling. I am not on speaking terms with my stepfather. I cannot find a position in my profession here, so I am working as a worker's helper. I do not want to move back to Budapest because that would be a victory for my stepfather. He very much wanted me to leave home. We even got into a fight. I have not been successful in any of my endeavors. I could not get a position in my field, and I could not adapt to the life here. I am now living without a purpose..."

The parents of Istvan L. were also divorced. Pista first worked in Budapest, but could not stand the workers' hostel for more than two months. He moved home. Soon thereafter he had a quarrel with his mother. Since then he has been "floating" among his three sisters. "There is always some problem. I just get out of one and step into another. Right now, for example, I am completely vulnerable. No one is taking advantage of me here, but no one helps me either. When I have a problem I have great difficulty in even finding someone to listen, let alone be interested in it. I have no ties, I just subsist. Every day I go where I think it is best for me. It is not a question of my going crazy, but rather that I discover something new every day. I do not know why all the new things are the way they are, and what their sources are. Perhaps my eyes are just beginning to open..."

My last questionnaire contained several questions pertaining to the feelings with which they are looking back on the hostel, and how good they consider the work being performed there. Unfortuantely, most of them gave standard replies such as better food, hot water more frequently, more frequent outings, etc. Similarly stereotyped replies were given to the question of what kind of advice they would give to the current freshman--whether he should listen to the residence masters, whether he should try to adapt, etc.

The replies of two young men, however, are thought-provoking. The previously quoted Istvan L. writes: "He should observe the atmosphere for 2 to 3 months. During that time he will discover what, where and when something can be manipulated in such a way that no one is harmed while he himself benefits." Another young man, Marton R. writes: "At first I would inform the freshman of the hostel requirements. Later, however, I would tell him that it is not necessary to observe the regulations, but rather that he should get in good with his residence master."

And how did the spare time activities turn out "out in life?" The life styles of those in the workers' hostels changed the least. They are working, living and engaging in recreational activities with people of approximately the same disposition. The youth who comes home from work tired watches television, goes to the movies, perhaps goes to the hostel club, or simply lies down on his bed to rest. Those who went home to the

villages of their parents are continuing their childhood pasts in many respects. They help around the house, they watch the soccer matches on Sundays, then they drink a few mugs of beer. In both groups a sobering up, a growing up is characteristic. The loitering and doing nothing have disappeared. At the same time, the desire to "be outdoors" has also ceased. For many the period of frugality has already begun, wherein they are placing their salaries and the income from occasional work into savings accounts. For several the thought of establishing a family in the near future is already present. Dancing, recreation and dating have come to the forefront. The love of reading has declindd further, and there is no longer any trace of attendance at the theater or at exhibits.

Ferenc V. learned the insulation trade and lives in a worker's hostel. He describes his life: "In the hostels we went to the theater, but somehow that has stopped now. I do not feel much like going alone. I do not want to go in blue jeans so I have to get dressed up, and I have to straighten myself up. I consider a performance, whether I will like the play or not, because I am unfamiliar with it. It is no use asking my fellow workers because they know less about it than I do. I may go to see the play and not understand it. Who can I ask what it was trying to convey? The same situation exists with outings. I had good friends at the college. Together we decided to go towards Csillaghegy. So we hiked for a good while, made a fire and roasted bacon. We enjoyed ourselves the entire day. I miss this. I even tried to convince the brigade at work to have an outing. I organized one to the Danube curve. What happened? The ticket was purchased so it could be posted in the brigade diary. Of the 30 only 7 went. The seven, in truth had a good time--by evening they were drunk! We went up to the fort, looked around, then--up and into the tavern! Then one more mug, then another! We barely made the boat...

The friendships in which everyone knows everyone else do not exist at the hostel. I go into the club. If there is a vacant seat at the card game I ask if I can sit in. Then I play an hour. In general, I listen to the radio, or I read. Recently I discovered mysteries, but occasionally these bore me also. After 50 to 80 pages I can generally figure out who the murderer is. I check the ending. If the murderer is who I think it is, the book no longer interests me..."

Istvan Sz. went home to his village after his trade examinations. He married and moved in with his mother-in-law. "My work in KTSZ [Artisan Cooperative] lasts until 2 PM. Then I take my time in packing my belongings, get in my Trabant and go to work, or rather go to work for myself. Sometimes I work until 8 or 9 PM. Then I go home, take a bath and forget my tiredness. I eat dinner with my lovely wife, she relates the events of her day, then we go to sleep. Sundays are the same. I would rather not work on Sunday, but when one starts to work on his own, the clients are always in a hurry for the jobs. My wife also works often on Sundays,because she is a nurse. Thus we rarely have a whole day together. Sundays are not like they were at home when I was a child. On Sundays dad used to climb into bed with us and fool around. Even the radio sounded differently when I was a child..."

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KSS 'KOR' DECLARATIONS ON MEAT PRICE INCREASES, STRIKES

KSS 'KOR' 11 July Declaration

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On July 1 a major price rise on meat and smoked meat products was instituted without reporting this fact to public notice. On July 2, the deputy chairman of "Spolem" [Central Union of Consumers' Cooperatives--CZSS] on the TV news gave information about the rise referring, however, to a much narrower range of products than that of a day before. On July 4, work establishment cafeterias and some stores in many areas of Poland were returning to earlier prices on nearly all articles that had become more expensive 3 days before. In other parts of the country, cafeterias and stores kept the new prices unchanged. Subsequently, to this day, price fluctuation has continued. For example, new prices were introduced on July 1 in the Warszawa steel mill cafeteria. Old prices were in effect between 10 o'clock and noon and new ones between noon and 2 pm on July 3. At 2 pm on July 3 and throughout July 4 the old prices were in force, and since July 5 to this day the new prices have applied. On July 9, an advisory session of party and economic activists was held on July 9 in Warsaw. The price rise was announced to be maintained, although in a narrower range than the "Spolem" deputy chairman's statement seemed to indicate (two kinds of meat, slab bacon and some kinds of poultry and canned meats). An announcement was made that so-called old-portfolio retirement would be increased next year along with substantial increases in family allowances and lowest earnings. The authorities withdrew a price rise, introduced it again in limited form, and promised higher wages--all of this under pressure from worker protest and demands supported by threats of strike and strikes. At this time, we have information about strikes in 14 work establishments (Warsaw steel mill, FSO passenger car factory in Warsaw, Ursus mechanical factory near Warsaw, WSK Mielec, WSK Swidnik, POLMO Tczew, ZELOS in Piaseczno near Warsaw, ZELMOT in Warsaw, Rzeszowski Kombinat Budowlany W Dabrowie Gorniczej, the meat plant in Grudziadz, department K1 angle shop at the Gdansk shipyard, the Roza Luksemburg factory in Warsaw, TOMED in Poznan, the rolling mill plant of Cegielski

factory in Srem. In five work establishments, demands were made to withdraw the price rise, in eight, higher wages were demanded and in one (FSO), demands were placed for higher wages and lower prices. In all places where higher wages were demanded, the managements promised a raise. Workers' commissions were established in three departments of the Ursus mechanical plant and written guarantees were obtained from the management that no one would come under repression for participation in the strike. The Ursus work force demands a regular cost of living supplement. Strike actions continue all over the country.

We stated in our declaration of July 2: "The KSS 'KOR' is in full solidarity with the strikers and sppports their demands. We put especial emphasis on our support for the cost-of-living supplement proposed by the strikers. The most effective and nationally the least hazardous form for the workers' insistence on their own and the nation's interests in by becoming organized in their work establishments, democratic elections of independent worker representative bodies to advance demands on behalf of plant crews, conduct discussions with the authorities and guide crew actions in a responsible yet resolute manner. Plant crews must become aware that solitary action alone can bring positive results. Above all, the authorities cannot be allowed to initiate any persecution whatsoever of strike participants and persons who indeed are, or are imagined by the authorities to be, leaders of worker protest."

A heedless investment policy followed by the authorities in the 1970s and an agricultural policy that caused a critical situation in farm produce supply combined to produce a veritable economic disaster. A factor of importance is also the price system, in force for several decades though incorrect and incompatible with economic laws. Yet this price system can be remedied only as part of a radical change of the entire economic system which is unreasonable, wasteful, inhibitive to progress and ruinous to employee morale. The workers are charged with poor performance, rampant loafing and underutilization of work time. These things happen, however, not because people do not want to work. The reason lies in the economic system itself and in its incentive system. The workers are not responsible for shortages of raw materials or stoppages in factory work caused by electricity cutoffs. The PZPR tries to burden society with responsibility for the party's own mistakes, incompetence and incomprehension of economic processes. A price-system modification can be accepted only if it comes as one among minor measures in a sweeping economic reform. Admittedly, the fundamental cause of the crisis is the Polish authorities' policy of many years under which decisions are made outside of society and economic reforms are replaced by provisional measures. All adverse consequences of these measures are suffered by the people, especially the poorest segments. It is imperative immediately to undertake energetic steps necessary to salvage the country from disaster.

1. The economic system and decisionmaking mode in matters concerning society as a whole must undergo a drastic change. The KSS "KOR" provides

no statement on the directions of such reform. We are convinced that these can only be determined by a nationwide decision. It will probably take account of reform proposals drafted in recent years by independent social institutions. There should be also a clearly defined governmental reform program with a published schedule of implementation. Otherwise, the authorities' temporary measures will meet with ad hoc response actions of particular segments of society.

2. Because current tension is directly caused by the market situation in foodstuffs, mainly meat, the policy ruinous to family farms, chief producers of food, should be instantly discontinued. Private ownership of and freedom to sell and buy land should be guaranteed. All forms of farming: family farm, cooperative farm and state farm must be treated as equally legitimate in the area of supply, sales, pricing, credit, taxation and legal protection. Private farmers should be allocated a substantially greater, justified, proportion of fodder concentrate and other means of production supplied to the agricultural sector.

3. Until the change in farm policy yields desired increases in food deliveries to the market, and if government authorities are unable to insure supplying consumers with meat available in stores at regular prices, commercial prices should be abolished and a universal meat rationing system should be instituted, that is, with ration cards and at prices prior to 1 July 1980.

4. It is necessary to publish complete data on the economic situation, in particular, on Poland's debt, and on the meat balance (total production, consumption by individuals, collective consumption and foreign trade).

5. It is of utmost importance that the discussions and negotiations we are facing be held with composure and their results be an expression of the position of all segments of society. The authorities must be made to understand that they will not evade negotiations with the people. To a certain degree, it is up to the authorities, however, whether these negotiations proceed in peace or in a climate of aggravating strife.

True to its goals, the KSS "KOR" calls for attention, above all, to the need to restore fundamental civil rights. They were guaranteed under the Human Rights Pacts which are in force in People's Poland. The authorities' compliance with these rights will create possibilities for reaching consensus on most urgent economic, political and social reforms. Employee rallies should be enabled to establish worker commissions, employee commissions, independent labor unions and other representative bodies which would be able to defend employee interests. It should be made possible for citizens to become organized to fight for their rights and to advance and implement initiatives geared toward society's good. To make this easier, the act on assembly and association should be altered. The Labor Code should be changed, particularly, Article 52, Section 1, should be repealed as it

provides for discharge from work for participating in a strike. The right to strike should be legally guaranteed.

Conditions must be created for nationwide discussion of the country's situation and on how to escape from it. Aside from purely economic factors, one of the principal causes of the present economic situation is the gagging of society by censorship and the state monopoly on mass media: the press, television and radio, which permits an artibrary and myopic ban on the voicing of genuine opinion current in society and even on pronouncements of experts if regarded as inconvinient. In this manner, both the public and the authorities are deprived of any control whatsoever over the country's situation, while persons cognizant of economic and social life can reach neither the authorities nor--no less important--their fellow citizens with their views and reform proposals. Retention of this status quo prohibits discovery of ways out of the impasse, thus enormously multiplying the risk of a disaster. Access to mass media should, therefore, be allowed to independent experts, views of employee groups and independent organizations should be made public, and prosecution of independent publications and periodicals should be discontinued. In the overall national interest, preventive censorship should be abolished and a press act should be introduced specifying the mode of courtroom protection of military secrecy and of the interests of private individuals. Repression of persons involved in independent social and political activities should be discontinued. Authority of the Citizens' Militia and Security Service should be reduced. The courts should have their autonomy restored to them. Political prisoners should be released immediately.

Above, we have specified the minimum requirements formulated for a long time that must be met to make possible a nationwide debate of the present situation and to reach consensus between the people and the authorities.

The KSS "KOR" appeals for support of these postulates by all of society and especially by work crews who will be able to submit them in the course of impending negotiations with the authorities. We should not be appeased with a partial withdrawal of a [price] rise or partial compensation won by major plants only. Such concessions will not improve the national existence especially in the most impoverished segments. At issue here is not only the maintenance of a tolerable standard of living; it is of exceptional importance to restrain the process of decay of state and society. The authorities; irresponsibility does not release us all from responsibility toward our country.

In keeping with its goals, the KSS 'KOR' will provide assistance to all those suffering repression for taking part in strikes.

Account by Dissident Strike Participant

London DZIENNIK POLSKI in Polish 26 Jul 80 p 4

[Text] A special issue of ROBOTNIK, published in early July, contained an account by a KSS "KOR" associate participating in the strike at Ursus, along with the July 2 KSS "KOR" declaration promptly reported by daily newspapers in the West.

Below we print the above-mentioned strike participant's account in full and a complete text of the 11 July KSS "KOR" 11 July declaration.

The strike at Ursus mechanical factory began on Tuesday July 1. Second-shift workers went on strike in several departments, the immediate reason being a rumored price rise. Tension mounted because of the lack of official information. There was no meat in the plant cafeteria on Wednesday. Other production divisions successively joined the strike on that day and on the following day. Work continued at all times only in two departments: the casting plant where the furnaces can be destroyed if abruptly put out, causing lossess that go into millions, and the electric heat and power generating plant supplying energy to the town and factory. The course of events on July 3 had a similar pattern in all production divisions. The employees would halt work, disconnect their machines, and form groups in their "nest areas" to start preparing their demands. The scope of the strike gradually expanded, with some management representatives and PZPR activists taking action. They approached worker groups with appeals to resume work, referring, in the case of party members, to their party consciousness, all in vain. Certain activists were exceptionally active. Master foreman Krasniewski from the chassis department threatened his subordinates with recourse to a prosecutor, and master foreman Piowierz from the engine assembly department with disciplinary dismissal. At the same time, the management took steps to isolate the strikers by cutting off all outside connections to the plant and locking gates in individual divisions. Telephone cables were disconnected so that the divisions were unable to communicate with each other.

The strikers in the PS engine assembly department elected a 10-person delegation. The PB chassis department elected 20 men to their delegation. The workers of the PR repair and power department organized a strike meeting, wrote down their postulates and elected a seven-person strike committee. The management attempted to take control of the situation by organizing briefings for master foremen, brigade leaders and shunters who were then to appeal to the workers to resume work. As this produced no results, the management and department chiefs began discussions with the delegations or whole crews. Initially, the management seemed to believe that it would be enough to inform the employees that workers in the West are even worse off and give vague promises of a raise of from 1.09 zlotys and up for those who merit a raise. In most departments, the second and third shifts joined the strike.

The strike was continued the next day. The situation developed somewhat differently in the PR department where an efficiently operating strike committee put forward the strikers' postulates in writing: 1) to increase the hazardous (work supplement) from 0.5 zloty to 1.50 zlotys per hour; 2) to add 10 percent for second shift work; 3) to increase wages so as to compensate for the price rise and to introduce a regular supplement for the growing cost of living. The management was given 2 hours to consider these demands. When this period had elapsed, the plant manager, first secretary of the local party unit and department chiefs appeared. For starters, threats were offered as usual. The secretary said that employees are not irreplaceable and they had better remember that. In response, the workers added to their postulates a demand for a written pledge that nobody would be persecuted for participating in the strike. The manager promised to present their demands "on top" and called for resumption of work. Because no one budged, he pointed his finger at workers he was familiar with and appealed to them by name. This was a crucial moment. Nobody broke down, and it became clear that the strikers were bound to win. The management promised to respond to the damands in 2 hours. It was the management's wish to have the strike committee change its name because of the ill-sounding word strike. The strikers agreed for their representatives to use the term workers commission during negotiations. While awaiting the response, preparations got underway to halt work in the power plant. The forge shop manager was warned to terminate technological processes on time because power supply would be interrupted. Two hours later, acting director in chief Szymczak arrived with the plant manager, party secretary and someone unknown to all strikers. The discussion resulted in the management's pledge to fulfill demand No. 1 and demand No. 2 in a week's time, and demand No. 3 by August 15. Written guarantees that there would be no repression for participation in the strike were denied. The strikers voted not to end the strike until such guarantees are obtained. The management yielded at 4:30 pm.

The next day, on July 3, director Szymczak again came to the factory and affirmed that all the demands would be fulfilled and increased wages would cover the period beginning 1 July.. Bonuses for piece-rated work would be additionally increased by 10 percent. Union employees would be paid according to schedule V (a raise of approximately 400 zlotys). Additionally, a 5-percent bonus and permanent master foreman supplement were granted. On the same day, the management began negotiations in other departments. In the PS department, the management made a decision about wage raises beforehand, in an effort to avoid a meeting with the workers' delegation. That decision was transmitted by master foremen, brigade leaders and shunters. The workers received a 10-percent bonus and a 150-zloty master foreman discretionary allowance. Meetings with the workers were held in the PB and PC departments. The raises were similar to those in the PS department. The PB department additionally achieved replacement of schedule III by schedule IV. Extra concessions were also won in the PC department. Soon after, actions were taken in all the departments to resume work.

Meat Price Increases

London DZIENNIK POLSKI in Polish 26 Jul 80 p 4

[Text] (This article was published in the 14 July 1980 special issue of the KSS "KOR" periodical "GLOS" in connection with a wave of strikes in Poland.)

The meat price rise was ushered in through the back door. The authorities are now retreating from it under pressure.

The strikers are receiving wage raises. Those who cannot strike, retirees, pensioners and employees of small plants are forced to accept higher prices. This is what the authorities are counting on. They hope that society at large would be successfully saddled with new prices and the whole scheme would pay off on balance. This policy of intimidation, understatement and conman cleverness has no chance of success. The confusion resulting from differing prices being in force will cost the economy more than the raise was expected to yield. Bonuses for strikers, rather than comprehensive political and economic solutions, promise frequent recurrence of the strike wave in the next few months. The present status is, however, better for the authorities than reforms would be. It is a logical continuation of the present mode of governance. The Gierek strategy was based on Western loans upholding the communist system of management and governing unchanged.

Today, with no loans in sight, everything is crumbling. What will come next? What will the new crisis bring to Poland?

The authorities want no reforms. No wonder! The communists bear the sole and total responsibility for the present status quo. For 35 years they have ruled above the people's heads and counter to the people's aspirations. Meantime, they ruined agriculture, vital for the country's food supply, they destroyed the crafts and service sector, and disorganized industry by commanding it from behind their Central Committee desks. It is hard to assume they would again be given a credit of trust. At this time, there is no possibility for resolving the crisis unless society is allowed into power.

The workers are not demanding reforms but wage raises. This is understandable: reforms have been promised many a time and each time they proved to be the most meager. Unless the present ruling system is changed, we will remain stuck in a vicious circle.

For this reason, the workers bear a tremendous responsibility at this time. They hold the country's fortunes in their hands. Much depends on what they will be able to win today. Much, including Poland's regaining her independence in the future. Let us not delude ourselves: regaining independence is impossible for a weak and disorganized country whose society divested

of every right, can only rebel, but cannot cogovern. This is precisely what we have to recapture today: the capability to cogovern.

The KSS "KOR" formulated postulates for imperative changes in its 11 July declaration.

First, the situation in the meat market must be stabilized. If it cannot be achieved otherwise, a rationing system should be introduced with meat prices prior to July 1 and commercial stores should be eliminated.

Publication of complete data on the country's economy and a prompt end to the destruction of private farming are imperative.

Subsequently, a nationwide discussion should be initiated on the solutions to the present critical situation and the shape of an economic system to bring it to health--even if at the price of immediate expenses.

For this to become possible, fundamental political guarantees are indispensable: freedom of association and strike, freedom of the press, restoration of the rule of the law by curtailing authority of the Security Office, and warranting autonomy to the courts. Reforms will be impossible without these guarantees. A renewal program can be realistic if the nation proves capable of forcing guarantees for the rights listed above.

At this time, the authorities have no program other than continued reduction of the standard of living, but the domestic situation can induce them to make political concessions if social pressure is sufficiently strong.

The timeserving policy pursued by the authorities thus far is increasingly costly to all of us, but concurrently, it gives us a spell and an opportunity to organize independent labor unions and other representative bodies of the people.

Similar opportunities do not come about too often. We will achieve only as much freedom as we win in struggle.

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CSO: 2600

LESZEK MOCZULSKI INTERVIEWED ON OPPOSITION IN POLAND

Vienna PROFIL in German No 34, 18 Aug 80 pp 26-27

/Interview with Leszek Moczulski by Peter Stein: "It Will Be a Hot Autumn"/

/Text/ PROFIL: Are you not afraid to give us an interview ? Do you not fear the consequences ?

Moczulski: One can get used to anything, including going to jail. When you have been arrested 18 times in 6 months, one more arrest makes little difference.

PROFIL: For the past 4 years there has been talk of a Polish opposition. Can you provide some specifics: how strong is the movement ? What kind of a movement is it ? Is it socially oriented or politically oriented as well ?

Moczulski: In a totalitarian system like Poland's more or less everyone who is independent of the source of power is in the opposition. For instance, Stefan Olszowski, who was a member of the Politburo until a few months ago is a member of the opposition now that he holds the post of ambassador in East Berlin. The same holds true for Piotr Jaroszewicz, the former prime minister. But what you are interested in is the free, independent movement in Poland which has become very active in recent years. Essentially, this movement is made up of three different groups. The first of these is the intra-party opposition which goes under the name of "experience and future." It consists primarily of party intellectuals. They accept the party as the leading power in Poland and believe that the right solution for Poland lies in minor intra-party changes. They reduce the difficult situation in Poland to economic factors alone. This is enough of a reason for their being unable to bring about any change in Poland, however slight.

The second group includes large segments of the intellectual community --scientists, journalists, writers-- most of whom have existed in a kind of symbiotic relationship with the party over the past 35 years. This relationship afforded them the opportunity to publish books and articles, to do scientific research and officially take the title of intellectuals. This is the way it is in a country where not even a foreman can be appointed without party approval. The most important man in this group is Jacek Kuron, a member of the KSS KOR (the Committee for the Self-Defense of the Workers). All members of the group are in favor of far-reaching socio-political reforms in Poland, but within the framework of the existing system. One could charaterize them as Polish Dubceks.

The third opposition group in Poland, which is the largest, is led by me and is called "Confederation of Independent Poland." Our main goal is to achieve independence for Poland. In contrast to the two other opposition groups, we categorically reject communism. Communism is foreign to and hostile to Polish tradition, mentality and interests. We are opposed to the Polish CP as an instrument of Soviet domination in Poland. But this does not mean that we wish to achieve our aims by force with the help of a revolution or insurrection. We are for a "revolution without revolution," which means that we are working quietly step by step to reach our goal. Between them, the second and third group of the opposition have about 15,000 members. In a country of 35 million inhabitants, that is not much, unfortunately.

PROFIL: There are strikes all over Poland. It is often said that there are social reasons for them. Are they politically motivated as well.? What is the extent of opposition control or even organization of the strike wave ?

Moczulski: At the moment, there are strikes taking place at 150 Polish factories. In about two-thirds of these plants our people are participating, but in no case have we joined in on organizing the strikes. As it happens, this most recent wave of strikes in Poland is quite spontaneous. Without a doubt, the situation was brought on by the price increases. But it would be wrong to think that the strikes are merely socially motivated. That is what the Polish rulers believe and they also believe that economic reforms can take the place of political reforms. But they are totally wrong. It is true that we do not have enough meat and food as such; but what we miss most of all is democracy and the feeling of being masters of our own house.

PROFIL: 10 years ago, strikers were fired upon in Poland; 6 years ago, they were merely arrested. This year, there are strikes throughout the country and the demands of the strikers are being met. What is the reason for this difference in approach ?

Moczulski: There are two reasons for the authorities yielding-- based on domestic and on foreign policy considerations. There is a military force in Poland numbering one million men whose sole purpose it is to hold down their own dissatisfied people. Theoretically, this force is capable of stamping out the opposition in a matter of a few hours and to re-establish complete control over the situation. But this raises the question of the foreign policy consequences of such an action. It is an open secret that all East bloc countries are living off credits from the West. They are borrowing more and more money all the time. Just one year ago, Poland had to obtain Western credits to the tune of $ 5 billion and this year the Polish economy must have $ 8 billion to keep from collapsing. At least that is what the official estimates by Polish economic experts come to. In addition, there are the Russian needs for dollars. As a consequence of the invasion of Afghanistan, the Russians themselves are almost unable to obtain Western credit or Western technology. So, if the Polish strikers would have been dealt with as brutally as in 1970 and 1976, the last hope for Western aid not only to Poland, but also for Russia would have been lost.

PROFIL: Do you mean to say that the dollars are going to Russia by way of Poland ? Is there any proof of that ?

Moczulski: That is the way it is and it has been throughout Poland's post-war history. Since the start of the Afghanistan crisis, the situation has gotten more acute. The strikers themselves found proof when they opened up refrigator cars in Ljublin which were destined for Russia. Poland has always been a transit point for Western goods and technology going to Russia. This also applied some years ago to the German war reparations: steel pipe was transshipped directly to Russia and used there for the construction of a pipeline.

PROFIL: In case there should be an uprising, are you afraid the Russians will intervene as they did in Hungary in 1956 and in Czechoslovakia in 1968 ?

Moczulski: The Polish government is spreading this very story in the West, particularly in the United States and in the FRG. It says that an uprising is imminent and that the Russians would intervene with armored units in case it took place. This, it says, could have catastrophic consequences not only for Poland, but for the whole world. The Polish army and the population would certainly fight against the Russians. Logic therefore requires the West to extend even more economic help to Poland. But this line of argument is politically faulty. The fact is that the Russians do not need to bring armored forces into Poland; they have been stationed inside the country since the end of the war. The Russians have no economic or political interest in military intervention, at least given the present situation. They need a respite now in order to deal with their own national, social and domestic problems. They are involved in all of the Asian conflicts-- in Afghanistan, in China, Vietnam, Korea, Cambodia, Iran etc. They need to have peace and quiet in Europe. There is a great deal to lose here. But, if there should be a Soviet military intervention, it will have a bloody and tragic ending-- not only for Poland.

PROFIL: Is there any other way open to the Russians to control the situation in Poland aside from using tanks and intervening militarily ?

Moczulski: Of course. The Polish CP is the surest instrument of Russian control over Poland. In a sense, Russian reaction to the strike wave in Poland has been evolving for several months. Thus, official circles are now discussing the possibility of legalizing the strikes. The Russians, that is, have learned in the meantime that liberalization is more likely to produce results than military intervention.

PROFIL: Do you mean to say that further strikes may actually bring about a significant democratization ?

Moczulski: Yes, and this we consider to be our most important task. We must force the rulers to yield in those fields which are of the greatest use to the people. I am certain, for example, that censorship in Poland will be abolished in the coming months. Our most important aim, however, is to set up independent works councils in all factories. Ultimately, there should be a network of independent labor unions in Poland. That is, as I mentioned before, our way of making a "revolution without revolution."

PROFIL: Recently, there has been talk of a young generation in Poland. The names of Olszowski, Zabinski, Kurowski, Ciosek are being mentioned. Do they stand a chance of taking over the posts of the present party leaders ? Can they bring about any changes ?

Moczulski: First of all, this "young generation" is not all that young-- practically all of them are over 50. Even if they did assume power, they could not change anything. The main problem all East bloc countries face is that there are no young up-and-coming politicians. There are no real personalities, due in no small measure to faulty, communist education. Every Polish prime minister invariably turned out worse than his predecessor. Compared to his two predecessors, the present one appears ridiculous. Every succeeding party chief turns out to be more of a political primitive. Edward Gierek, the present one, is no more than a civil servant, who does not have the faintest notion of politics.

PROFIL: Are there any real personalities among the opposition ?

Moczulski: The opposition consists almost entirely of real personalities. But in the present situation, there is no point in coming up with personality alternatives. Things have not progressed that far as yet.

PROFIL: What are the prospects for the immediate future of Poland ?

Moczulski: It will be a hot autumn. The strike wave will spread. If the government yields by moving toward democratization, economic conditions will also begin to improve. We know that we have to tighten our belts. We are prepared to do so because it needs to be done. But the price we ask is democratization.

PHOTO CAPTIONS

1. P 27. Opposition leader Moczulski (below with Polish dissidents: "The Communist Party of Poland is an instrument of Russian domination.")

9478
CSO: 2300

ITALIAN CP OFFICIAL STRESSES COMMON VIEWS WITH RCP

Bucharest LUMEA in Romanian No 35, 28 Aug 80 p 8

[Interview with Giorgio Napolitano, member of the Direction and secretary of the Central Committee of the Italian Communist Party, by Florin Velcu: "The Romanian and Italian Communists Share Numerous Common Positions"]

[Text] [Question] During your visit to Romania you met with the secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party, the president of the Republic, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu. What can you tell us about this meeting?

[Answer] This meeting is part of a periodic exchange of information between our two parties. It was devoted, in particular, to international affairs and to the activities of the two parties. We noted a common concern for the threat which is being manifested to detente and peace while, at the same time, agreeing that the possibility of reducing tension has also appeared. We were in agreement on the need for initiatives, for a movement of opinion in favor of an East-West dialogue which would promote the solution of serious problems which remain open and serve as causes of tension and conflict, which cannot help but alarm us today.

[Question] We would like you to discuss RCP-PCI [Italian Communist Party] relations, a topic discussed during the talks.

[Answer] These relations have been very cordial for a long time and the meeting with Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu represented a confirmation of their excellent status. Our party and the Romanian Communist Party have taken similar positions--for example, when we considered that the Paris Conference was insufficiently prepared for and not organized in a satisfactory manner and we decided not to participate in it; at the same time, the two parties stressed that participation or failure to participate in a meeting does not and should not influence relations among communist parties. I believe, in this sense, that relations between the Italian communists and the Romanian communists are developing in a positive way because the two parties feel, to the same extent, the need to act outside all rigid schemes for the relaunching of detente. There has been intense international activity on the part of the PCI and, as always, there has been intense international activity

on the part of the RCP and on the part of President Nicolae Ceausescu, personally. He has had numerous meetings and contacts with representatives of various movements, parties and governments.

[Question] How do you characterize relations between our states, Romania and Italy?

[Answer] It seems to me that, in general, interstate relations, economic, commercial and cultural relations between Italy and Romania can be evaluated positively and I would like to point out an interesting fact. Recently, the secretary of the Christian Democratic Party and a delegation from this party and also the secretary of the Italian Socialist Democratic Party were in Romania to meet with Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu. We view this as positive, regardless of the political differences which our party has at this time with the Christian Democrats and with the Socialist Democratic Party; we are clearly in favor of the developing of all useful contacts for a policy of better understanding between Italy and Romania and, in general, for a policy of detente.

[Question] A final question: What is the position of the PCI toward the coming meeting in Madrid?

[Answer] We consider that this meeting has profound significance and that its importance and value might exceed all expectations because it is taking place at a time of very serious international tension. We believe that great attention should be given to the orientation of the proceedings of the Madrid meeting; that it is necessary, in particular, that there be a correct defining of its mission so that a rush of too many topics and too many demands can be avoided. At the same time, I must note that a topic of great importance, in connection with which the meeting can serve as the occasion for very very useful discussions, is the subject of disarmament, of negotiations for the reduction of arms in Europe. We know that at the present time, a dangerous escalation of the nuclear arms race is going on in Europe; this tendency must be blocked and the path to negotiations must be opened up, especially in the matter of the so-called "European strategic weapons" or "European missiles." Therefore, we will work so that the Madrid meeting will make a concrete contribution in this area.

CSO: 2700

CONSEQUENCES OF POOR TRAINING OF WORKERS EXAMINED

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 13, 5 Jun 80 pp 14-18

[Article by Andrei Gutan, sociologist at the Knitwear Industry Central]

[Text] The unprecedented powerful increase in our country's production forces, naturally, has great social implications, bringing profound changes to the structure of society. The massive investments made for the accelerated development of industry, transportation, agriculture and services are bringing the continual redistribution of the labor force between the basic branches of the economy as well as between the various branches and subbranches of industry. In such a vital context, a true "hunger" for a labor force with appropriate qualifications has been demonstrated and, in turn, this has caused the creation of varied forms of vocational training, starting with the higher educational institutions, specialized high schools and vocational schools and ending with the qualification achieved in the enterprises.

From the start it should be stressed that through the variety of training forms we are seeking to satisfy the many objective demands raised by economic life. This means adopting flexible methods and forms for training the worker personnel which answers the specific demands of everyday activity as fast and as well as possible.

Although in recent years great strides have been made in the direction of qualification for the labor force, a series of data resulting from the sociological investigations which I have made show that one of the important forms of vocational training, that is, the qualification achieved in the enterprise, does not in all cases correspond to current demands. And this is both with regard to the organizational framework as well as acquiring of the knowledge needed for the good development of production activity. This statement in particular has in view some branches and subbranches of light industry.

Wtih regard to the consequences, they have repercussions on the rapid integration of the new employees in the labor collectives and also on the stability of the worker personnel, thus causing disturbances in the enterprises' economic activity as well as large material losses.

I shall attempt to provide arguments for what has been stated above, proceeding from a concise examination of the content of the training and ways by which the qualification of worker personnel in the enterprises is carried out.

Defects in Training--A Source of Problems

The first aspect I am subjecting to attention is the quality of training for the new employees with regard to mastering the knowledge they need with a view to carrying out production activities. (In order to understand the following correctly and to clearly define the area of investigation, I must specify that the qualification in enterprises is for those categories of worker personnel whose training generally is between the 4th and 10th grade, excluding the graduates of the first step of the specialized high schools, and those who have not followed any other form of vocational initiation outside the enterprises.)

In 1979 I did research on labor force mobility; one of the variables under which the problem was analyzed was precisely school and vocational training. Approached from this perspective, the structure of the labor force analyzed is presented in this way*:

Table 1

Training	4th grade	7th-10th grade	Vocational school	High School	Post-high school	Higher Studies	TOTAL
%	12.2	67.9	9.4	9.3	.7	.5	100.0

(High school means any type of high school--general culture or specialized--while the category of 7th-10th grades means the general culture high school.)

The above table permits several important findings with direct implications for the enterprises' activity. The first finding is that the greatest portion of worker personnel--that is, 80.1 percent--is qualified in the enterprises. From here we see very clearly the special importance which must be given to this system of training.

A second finding is the fact that 12.2 percent of the personnel I have included in the research have school training of up to 4th grade, while the 67.9 percent actually includes the category of training between 4th and 7th grades, also. Thus, we have the conclusion that a rather large portion of worker personnel do not have a sufficient stock of general cultural knowledge when they come to the enterprise. Under these conditions, the later vocational training of these people in the enerprise will take place with difficulty, particularly if we bear in mind that, besides gaining certain knowledge and practical habits, the educational programs include the assimilation of theoretical concepts.

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* The figures refer to the 7,384 workers in enterprises belonging to the Ministry of Light Industry.

This is because it is well known that the general level of training for students directly affects the level and quality of any instructional-educational process.

Especially under conditions of the current rapid technical progress, the lack of general cultural knoweldge hinders assimilation of educational programs specific to the qualification in various trades. One of the direct consequences of such a situation is the slow integration of the new employee in the labor collective, marked by difficulties in adaptation or even failure to integrate, given the fact that the result of poor vocational training is failure to fulfill the production quotas, with direct consequences not only on the individual wage but also on that of the colleagues, due to extension of pay by the job. Inevitably, these aspects unfavorably influence the interhuman relationships in the labor collectives (relationships between members of the labor collective, between heads and subordinates and so forth).

Proceeding from these types of findings, one may explain why, for example, the indicator of intensity of departures from the enterprises is 7.4 percent, while the indicator of intensity of actual fluctuation is 8.9 percent. The laborious development of the very process of integration as well as the various demonstrations of phenomena of lack of integration or even of rejection of the individual by the labor collective result from the analysis of seniority of the persons moving in the enterprises:*

Table 2:

Seniority in the enterprise	1-3 months	4-6 months	7-12 months	1-3 years	4-6 years	7-10 years	More than 10 years	TOTAL
%	20.3	16.1	14.2	26.0	12.1	6.2	5.1	100.0

Thus, a simple calculation shows that 50.6 percent of the total persons moving leave the enterprise before fulfilling 1 year of activity, while 76.6 percent leave the enterprise before fulfilling 3 years of activity.

But the poor vocational training is merely one of the causes for fluctuation of the labor force, also being added to this certain organizational defects, such as the nonexistence of specialized personnel in certain cases (sociologists and psychologists) who would carry out the orientation and vocational selection of the workers depending on their aptitudes, the lack of specialized apparatuses needed to test the worker personnel, poor exactingness from some of the ones appointed to head the vocational training in the enterprises or to certify the quality of the qualification obtained. It is graphic that, due to the fluctuation of the labor force, the 32 enterprises involved lost more than 34 million lei in a single year.

As a result, one may state that, at least in some sectors of activity, worker personnel are not being selected, guided and trained so that each worker

* The situation refers to the 32 enterprises mentioned.

can cope with the production tasks under good conditions. Sometimes, even when the decision-making factors in the enterprises realize that the ones coming to be hired for certain jobs do not have either the training or aptitude for that vocation, they still decide to accept and qualify them by virtue of the principle that "no matter what, a job cannot remain unfilled."

But what happens in the case of hiring a worker for a job that does not correspond to his training and aptitudes? I will take into consideration a hypothetical situation, in the end examining the effects of the way to proceed in the selection and training of cadres.

So a job was filled and, thus, at least theoretically, it is possible for the plan distributed by the particular equipment to be fulfilled; a man received a job with which itis supposed beforehand he will cope ; a worker will be qualified and will enjoy all the rights due him in relation to the quantity, quality and social importance of the work done. As a result, an economic, legal and political act was undertaken consciously in full agreement with the legal and human laws fof our socialist society.

However, what are the consequences in case the labor force does not correspond qualitatively? A job was held by a man lacking the necessary qualification and aptitudes and who would have been much more suited to another job or another enterprise; as a result, the plan distributed by the equipment in the case will be fulfilled rarely and, in particular, with difficulty (from the viewpoint of physical as well as mental effort); distribution (pay)--since it is carried out according to the quantity, quality and social importance of the work done--is changed into a disadvantage, since the worker's earnings will be affected; the enterprise will have the average planned number of workers covered only in writing, but it becomes doubtful whether it will succeed in fulfilling all the plan indicators. In addition, besides the irrational use of the labor force, the enterprise will spend money to qualify them (and not always with the efficiency anticipated) and for raw material from which it does not have the guarantee that the result will be quality products and so forth. Really, in such a situation, can one speak of an economic, legal and human act useful to someone?

If we add to the above the consequences resulting on the personal, individual level, for most of the people employed in jobs for which they do not have the aptitude, the conclusion is clear. It is not accidental that the phrase "the appropriate man in the appropriate job" has become so accepted.

There is another aspect, too. The enterprises rarely have important and multilateral information available on the human factor, information, of course, chosen in an organized and systematic way. I have in mind a type of information other than that encountered in the personnel offices or the public organizations, that is, information of this kind: the sociovocational structure of the personnel, degree of integration into the labor collectives, the int rhuman relationships in the collectives, the formal and informal circulation of information, the sociovocational path (evolution of the worker personnel and so forth, information which cannot be collected without the aid

of specialized personnel, that is, sociologists and psychologists. Such information is indispensible to a thorough knowledge of the problems specific to the human element, while the lack of it brings out the failure of decision-making factors in the enterprises, centrals and ministries to understand the real importance of the problem of the qualification and most efficient possible use of the labor force, in the end their being the producer of material goods.

Whereas theoretically noone disputes the importance of the human factor, actually the attention of many enterprise leaders is directed predominantly toward technical production problems and only tangentially to the psychosocial problems in the labor collectives. In some cases it is simply incomprehensible how a unit leader who turns off a light he finds burning in vain, rightfully thinking of the money being thrown away, does not undertake anything even if millions of lei are wasted each year because the labor force is accepted, guided and trained inappropriately. While in the cases where there is some concern with such problems, often they try to solve them by resorting to personnel from other specialties (engineers, economists and so forth), if there are no psychologists or sociologists, who carry out improvised activities of ergonomy,psychotechnics, psychology, industrial sociology and so forth).

Fluctuation--Effect and Cause

Sometimes it is thought that the ones moving generally are the less serious people, a reason causing their "pilgrimage" from one enterprise to another. What is more, sometimes included in this category are nearly all categories of workers who leave the enterprises. There is nothing more mistaken than this view. And, yet, most times the true ones who fluctuate are not separated from the mass of workers who, for one reason or another, a well-founded reason, leave the enterprise. With a view to facilitating the deepening of the phenomenon, several theoretical definitions and definitions of terminology are required, even at the risk of a somewhat more didactical approach.

The first term which must be taken into consideration is "the movement of personnel" or "mobility of personnel," by which we mean any movement of personnel: entrance, exit, change in job within the same enterprise, regardless of whether it means a change in that person's sociovocational status. Thus, in this case, the implications at the macrosocial level do not enter the sphere of concerns.

The second term is "normal movement of personnel," which has in mind changes in the job--either motivated socially or representing the results of objective conditions. It is a matter of those persons who leave the enterprise for reasons such as the interruption of activity for child care, military service, retirement, transfer in the interest of the job, reduction in activity, deaths.

The third term, "actual fluctuation," means a change in the job within the

same enterprise (internal fluctuation[1]) or even a change in enterprise--a spontaneous, unforeseen change with negative consequences for the industrial unit and often for the individual. Included in this category are those persons leaving the enterprise as a result of cancellation of the work contract due to absences without leave or other disciplinary deviations, transfer upon request, carrying out criminal punishments and so forth.[2]

Yet, it should be stressed that the fluctuation of personnel is the result of a series of factors which depend either on the individual or the enterprise. The direct cause depending on the individual, generally, is his failure to achieve on the vocational, personal and social level, failure to fulfill the production quotas and, thus, reduced pay, conflicting states which may appear in some labor collectives and so forth. Many psychosociological analyses, unfortunately, stop here, feeling that these reasons are enough to explain the behavior of the fluctuating worker. But a more profound study of these aspects leads to the conclusion that, at least partially, there is a "cause of causes" and that is the insufficient degree of instruction and education.

It is true that there is a great variety of reasons calling those who leave an enterprise, but they are not always the real reasons for departure of the fluctuating workers. In many cases we must cope with a "masked" fluctuation also to a great extent caused by inappropriate vocational training. We feel that these aspects are of particular interest for the administrative and political leaders of the production units.

In the 32 enterprises where I did my investigations, the structure of normal departures were as follows:

Table 3

Reason	Interruption for child care	Military service	Retirement	Transferred in interest of job	Reduction of activity	Deaths	TOTAL
%	53.5	8.4	11.3	22.4	3.7	0.9	100.0

Theoretically, the reasons in Table 3 are justified socially, with the legislation in effect providing certain duties for the enterprises with regard to these categories of worker personnel. However, some graphic findings result from the practice of industrial sociologists.

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1. We do not have available data on internal fluctuation, because, due to the nonexistence of specialists in social problems, nobody in the enterprises has records on this kind of personnel movement.

2. Details on reasons in specialized literature is done depending on the goals sought and thoroughness of the analyses. For example, the following reasons are provided in the work "Fluctuation of the Labor Force" (editor, Dr Honorina Cazacu), Scientific and Encyclopaedic Publishers, 1979, page 61: 1) Transfer on these persons' initiative; 2) Firing; 3) Cancellation of labor contract on the enterprise's initiative.

Sometimes some persons' reasons (for example, leaving the enterprise to care for children) corresponds to the facts. Sometimes such a justification is supported by the person's real wish to find another job, while the reason is based on the legal provisions which require the enterprise to rehire him in case he requests it. As a result, if he does not find a more convenient job, he may return to his initial activity at any time.

Another finding refers to the exaggerated percentage of transfers in the interest of the job (22.4 percent of the total normal departures of personnel). Actually, what is hidden under this means of leaving the enterprises? Does the large number of these transfers, in proportion to the needs for the labor force, justify such a percentage? The truth is that often the transfers in the interest of the job hide certain conflicting aspects between some of the workers and enterprise leaders, with the latter ridding themselves of the "undesirables" in this way. Thus they resort to a "little way out" which is convenient for both parties.*

Proceeding from the sociological research I have done, one may maintain that we again find the insufficient level of vocational training in the "subtext" of the various conflicting situations, to which we add some organizational problems. And it is clear that conflicting reasons which would cause so many personnel to leave cannot exist where the labor process is taking place under normal conditions.

Especially since the insufficient vocational training is an important reason for the actual fluctuation. In this case, the reasons for leaving are structured as follows:

Table 4:

Reason	Absence without leave	Request for transfer	Firings	Criminal penalties	Other disciplinary deviations	Other reasons	TOTAL
%	53.7	8.4	33.6	0.9	3.0	0.4	100.0

Without going into detail, we note the large number of cancellations of work contracts due to absences without leave (53.7 percent of total persons moving) as well as firings (33.6 percent of total). At the same time, given the high percentage of persons moving up to 30 years old (around 80 percent), one may deduce that among the causes for this situation are insufficient adaptation and failure to respect work discipline by a rather large portion of the employed youth as well as their failure to know the legal means for leaving the enterprise.

Particularly in youth from the rural areas who come to train in industry do we encounter such educational shortcomings, sometimes grafted on the feeling of vocational lack of achievement as a result of insufficient qualification.

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* Sociologist Aurel Musat, following research done at the Tricodava Enterprise in Bucharest, also reached similar findings.

Youth and trade union organizations do not always make efforts to know and solve the problems specific to this catetory of worker appropriately in order to assure them continual education and vocational advanced training so that they gain new knowledge and habits for disciplined work in accordance with the requirements of activity in an industrial enterprise.

Yet, regardless of what means, why do such a large number of young workers leave the enterprises? Of course, some have well-founded reasons--changing their residence, marriage, leaving for studies, child care and so forth. However, others--by no means a negligible portion--leave the enterprise because they are dissatisfied with their vocational achievement, the earnings they receive and the work climate.

Proceeding from the real premise of the existence of almost unanimous wish of the youth to be employed in work and assert themselves vocationally and socially, the investigations I made, in agreement with other research of this type, show that the absence of such elements of satisfaction cause the desire of the youth to leave the enterprises. One of the most effective ways to approach and solve youth problems is precisely to improve the system for training and qualifying them within the enterprises. It is not an accidental finding that 80.1 percent of those moving have inappropriate vocational training. Sociologist Aurel Musat arrives at a similar conclusion in the research I mentioned earlier: "Their vocational training (of the youth--editor's note) being poor, they arrive at poor achievements in production with conflicts and dissatisfaction due to reduced pay and, in the end, they move." In the same regard, we observe in another work: "It is clear that the representative type of actual person moving in this situation is the young, unqualified worker."[1]

Thus, we have reconfirmed the conclusion that the main reason for the fluctuating behavior, particularly of youth, is poor quality in the vocational training taking place in the enterprises.

Quality of the Labor Force and Economic Efficiency

Examination of the listing of trades[2] in which workers are trained through courses for qualification in the enterprises leads to certain considerations connected with what was stated earlier. Naturally, under conditions of the progress recorded by all degrees of education in recent years, in accordance with the provisions of the listings, the minimum level of school training required for admittance to courses for qualification organized in the economic units is 8th grade. The relatively recent generalization of 10th-grade education will make it necessary to raise this minimum level in the future.

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1. "Fluctuation of the Labor Force" (editor, Dr Honorina Cazacu), Scientific and Encyclopaedic Publishers, 1979, p 66.

2. Listing of trades attached to Ministry of Education and Instruction Order 6011/1978.

Just as for other industrial branches, the listing provides only those trades in which only those who have completed at least the 8th grade for light industry, also. But, as I was able to determine during the research carried out in the 32 enterprises of the Knitwear Industry Central, there are rather broad categories of worker perosnnel who request a job, although they possess a school training below the level of the minimum requirements imposed by the listing. What really happens with this category of applicant ?

Within the limit of available places, they are employed either as unqualified workers or in order to be qualified in less demanding trades. It is normal for it to be like this, even if the legal framework is exceeded in this way. However, how is this matter actually being carried out? Let us suppose that a person who graduated from the 6th grade, for example, requests a job in light industry. The acute need for the labor force almost in itself suggests a solution: The applicant is permitted to be qualified in the enterprise in the trade of a textile spinner precisely because this trade does not appear on the list. In this way the letter of the law is respected but, however, not also the spirit of the law.

A problem of principle arises here. In light industry, as in other branches as well, there is a great demand for labor force with a better and better qualification. For that reason, without lowering the requirements no matter how little, it is necessary to find the most appropriate means of selection, guidance and vocational training. Added to this is the need to use forms and means for flexible and differentiated qualification in agreement with the requirements of modern industry but also with the applicants' school training.

There is no single means for training for various trades. In some enterprises there is a school workshop, in others there is an aggregate school and there also is the rather widespread practice of assigning the new employees to a vocationally well-trained worker with seniority in the enterprise and one who, "it is supposed," possesses teaching skills.These forms for qualification which are so diverse natrually raise some questions: Which of these means really is the best? And if one proves to be the most effective, why is it not being generalized?

The various consequences of shortcomings in the training and rational use of the labor force are encountered on the common platform of large material losses. As I showed, the fluctuation of the labor force from the 32 enterprises which were the subject of analysis brought losses of more than 34 million lei in a single year. The losses due to failure to fulfill the production quotas by a portion of the worker personnel as a result of inappropriate qualification is not known, losses which, regardless of the amount, should closely concern those whose duty it is to assure maximum efficiency of economic activities.

It is unquestionable that the scientific substantiation of decisions regarding the recruitment, qualification and integration of the labor force involves an interdisciplinary approach to the entirety of psychosocial problems in the

enterprises on the basis of systematic research which provides the most faithful possible picture of socio-human relations correlated with the requirements for assuring minimum efficiency of production. Only such a total approach carried out with means of research specific to the area investigated permits a multilateral and thorough knowledge of the numerous aspects involved, this also being the only rational means for correcting some inappropriate states of affairs.

Extrapolating on a broader plane, I feel that with relatively small material efforts it would be possible to organize a network of laboratories of psychosociology, offices for school and vocational guidance not only in the enterprises but also in the educational units and in the labor force directorates and offices. In this way conditions could be created so that the selection, guidance and vocational reorientation as well as knowledge of human problems in all their complexity and profundity correspond fully to the technical and social progress characteristic of our society.

8071
CSO: 2700

BRIEFS

BANI-SADR CONGRATULATES CEAUSESCU--To His Excellency Mr Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania. On the occasion of Romania's liberation anniversary, I take pleasure in conveying to your excellency my warmest congratulations, as well as wishes for personal happiness and for continuous prosperity for the Romanian people. With greatest consideration, [signed] Abol Hasan Bani-Sadr, president of the Islamic Republic of Iran. [Text] [AU270944 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 25 Aug 80 p 5]

KARMAL GREETS CEAUSESCU--To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania. On the happy occasion of Romania's national day, I take great pleasure in extending our sincere and cordial congratulations to you, dear comrade, to the RCP, the government and the fraternal Romanian people on behalf of the Central Committee of the Democratic People's Party of Afghanistan, the Revolutionary Council and the people of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. I am convinced that fraternal relations, friendly ties and cooperation between our parties and peoples will continue to develop and strengthen in the interest of our countries and of peace in the world. Dear comrade, please accept my wishes for personal happiness and for new successes and prosperity to the friendly people of the Socialist Republic of Romania. [Signed] Babrak Karmal, secretary general of the Central Committee of the Democratic People's Party of Afghanistan and president of the Revolutionary Council and prime minister of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. [Text] [AU280923 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 26 Aug 80 p 3]

CSO: 2700

ORIGINS OF CURRENT SOCIAL CONFLICTS ANALYZED

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1536, 8 Jun 80 pp 18-20

[Article by Milan Milosevic: "Are We Afraid of Conflict?"]

[Text] Does the word "conflict" frighten us?

Even the most prodigious systems and ideologies of a conflict-free society cannot long conceal the differing interests of groups, individuals, nationalities, strata and classes. A concealed conflict usually ends in an explosion.

A society which sees human happiness as its long-term goal must see all the economic, historical and social differences that exist and detect the degree to which desires differ from possibilities and construct mechanisms for the expression and conflict of interests.

Rural and urban areas, the haves and the have-nots, the productive and the unproductive, the educated and the uneducated, the employed and the unemployed, nationalities, regions, and strata, those who have power and those who do not, peasant sandals and shiny street shoes, these are all potential sources of conflict.

Our society takes pride in having begun to build mechanisms in which all these differing interests, desires and possibilities will be expressed. But it should not stop even here; it is not enough for all these conflicts to merely express themselves freely and collide. It is also necessary to study their nature and patterns and possible origins.

On the Dynamics of Political Bureaucracy

These are some of the points which were stressed at a forum organized last week by the Marxist Center of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia and the journal VIDICI [HORIZONS]. The topic was this: "Contradictions in Social Development and the Subjective Socialist Forces." One of the issues examined most frequently was the method of "managing the conflicts" which arise out of those contradictions.

As Dr Vucina Vasovic said in the debate, we lack both a developed theory of social conflicts and also a mechanism for managing conflicts. According to Vladimir Goati, one of the reasons is that we do not have a single good "panorama of the interests at play in Yugoslav society."

Zoran Vidojevic, who wrote the introductory address, attempted in some 80 or so typed pages to analyze the most acute contradictions of our social development.

Their source, he believes, is not the so-called "basic cell" of society, is not the organization of associated labor. The analysis should take as its point of departure the movement of surplus labor, the character of its use and distribution. The decisive centers of economic and political power are located outside these "cells."

"It is a question of domination by the political bureaucracy and technocracy in the system of expanded reproduction. This is the 'class formula' with which one can detect the essence of this process," Zoran Vidojevic writes.

Under present conditions the decisions on capital investment projects are not made by the producers, but by monopolistic power centers. Regional political exclusiveness results from the aspiration for complete economies in the republics and provinces; everyone would like to have everything.

Capacities of the same kind are duplicated, and relations of competition and exclusiveness (in production and distribution) are becoming stronger instead of establishment of associations and links.

The organization of labor has remained the same except for the increase in the number of supervisors, "industrial noncommissioned officers," in the production sector of the economy itself. The movement of specialists from production to nonproductive activities is becoming more intensive. Over the last 10 years the number of employees in the social services and government agencies has increased 55 percent, and in the financial sector it has increased even 82 percent!

The accelerated growth of the administration, Vidojevic says, corresponds to the ever greater governmentalization of production relations, the dependence of the productive sector of the economy on the sphere of government policy and on its own superstructure.

Under the real relations between the government and self-management, the state has up to now always been the stronger side. There is good reason to say, he says, that the contradiction between self-management and statism is being exacerbated more and more.

Neither centralistic nor decentralistic statism can resolve any of the most important issues of our society, neither the issue of relations among the

nationalities, nor achievement of equality and independence and authentic community spirit of the parts and the whole.

Conflicts Between the Workers and "Technostructures"

The political bureaucracy, Vidojevic says, is the strongest faction within the bureaucratic-technocratic groups because of its political power and governmental authority in the overall social framework. Below it on the ladder, according to his diagnosis, the conflicts between the workers who are the direct producers and the "technostructure," the managers and specialists in production organizations, are often very severe. However, the causes of these conflicts are very complex; they cannot be reduced to a set formula to the effect that self-management is being "usurped."

In the context of the erosion of the material foundation of self-management, uncertainty in the conduct of business, uncontrolled economic developments and the ever greater influence of the government and banking complex on the flows of reproduction, the "technostructure" is frequently unable to do what it is responsible for. Providing the resources for simple reproduction, paying high interest on credit, raising labor productivity, and technological progress--these things are all primarily in its "jurisdiction."

However, even when the technostructure consists of competent personnel and does not behave like a power over and above the direct producers, these conflicts occur. The workers, the direct producers, dissatisfied with their status, see the management team as principally to blame for the unfavorable or difficult situation even when the causes of that condition are largely, and not so rarely even primarily, of an external nature, Vidojevic says.

Stojan Tomic raised the question of how to explain, for example, the conflict or contradiction between man and things in certain socialist countries? How is socialism to be liberated so that in it things do not have greater importance or greater value than man? There is a certain logic here, Tomic says. A poor society does gravitate toward things, toward an abundance of things, which is not bad in itself. The rub comes when the pursuit of things becomes an end in itself.

Large Differences

Tomic drew attention to the conflicts that break out because of the uneven development from one place or community to another. When reduction of the differences is insisted on for 10, 20 and 30 years, but they increase, then this is certainly a contradictory situation. In this way utopias arise in the development of a society which wants to diminish differences: an illusion is created that it is possible to overcome them in 5, 10 or 15 years, but at certain points the differences are greater than before the war. The level of employment, for example, is 19-fold higher in opstinas at the top than in those at the bottom (2.64 percent in one and 51 percent in the other), and the illiteracy rate is sixfold higher in those at the bottom.

"It seems to me," says Vucina Vasovic, "that a highly contradictory situation prevails when we look at our aspirations, our goals and our real capabilities.

"For example, we set up a system of a very free articulation of interests and demands, this kind of system develops people's expectations, very high aspirations, expectations that the real situation can be rapidly altered through political activism, but the real possibilities do not allow this. The question is the extent to which this can be an additional cause of new contradictions and of an intensification of certain conflicts."

One of the important conclusions, it seems, is that self-management would remain imprisoned within the confines of bourgeois society if it were reduced solely to free expression and confrontation of all existing interests. The awareness of the essential goals of the community is also important.

At this point in the debate space was specifically devoted to the role of the vanguard or, as it is put, the "subjective forces"--the League of Communists, the trade unions, and the SAWP.

Group and Individual Egoism

These are the different paces gone through in the debate which concerned itself with many issues--from moral dilemmas (Manojlo Brocic: "I insist on the term 'morality' because this is precisely the self-liberation and the essentially human attribute by which one can recognize a socialism and communism that has a human face")....

... to dilemmas as to whether our self-management and life have not been excessively regulated.

In conclusion let something be said about the conflict of individual group and general interests. This conflict, it was said, finds its way even into the practical activity of political organizations. It is not an isolated phenomenon, Vidojevic said in his study, for certain political leadership forums to defend exclusively their own interests and the privileges they have acquired.

Group and private egoism penetrate even into the working class itself, into those parts of it which are in a more favorable position.

The problem of realizing the joint and truly general interests of the class and society as a whole is moving into the foreground of the topical issues of society and the realization of overall self-management. The forces tending toward exclusiveness and partialization are very strong. However, they are not anonymous.

These contradictions may become exacerbated and may result in a crisis of social development, he says. A crisis is not anything negative in and of itself. The essential thing is whether it creates the possibilities for a new step in development of the revolution.

7045
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END

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East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1815

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24 September 1980

EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1815

CONTENTS

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Briefs
Georgian Official [illegible] SSR 1

ALBANIA

Laxness in Protecting Cultural Monuments Criticized
(Alfred Kazanxhi; BASHKIMI, 29 Aug 80) 2

BULGARIA

Biographical Data on New Members of Academy of Sciences
(KHIMIYA I INDUSTRIYA, No 6, 1980)

Vandalism of Vending Machines, Phone Booths Noted
(Lyubomir Dashev, Radoslav Velikov; STURSHEL, 8 Aug 80).. 9

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Civil Defense Exercise Held at Agricultural Cooperative
(Josef Semerak; ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY, 1 Aug 80) 11

Briefs
'Anti-Alcohol Bill' Being Prepared 15

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Regulations on Leave, Passes Explained
(AR ARMEERUNDSCHAU, Aug 80) 16

July-August 1980 Double Issue of SED Theoretical Journal Reviewed
(Helmut Caspar; NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 11 Jul 80) 22

International Conference on Socialist Humanism Evaluated
(Gregor Schirmer; EINHEIT, Jul-Aug 80) 23

Warsaw Pact Peace Initiatives Reviewed, Evaluated
(Herbert Krolikowski; EINHEIT, Jul-Aug 80) 34

Trends, Successes of 'Socialist Way of Life' Assessed
(EINHEIT, Jul-Aug 80) 42

Effective Ideological Motivation, by Harry Nick
Differentiated Development, by Rudi Weidig

Advances in Public Health System Reviewed
(Werner Hering; EINHEIT, Jul-Aug 80) 63

Successful Development of Socialist Democracy Reviewed
(Gerhard Schulze; EINHEIT, Jul-Aug 80) 72

'Dialectic' of Social, Personal Freedom in Socialism Explained
(Various sources, various dates) 80

West German Commentary
Marxist Philosopher's Discussion, by Herbert Steininger

Social Science Teachers To Stress Dialectics, Class Morality
(Gerhart Neuner; EINHEIT, Jul-Aug 80) 92

Need for Intensified 'Homeland History' Study Discussed
(Willibald Gutsche; EINHEIT, Jul-Aug 80) 103

Wilhelm Pieck Youth College's Growing Importance Reviewed
(Klaus Boettcher; EINHEIT, Jul-Aug 80) 112

Summaries of Other Major 'EINHEIT' Articles
(EINHEIT, Jul-Aug 80) 120

HUNGARY

Minister Speaks on Simplification of Lawmaking
(NEPSZABADSAG, 13 Jul 80) 126

POLAND

Kolakowski Commentary on Dissidents, Socialist System Noted
(Leszek Kolakowski; LE SOIR, 22 Aug 80) 132

Dissident Publication Review of PPN's Four-Year Record Noted
(Tadeusz Taski; [illegible]NIK POLSKI, 19 Jul 80) 137

ROMANIA

Defense Minister Stresses Capability To Repel Aggressors
(Constantin Oiteanu; ANALE DE ISTORIE, Mar-Apr 80) 145

WW II Propaganda Activity of Romanian Communists in USSR Recalled
(Gheorghe Unc, Vladimir Zaharescu; ANALE DE ISTORIE, Mar-Apr 80) 146

YUGOSLAVIA

Law on Military Service Requirement
(SLUZBENI LIST SFRJ, 27 Jun 80) 149

BRIEFS

GEORGIAN OFFICIAL IN CSSR--A Soviet delegation led by N. Chitanava, deputy chairman of the council of ministers of the Georgian SSR, which is attending the Agrokomplex 80 agricultural fair in Nitra, was received on 21 August by Julius Hanus, deputy premier of the Slovak Socialist Republic. [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 22 Aug 80 p 2]

CSO: 2020

LAXNESS IN PROTECTING CULTURAL MONUMENTS CRITICIZED

Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian 29 Aug 80 p 2

[Article by Alfred Kazanxhi: "No Damage Should Be Allowed To Be Done to Cultural Monuments"]

[Excerpts] The state shows special interest in all monuments, taking a direct role in their protection. This protection was sanctioned by a decree issued in 1971. In addition to the people's councils which have the obligation to protect these treasures of our culture, the Ministry of Education has charged the school directorates with taking care of cultural monuments in their areas and being concerned with their upkeep, thereby correctly evaluating the problem of the protection of cultural monuments as a matter for the broad masses.

However, there are cases of indifference in regard to this treasure which we have inherited over the ages. There are many examples. The Naziresha mosque, a cultural monument of great value, has been restored in Elbasan. But if you were to see this monument today, you would see that it has been poorly kept up. The wall around the monument is broken, the windows are damaged. The state is spending money to preserve these treasures but indifferent individuals and evil-doers are taking materials from these restorations. But how does this happen when the executive committee of the people's councils of the district and of the quarter, in particular, are supposed to be taking care of this monument? The mozaic in front of the palace of sports in Durres City, for which considerable funds were spent in 1978, has been damaged again.

We know that all the damage is not done in 1 day. Any building, even a cultural monument, is damaged when no one shows any interest in its upkeep for a relatively long time. First, children play on it and then they throw things at it and the damage on a mass scale begins. Some chairmen of people's councils have an indifferent attitude. The chairman of the people's council in the Kala quarter of Elbasan allowed violations to occur in the area protected by the state and in the museum zone and the secretary of the people's council in the village of Cuke in Sarande District allowed a cultural monument to be destroyed. Often the people's councils do not report damage to monuments or when they do report it (often very late) it is hard to find the perpetrators.

There are people's councils which, when damage to monuments is discovered and they are called to account, justify themselves by saying: "We did not know that it was a cultural monument", even though every cultural monument is registered by the Institute for Cultural Monuments. There are laws dealing with the protection of cultural monuments and stipulating punishments for those who damage them.

CSO: 2100

BIOGRAPHICAL DATA ON NEW MEMBERS OF ACADEMY OF SCIENCES

Sofia KHIMIYA I INDUSTRIYA in Bulgarian No 6, 1980 pp 279-280

[Biographical data: "New Members of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences"]

[Text] At the session of the General Assembly of Academicians held on 28 and 29 November 1979 at the BAN [Bulgarian Academy of Sciences], elections were held for new members of the Academy according to the announced scientific areas. The following new academicians and corresponding members were elected in the area of chemistry: Academician Lyubomir Dimitrov Zhelyazkov, for medical chemistry; Academician Georgi Manuilov Bliznakov in general and inorganic chemistry, and Corresponding Member Yordan Petrov Malinovski, in the physical chemistry of photographic processes. Extensive material on the occasion of the 60th birthday of Academician L. Zhelyazkov was published in the journal KHIMIYA I INDUSTRIYA, No 1, 1979.

[Academician Georgi M. Bliznakov; by Senior Science Associate Dimitur Klisurski]

Academician Georgi M. Bliznakov is widely known among Bulgarian chemists and the Bulgarian scientific community for his diverse scientific research, teaching, scientific-organizational and social activities.

In world science, the name of Academician Bliznakov is linked with his original scientific research in three extremely important scientific areas: crystal growth, adsorption and catalysis, and inorganic synthesis. This research has been a very substantial contribution to explaining the influence of adsorption of impurities on the equilibrium form of crystals and on the formation of the crystal nuclei, to explaining the quantitative patterns of the effect of adsorption of foreign matter on the linear rate of crystallization, and to the development of the theory of epitaxial growth. Academician Bliznakov was the first to find the correct theoretical approach to a thermodynamic and thermodynamic statistical interpretation of the

effect of adsorption on crystallization processes. The equation derived by him expressing the correlation between the linear rate of crystallization and the concentration of the adsorbing substance has gained exhaustive experimental affirmation.

Extensive international recognition has also been given to his research on natural and synthetic adsorbents, their modification and the relationship between adsorption and a number of other basic physicochemical properties (dispersity, pore radius, biographic and induced heterogeneity, and conductivity). Very substantial have been the contributions of Academician Bliznakov and his coworkers in studying the catalytically active surface of metals, semiconductors and insulators, in explaining the kinetics and mechanism of industrially important catalytic reactions, in establishing the correlations between catalytic properties, dispersity, magnetic properties, conductivity, the correlation between the energy and nature of the bond of oxygen on the surface layer of oxide catalysts and their activity and selectivity in oxidation processes, and so forth.

We must also specially mention the extensive research on the synthesis of important materials for modern technology, and particularly the high-hardness borides, the low separating work of an electron, and other interesting properties.

The results of the designated fundamental research by Academician Bliznakov have been generalized in more than 200 original scientific works published in well-known Bulgarian and international publications. An expression of the international recognition has been the election of Academician Bliznakov as chairman of the International Committee for Boron and Borides, as a member of the International Council on Catalysis, and as an honorary member of scientific organizations abroad, as a member of the editorial staffs of well-known international and Bulgarian journals, the invitations to give lectures at Humboldt University in Berlin, Moscow State University and the Moscow Institute for Metals and Alloys, and so forth.

Upon the initiative and with the personal assistance of Academician Bliznakov, a number of original research methods have been worked out, original equipment designed, and a broad range of new modern experimental methods introduced in our research practices such as "Auger," which is spectroscopy which by electronic and ion methods stimulates desorption, and so forth.

Characteristic of the scientific creativity of Academician Bliznakov has been his constant and vital interest not only in the urgent problems of modern science, but also modern technical progress. Being one of the recognized representatives of the established and well-known school on the theory and experimental methods of crystal growth, he for the first time became the initiator of developing the methods and equipment for growing industrial monocrystals which are of primary importance for various areas of modern technology and industry.

Also linked to the name of Academician Bliznakov is the extensive application of improved methods for applying wear-resistant boride surfaces on hard-alloy cutting tools, and so forth. We must make special mention also of the methods developed under the leadership or with the personal involvement of Academician Bliznakov and in collaboration with Soviet scientific collectives for obtaining new highly active and highly selective catalysts for the industrial process of reducing methanol to formaldehyde; there is also the method developed in Bulgaria for preparing a catalyst for the complete reduction of hydrocarbons and carbon monoxide, an adsorbent for treating industrial water, and a number of other original applied developments.

Also indisputable is the contribution of Academician Bliznakov to the training of highly skilled personnel. Over the decades he has given basic and special lecture courses on general and inorganic chemistry, physical chemistry, kenetics and catalysis, and so forth. Under his leadership, a significant number of dissertation works has been defended, and research personnel has been trained and they are successfully at work on the modern problems of general and inorganic chemistry.

As the leader of many years of the Chair of Inorganic Chemistry at Sofia University, and the director of the Institute for General and Inorganic Chemistry from its inception, Academician Bliznakov has contributed greatly to the organization of these institutes and to raising the level of their academic, research and integrated activities. In addition, for several years Academician Bliznakov has been the chief scientific secretary of the BAN. We must also note his active social activities as the chairman of the Union for Chemistry and the Chemical Industry under the Central Council of the Bulgarian Scientific and Technical Unions.

The achievements of Academician Bliznakov in the development of our chemical science have been highly regarded by our government and society. Expression of this regard has been the awarding of high decorations, the presentation of the Dimitrov Prize for Science and the honorary title "Honored Scientist," as well as his unanimous election by the BAN General Assembly as academician for general and inorganic chemistry.

May we wish Academician Bliznakov good health and new creative accomplishments.

[Prof Dr Yordan Malinovski, corresponding member of the BAN, by Science Associate Kiril Petkov]

Malinovski was born in 1923 in Sliven. From 1949, he was a regular assistant at the Physics Faculty of Sofia University, from 1959, a senior science associate at the Institute for Physical Chemistry under the BAN, and from 1964, professor at the same institute. During this period for several years he was an instructor at the VIKhVP [Higher Food Industry Institute] in Plovdiv and on the Physical Chemistry Chair at the Physics and Mathematical Faculty of the Kl. Okhridski University of Sofia. He was a candidate of chemical sciences from 1958, and defended his doctoral dissertation in 1969. Since 1967, he has been the director of the Central Laboratory for Photographic Processes [TsLAFOP] under the BAN, and in 1979 was elected a corresponding member of the BAN.

While an assistant and a scientific coworker at the Physics Institute of the BAN, Prof Malinovski succeeded in obtaining significant results relating to the physical maturing of photographic emulsions and in showing that the sensitivity of photographic materials depends substantially upon the distribution of the latent image between the surface and the volume of the emulsion grains. This is known as the "method of differential developing" and up to now has been used by a number of firms which produce photographic materials (ORWO, AGFA) in order to give them physical characteristics. The emulsion developed at that time for X-ray paper has been produced in Bulgaria.

In the scientific activities of Prof Malinovksi, a particular place is held by model research on the mechanism of the elementary photographic process on the monocrystals of silver bromide. For this purpose he developed a method and equipment for direct synthesis and for drawing out these monocrystals. This method at present is widely used throughout the world for obtaining various high-purity, light-sensitive compounds. Devices were also developed for producing and applying impurities and for studying the influence of the additives on the creation of the latent image. In this method important questions related to the mechanism of action of the active components of photomaterials were elucidated.

A major accomplishment of Prof Y. Malinovski has been the experimental elucidation of the removal of photographic empty spaces in the silver halide crystals, as well as a theoretical elucidation of their role in the creation of the latent image. The research made it possible to supplement the theory of Gurney and Mott on the formation of the latent image. The original feature in the elaborated method was the combining of purely physical principles (the drawing of the photoholes to the surface through light and electric impulses) with methods known from photographic practices (the use of metal grains as powerful catalysts for the developing process). Using the described method, an integrated picture of the photographic process was created and this included also the participation of the photogenerated holes and presently known in the literature as a symmetrical scheme.

The contributions of Prof Y. Malinovski have been highly regarded and have been widely reflected in scientific literature (105 scientific publications and 16 patents).

Considering the long-range importance of this research for photographic practices, in 1967 the TsLAFOP was organized with Prof Dr Yordan Malinovski as its director. At present this laboratory is recognized as one of the world centers for photographic science.

In recent years the TsLAFOP has developed an original procedure for obtaining thin layers in a vacuum, and this opens up the path to developing photographic materials using a fundamentally new method, namely the evaporation of the light-sensitive substances. This research also throws light on the unknown mechanism of chemical sensitization and the process of development,

in proving that it begins with the rise and growth of a new phase from elementary silver which catalyzes the reduction process.

The new method also makes it possible to use silver-free compounds. It has a number of technical, functional and ecological advantages and leads to the surmounting of certain basic difficulties in handling the extreme separating power and is free of powder defects. One of the new photomaterials in terms of separating power exceeds all those previously known in the world with 1,000-fold greater sensitivity.

At present the TsLAFOP is organizing semi-industrial production of photographic plates with a high-separating power and is developing several variations of the plates for obtaining photopatterns in microelectronics.

On these problems it is collaborating with the institutes of the USSR Academy of Sciences, the GDR Academy of Sciences, with the Karl Zeiss Plant in the GDR, and the AGFA-Gevaert in the FRG.

In 1970, Prof Dr Y. Malinovski was awarded the Dimitrov Prize for Science for achievements in the area of the theory of the photographic process. In 1974, he received an award of the U.S. Society for Photographic Science and Equipment for the best work published in the society's journal, and in 1975 was elected a member of the society. In the following year, he was elected an honorary member of the Royal Photographic Society in Great Britain. In 1978, for his work on the mechanism of the developing of the photographic image of his graduate student Iv. Konstantinov, he was awarded the Egert Prize of the Swiss Federal Polytechnical School in Zurich.

Over the brief period since the creation of the TsLAFOP up to the present, seven scientific coworkers have defended their candidate dissertations under his leadership. There already is a Bulgarian school of specialists in the area of photographic science and equipment, and its representatives are invited as guests to give major papers at virtually all international undertakings in this area (Moscow, Dresden, Prague, Zurich, Munich, Paris, Rochester and Tokyo).

The election of Prof Dr Y. Malinovski as corresponding member is a recognition of his contributions to the development of photographic science.

10272
CSO: 2200

VANDALISM OF VENDING MACHINES, PHONE BOOTHS NOTED

Sofia STURSHEL in Bulgarian 8 Aug 80 p 3

[Article by Lyubomir Dashev and Radoslav Velikov: "How Long Are We Going To Be at the End of the Line"]

[Text] When any of our Bulgarian brethren would come back from wherever he had been, even from one of the neighboring Balkan countries, he would immediately start:

"Oh brother, where they are, and where we are! What a difference, how much more advanced they are! Unbelievable! You put the coin in the slot, press the button and out comes a full cup of coffee or cola. You push the button of another vending machine and out comes a newspaper. And there are others for cigarettes and even for stockings."

Such were also the words of a friend of ours who had invited us after his return from a prolonged business trip to one of the "top European" countries, as he himself put it. Raising his glass of whiskey, he said: "How long are we Bulgarians going to be at the end of the line? How long?"

We would like to remind people like that that in Bulgaria, even though it is a small country, we also have similar machines for measuring weight. We also have vending machines for coffee and juices in the center of Sofia next to the Students Club and in other places as well. Some newspaper vending machines also appeared. And even telephone books appeared in the telephone booths. But the way they appeared they shortly became unfit for their purpose, while the telephone books disappeared even in a shorter time than that.

We have witnessed tragic scenes in the evenings and at later hours in front of the vending machines next to the Students Club. Many people used their fists on the machines. Others used them for target practice. And still others put in them anything but coins and then wondered why the coffee was not coming out.

Other victims of abuse today still are the automatic telephones. Quite often the diaphragms of the receivers and the wires are missing. It would be no exaggeration to say that quite often we find telephone booths completely stripped. And we still find artists who love to leave their marks on the walls. The seats in the buses, the public toilets and many, many other places abound with graffiti as well.

And we should not be surprised that so many of the cafes and pastry shops need frequent renovations. The reupholstery of the chairs is usually ruined in no time!

Reading these lines somebody would probably smile skeptically and say that we have written many times about similar things and that writing would not help. We should probably impose fatter fines for the violators, and reimbursement for damages and it would not be a bad idea to print their names in the press.

In other words, nobody likes to be at the end of the line. And our Bulgarian brethren should keep their eyes more widely open next time they go abroad.

1010
CSO: 2200

CIVIL DEFENSE EXERCISE HELD AT AGRICULTURAL COOPERATIVE

Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 1 Aug 80 supplement NAS DOMOV pp 2,3

[Article by Josef Semerak "Strike Above Manin"]

> [Text] The meeting in the cultural center of the Mestecko Unified Agricultural Cooperative was for a while transformed into an operations room for the civil defense staff of the agricultural facility. The cadastral map was still clean, as clean as the countryside below Makyta, Portas, below Manin and above the dam. Local eyewitnesses talk in terse sentences of people's heroism in World War II. It swept through this virgin land like a tornado, leaving horror and pain in its wake...

Engineer Zezula chairman of the Peace Unified Agricultural Cooperative in Mestecko, is bending over the carefully assembled documentation spread over the work table. He is as serious as he is in consultations regarding the tasks of the cooperative which has its facilities spread over six neighboring communities in very complex natural and economic conditions. Its narrowly specialized production concentrating on bulk fodder, meat, milk and wool keeps him busy full time. After all, the cooperative has currently 120 million in assets. The cooperative's 835 workers, whose average age is 38 years, stand witness to the fact that it is a highly prosperous cooperative from which young people do not flee to the city. There are actually quite a few young people on the farms and they like their work. Even the management is young. As the chairman, Engineer Zezula, stated: "We have a cooperative with advanced cadre and a good operational base..."

Faces of the members of the training staff betray suspense, concentration and a bit of stage fright. All of them, comrades Janovec, Kozacik, Jurzik, Engineer Tucka and others prepared themselves thoroughly for this exercise. They would meet after work, mutually coordinate their respective roles, practice their functions in order to present a demonstration for the participants and prove to themselves that they had mastered the complex problems of defending their facilities and stood ready to defend what they had built with their own hands.

The topic presented by the commentator gives an indication of what this exercise can grow into: Activities of the civil defense staff of an agricultural facility during a nuclear attack...

"Air-raid alert!" reports the telephone operator to the staff. The commandant, Engineer Zezula, orders checking the dissemination of the signal to all facility components, specifies the staff members' activities, issues instructions. The faintly recalled sound of sirens reverberates through the communities as it used to a long time ago... Groups of inhabitants head for the shelters. Feverish work on reinforcement of agricultural installations, stables and parturition stalls goes on. Windows and gates are lined with compressed straw, tar paper, boards... Fodder is stored and covered... protective measures for water... protection of finished products ready for storage... We observe the members of the cooperative at the farm in Luky pod Makytou. They work with devotion, conscious of their tasks, duty, hours and minutes that remian till the order is carried out.

The anticipated radiation and chemical hazard is now expressed in a radiation alert. A nuclear "hit" somewhere in Moravia and its radioactive cloud is now "spreading through the Vah River valley over the Javorniky Mountains." The staff adopts new measures.

During radioactive contamination, orders are issued by Engineer Karol Krsko, the head of the farm in Luky. Clean areas with modern technical equipment for housing animals, silos, agricultural buildings are partially sealed. Access and evacuation routes made of prefabricated concrete disappear in their steep ascent. An improvised filtrating ventilation system supplies fresh air for animals.

By then there arrives a patrol car with its crew wearing protective clothing against chemicals; they measure the radiation level, stake out contaminated areas... A fire broke out at the lower part of the farm... It is liquidated in several minutes by a crew of firemen who first evacuated women who suffered burns. The women are treated by the first aid crew... The air is filled with all sorts of activity occurring in succession at an incredible rate.

The sound of engines is heard from the lower gate. A unit for decontamination of the terrain arrives. A spraying car, an improvised road sweeper attached to a tractor. Radioactive slime flows from roadways into ditches. Passages are cleared. Spraying frames deactivate contaminated equiment...

But the most difficult phase of the exercise is only beginning: veterinary decontamination of animals. Sampling of fodder from troughs, water samples, samples of milk, blood, straw from stalls...

In the mobile PVL 4 veterinary laboratory, tasks were already assigned by Gabriela Vontorcikova, doctor of veterinary medicine. Just to make sure, Engineer Stanislav Marosz will analyze samples of toxic agents while

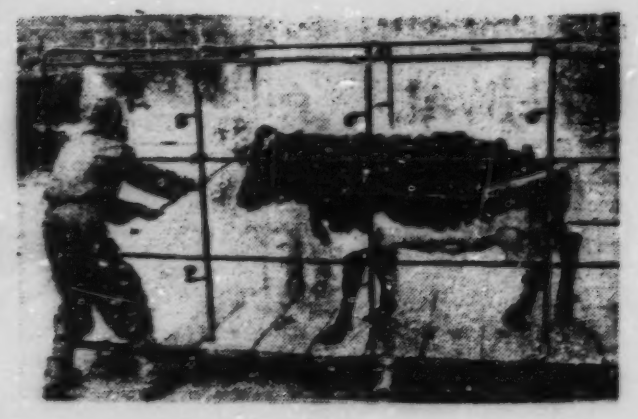
Doctor Vontorcikova will simultaneously determine the radioactivity of samples by means of a computer.

One milch cow after another is chased into a special cage equipped with jets to sprinkle contaminated animals with warm water to undertake decontamination. After a veterinary checkup the animals are led to an uncontaminated area.

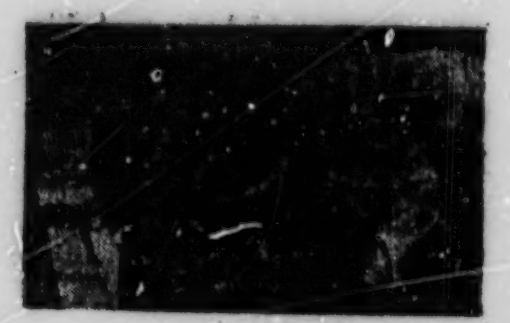
The statewide demonstration exercise at the Unified Agricultural Cooperative's civil defense in Mestecko lasted 2 whole days. For 2 days the inhabitants of the villages below steep slopes lived under extraordinary conditions. And if this particular exercise showed how to cope with keeping up agricultural production during nuclear attack, those 2 days were more than needed.

In the afternoon, members of the cooperatives set out for the fields.

A crew of firemen extinguishes a fire while wounded are treated by girls wearing dark clothing and protective masks.



Animal protection crew during decontamination of cows.



Veterinary Doctor Gabriela Vontorcikova checking with her colleagues in the mobile veterinary laboratory samples taken at agricultural facilities.

Overall view of the farm of the United Agricultural Cooperative in Luky under Makyta. Participants in the statewide demonstration exercise in front of a reinforced installation.

BRIEFS

'ANTI-ALCOHOL BILL' BEING PREPARED--Prague, 13 August--While in 1962 a total of 16 percent of all punishable offenses in the Czech Socialist Republic were committed while under the influence of alcohol, in recent years the role of alcohol in punishable activities has reached already 35 percent. The negative influence of alcoholism is particularly markedly manifested in road traffic--in the past 2 years intoxicated drivers have caused a death in roughly every 37th accident. Alcoholism is also one of the causes of absenteeism and frequent changing of jobs. It undermines work discipline, leads to labor accidents, divorces and so forth. The existing legal regulations have become outdated. They do not create sufficient scope for the protection of society against the consequences of improper consumption of alcohol and do not prosecute some of the new, nonalcoholic forms of toxocomania. For this reason a new draft bill is being prepared, which envisages--above all--central control of the protection against alcoholism and other toxicomanias, and sets concrete tasks for bodies and organizations. An important role will be played by the national committees, which will be authorized to establish special commissions to be their initiatory and control organs, headed by a national committee deputy. [CTK report: "For a More Efficient Combating of Alcoholism"] [Text] [AU181543 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 14 Aug 80 p 2]

CSO: 2020

REGULATIONS ON LEAVE, PASSES EXPLAINED

East Berlin AR ARMEERUNDSCHAU in German No 8, Aug 80 signed to press 2 Jun 80 pp 84-86

['Information' feature: "Leave and Off-Duty Time"]

[Text] We repeatedly receive letters from readers asking about provisions of the leave regulation (DV 010/0/007) which applies to the National People's Army, the Border Troops of the GDR and those members serving in the Civil Defense of the GDR. Below we offer a summary of the most important provisions about leave and off-duty time.

General Principles:

The following types of leave exist: ordinary leave, extended pass, pass, special leave as a reward and on special occasions and convalescent leave. The last of these is, as is time spent at spas, regulated by military provisions on health care. There exists a legal right to ordinary leave. No legal claim may be made to the other types of leave. They are — as noted in Number 4(2) — to be granted "with consideration of standing combat readiness." Leave planning on the whole must be based on the premise that standing combat readiness, guarding of the state frontier and assigned teaching and training goals are reached. As a rule no leave is granted prior to completion of basic military training.

Ordinary Leave

The amount of ordinary leave depends on service status. During his 18 months of obligatory service, the conscript soldier receives 18 days of ordinary leave, Sundays and legal holidays not counted. Warrant officer and officer cadets and students of higher military schools are entitled to 30 calendar days of leave including four Sundays and legal holidays per calendar year. For the year in which they are commissioned, cadets receive the same leave as limited service or career officers. Here provision must be made for their receiving at least two-thirds of their ordinary leave entitlement prior to reporting for troop service.

A soldier, noncommissioned officer [NCO], limited service officer, career NCO, warrant officer or career officer who voluntarily extends his term of service receives correspondingly more ordinary leave (see Table). In the call-up year this is computed proportionally beginning from the month during which active service begins. In the mustering-out year the same is done up to and including the month during which active military service ends. When length of service giving entitlement to increased leave is reached, it is granted fully from the calendar year during which conditions are satisfied.

Extended Pass

This is leave over the weekend together with one day of ordinary leave and normally begins on Friday after duty hours and ends on Tuesday before duty hours begin. It can also be granted over legal holidays. Soldiers in conscript service, NCO, warrant officer and officer candidates and cadets at higher military schools can receive VKU [extended pass]. All other comrades receive it only if they do not live in the garrison area and are thus not able to visit their place of residence daily. Officer candidates receive VKU once a quarter from Friday after duty hours to Wednesday before duty hours begin with three days of ordinary leave being charged. An exception is the quarter during which they take their ordinary leave. In addition they receive extended pass charged as one day of ordinary leave either for Easter (from Thursday after duty hours to Tuesday before duty hours begin) or for Pentecost (from Friday after duty hours to Wednesday before duty hours begin) or Christmas (from 23 December after duty hours to 28 December before duty hours begin) or for New Year's (from 30 December after duty hours until 4 January before duty hours begin).

Pass

This is also leave over the weekend or over legal holidays. It begins on Saturday after duty hours and ends on Monday before duty hours begin. If it is a pass over legal holidays, then it begins after duty hours on the day before the holiday and ends before duty hours begin on the day after the holiday or holidays. Pass can be combined with special leave granted as a reward.

Special Leave

This is nonscheduled leave either as a reward for outstanding achievements or for special occasions. Anyone granted special leave as a reward should receive the opportunity to take it immediately or within 30 calendar days. Sundays, legal holidays and days during which off-duty time is granted are not counted in this case.

What are special occasions which justify special leave?

They could be one's own wedding, the birth of a child, moving, [socialist] confirmation or marriage of one's own children as well as catastrophes hitting one's own household, severe illness or death of a spouse, children, parents or parents-in-law, brothers or sisters [or] daughters- and sons-in-law. There is special leave of two to five days in these cases. The same applies to preparing for or concluding a job contract or joining a socialist society in connection with impending discharge as well as preparing to begin higher or trade school education. If one of the circumstances noted here should arise during normal leave, the person in question can turn to the local senior officer. He is authorized to grant special leave in such cases. The leave certificate is accordingly extended by him and, at the same time, he undertakes to notify the person's unit. In addition, up to a total of five days of special leave per calendar year can be granted if:
(a) the spouse or a child belonging to the household is sick and care cannot be provided by other family members or other persons;
(b) the spouse is hospitalized and care or housing of the children cannot be done by other family members or other persons.

The actual circumstances must be verified by an official or medical certificate when applying for special leave or upon inquiry.

It goes without saying that special leave is only granted concurrently with the special circumstances. The nature of the case, the functions to be accomplished and the travel time are to be considered in establishing its length. Special leave of the type described here cannot be retroactively applied for.

Leave Planning

For soldiers doing their basic military service, leave is planned on the basis of the 18 months period but for all other comrades it is planned for one calendar year. An effort is made to see that soldiers doing basic military service can go on leave at least twice during a half-year, one leave for five consecutive days ordinary leave and one leave on extended pass. This can be for entire units from squad to company or also for individual members or border soldiers. Soldiers and limited service NCO's who are not able to visit their home daily should be given at least four leave trips within six months. If in such cases they receive more than three extended passes, all days except Sundays and legal holidays are charged as ordinary leave. At least six leave trips in a half-year under the same conditions are provided for limited service officers, career NCO's, warrant officers and career officers. If they receive more than five extended passes during this period, all days except Sundays and legal holidays are to be charged to ordinary leave.

Leave Request

Each leave is to be requested in the leave book up to five days before it is to begin. The applicant is to be notified as to approval or disapproval no later than three days before the leave is to begin.

Travel Time

In addition to soldiers in basic military service, warrant officer and officer candidates and cadets in higher military schools, all other comrades going on extended pass or pass can receive additional travel time if travel from the garrison to the place of residence and back is more than 12 hours. Either the beginning of the leave is advanced or [the time] is added to the leave and is established using timetables. Soldiers and limited service NCO's receive travel time six times in a calendar year while limited service officers, career NCO's, warrant officers and career officers receive it ten times.

Illness During Leave

Anyone becoming ill while on leave or who becomes unable to travel while proceeding on leave is to the doctor of the nearest NVA [National People's Army] or Border Troops facility. If he is unable to do this, he must contact the nearest facility and request a house call by a doctor. Only when neither of these is possible, can he resort to another doctor. In every case the illness is to be immediately reported to the local senior officer. He then informs the patient's formation or unit. Leave days lost are not charged to ordinary leave if the illness is certified by a doctor.

Leave for Reservists

There is no entitlement to ordinary leave during reserve military service. If such service lasts longer than three months, extended pass may be given once every two months. Pass is granted in accordance with the provisions already discussed. For a period of service up to three months reservists can, if the appropriate conditions exist, receive travel time twice and, in addition, once within two months.

Free Leave Trips

A certain number of free leave trips are available to all members of the armed forces for travel with the Deutsche Reichsbahn [GDR railroad] or by bus from the garrison or place of residence to a vacation spot in the GDR. Those not living in the garrison area receive four trips per calender year (soldiers doing basic military service receive a total of six during their 18 months of service). Those living in the garrison area receive one per year. Reservists on active duty for more than three months receive, if they do not reside in the garrison area, one free leave

every three months from the garrison to a vacation spot in the GDR. If the vacation is, with permission of supervisors, spent in other socialist countries, free travel to the corresponding GDR border railroad station can be provided. Second class military rail tickets are issued for free leave travel.

Fare Reduction

Use may be made of the conditions for purchasing commuter return tickets for leave travel with the Deutsche Reichsbahn. For this purpose the route is entered on the leave certificate. The leave certificate is good for a 75 percent reduction in purchasing second class tickets.

Duty-Free Time

This is a release from duty which is limited in time and established by supervisors. As a rule it is connected with permission to leave the garrison for a limited period of time. Duty-free time can be also granted in connection with extended pass or with a pass. Rules about duty-free days in border companies are not effected by this.

Anyone on duty for seven or more hours in order to accomplish leadership tasks, tasks and measures to maintain combat readiness and for the protection of military facilities, to accomplish training missions or to prepare for or accomplish planned political work tasks on Sundays or legal holidays can receive appropriate off-duty time. As a rule this is to be granted on another day of the following calendar week. For soldiers doing basic military service and limited service soldiers and NCO's, the rule applies only when they are assigned to units primarily having guard functions. Special rules apply to servicemen assigned to the duty system. These are established by the appropriate deputy ministers for national defense. NCO, warrant officer and officer candidates and cadets at higher military schools receive no duty-free time for duties performed on Sundays and legal holidays.

Duty-free time can also be granted to career NCO's, warrant officers and career officers to participate in training and examinations in correspondence or evening studies. The same applies to servicemen and border soldiers to accomplish state or social functions, particularly as deputies of elected people's representative bodies; however, in such cases accomplishment of duty tasks and combat readiness cannot be effected. Duty-free time is also given if a person is summoned to a court or a state investigative or control organ. It can also be requested if a five-day special leave to take care of sick family members is not sufficient and medical certificates are presented. But in such cases assistance from supervisors, local state organs, the local senior officer and also local social organs should be sought in order to find solutions that require either no or only very brief off-duty time.

For the realization of sociopolitical measures DV 010/0/007 also provides duty-free time for female members of our armed forces and for the spouses of career NCO's, warrant officers and career officers in so far as the last named have a higher requirement for ordinary leave. Space is not here sufficient to present a detailed exposition of these rules.

Explanation of Terms

Some important explanations of terms are given in an appendix to DV 010/0/007. Here some examples. The term "after duty hours" is defined as "following completion of duty, following completion of headquarters service" as well as "from 1000 hours on as a rule on Sundays and holidays." The term "before duty hours begin" is understood to mean "up to 30 minutes before morning roll call or beginning of headquarters service" as well as "up to 15 minutes before reveille for soldiers doing basic military service, NCO, warrant officer and officer candidates." The place of residence is considered to be the locality in which the serviceman or member of the Border Troops of the GDR is registered with the police. Proportional ordinary leave is computed by months. Fractions are rounded off to a full day. If, for example, the authorized ordinary leave for the calendar year is 26 days, then it would equal 2.16 days for one month. This amounts to 6.48 days for three months and this would be rounded off to 7 full days.

Table 1. Ordinary Leave Entitlement

Status	Number of Calendar Days per Calendar Year by Time in Service							
	1	2	3	4	5	6-10	11-15	16+
	Years in Service							
Soldiers and limited service NCO's	24	25	26	30	31	32		
Career NCO's	24	26	29	32	35	38	42	46
Limited service officers, warrant officers and career officers	36	36	36	36	36	38	42	46

For an entitlement of 24 to 29 days, 3 Sundays or legal holidays are counted as ordinary leave. For an entitlement of 30 or more days, the corresponding figure is 4.

8373
CSO: 2300

JULY-AUGUST 1980 DOUBLE ISSUE OF SED THEORETICAL JOURNAL REVIEWED

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 11 Jul 80 p 4

[Helmut Caspar review of East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 35, No 7/8, July-August 1980, signed to press 13 June 1980, pp 673-864: "A Policy to Safeguard Peace." Translations and/or summaries of the articles by the authors referred to below as well as by others are published in pages following this review]

[Text] "Socialism--The Real Humanism of Our Era" is the theme of the latest EINHEIT issue, appearing as a double issue. Nineteen authors illuminate aspects of this topic--of the peace policy of socialism, its economic consolidation and military safety to questions of socialist democracy, culture and way of life.

In his article, "Initiative for Peace," Herbert Krolikowski deals with the resolutions taken at the most recent conference of the Political Advisory Commission of the Warsaw Pact member states. The action program adopted there, the author states, demonstrates the fraternal socialist states' determination to preserve and continue, on behalf of safeguarding peace, detente and mutually advantageous cooperation.

In the next contribution, Stefan Doernberg emphasizes that today all peoples, all of human civilization, are beneficiaries of the socialist community's persistent peace policy. That in particular also showed the world historic magnitude of socialism.

Elsewhere in the issue, Hannes Hoernig deals in detail with topical tasks in college training, proceeding from the SED Central Committee Politburo college resolution. All deliberations and measures in this field should rely on the proven principles of the unity of training and education, teaching and research, and theory and practice. The tempestuous social and scientific-technical progress called for thoroughly educated graduates who could rapidly adapt themselves to new developments.

Hannes Hoernig in particular underscores the importance of independent scientific activity from the first day of studies and opposes regarding it as work "alongside" the training. Rather, "the creative, which typically determines the research process and implies doubt and searching for innovation, also must inform the acquisition of knowledge, the courses of study."

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INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON SOCIALIST HUMANISM EVALUATED

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[Lead article by Prof Dr Gregor Schirmer, jurist, deputy chief, Science Department, SED Central Committee: "Socialism--The Real Humanism of Our Era: On the International Theoretical Conference of the SED Central Committee in Erfurt"]

[Text] This was the theme that governed an SED Central Committee international theoretical conference held on 29 and 30 May 1980 in Erfurt, on the occasion of the hundredth anniversary of the publication of F. Engels' work, "The Development of Socialism from Utopia to Science," attended by representatives of 31 communist and workers parties. The speeches and discussions focused on the following problems: Real humanism; tradition, ideal and reality; freedom, democracy, human rights; rationality and humanity; secure peace--the basic humanistic concern.

This was the theme that governed an SED Central Committee international theoretical conference held on 29 and 30 May 1980 in Erfurt, on the occasion of the hundredth anniversary of the publication of Friedrich Engels' work, "The Development of Socialism from Utopia to Science." Following the keynote speech by Hannes Hoernig, SED Central Committee member and head of the Central Committee' science department, representatives of 31 communist and workers parties, members of our party and representatives of other bloc parties in the GDR, broken down into three working teams, engaged in vivid exchange of opinion and experience, in which 49 speakers took the floor. Otto Reinhold, SED Central Committee member and rector of the Social Science Academy under the SED Central Committee, had every good reason to emphasize in his concluding speech that such comradely discussions of topical problems in social and political development bolster the fighting strength of the communist

world movement based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. The foreign guests, on the day preceding the conference, had the opportunity to familiarize themselves with enterprises, LPG's and communal facilities in Erfurt Bezirk and to talk with working people. Insights into our social practice gained thereby were reflected in various ways at the conference. Especially the comrades from fraternal parties in capitalist countries emphasized it had cogently demonstrated the humanistic character of the socialist social order.

Real Humanism

Socialist humanism is real humanism. It is inseparably connected with the historic mission of the workers class, discovered by Marx and Engels, to establish the classless communist society and thereby make peace the normal condition of mankind. Humanism thrives in the revolutionary struggle for this truly humanistic goal, in the irrevocable realities of socialism, created by the working people in the socialist countries, partly under extremely complicated conditions, through hard struggle and sacrificial work.

The policy and social practice of real socialism, its ideology, culture and morality, are the supreme expression of the humanistic ideas and aspiration of mankind. The speech itself put it like this: "The socialist countries have performed revolutionary transformations which in their essentials point the way for all mankind. Their evidence makes socialism the homestead for humanity, safety, freedom and democracy. The liberation from exploitation, from crises and unemployment, from the fear of tomorrow and of the future, the political power exercised by the workers class under the leadership of its revolutionary party and in alliance with the other working people, the socialist property, the citizens' comprehensive democratic participation in shaping the social processes, the comradely fellowship among people, and the friendship among the fraternal peoples--all these are achievements of fundamental importance. Socialism proves itself as the power that renovates everything and changes the social relations as well as men."

The representatives of the fraternal parties were agreed that thereby the working people in the socialist countries are accomplishing something which cannot be rated highly enough in all the scope it has for the humanistic future of mankind. Alfred Dewhurst, for instance, Central Committee Politburo member of the Communist Party of Canada, announced that the inability of capitalism to solve fundamental social problems was becoming all the more evident the more the attractiveness of socialist ideas was growing. Any denigration of real socialism only served the interests of capital. The representative of the Communist Party of Vietnam, Tran Van Chuong, emphasized that the true humanism of the Soviet Union and of the other socialist states served the peoples of the nationally liberated countries as a model in their struggle for constructing a better life, free from exploitation, and that consistent national liberation led to an ever growing trend toward the socialist orientation.

In contrast to the earlier humanism, which to be sure constructed desirable social conditions and ideals of harmonious personality without, however, being able to indicate how they were to be realized, socialist humanism derives its contents and objectives from social reality, explains them scientifically, and realizes them gradually to the extent that the real political, economic, social and cultural conditions are created for them in socialist society. That was brought home lucidly in the contributions by the representatives of the fraternal parties in the socialist countries.

The representatives of the CPSU and the SED, for instance, conveyed the experience that a classless society cannot be produced through an artificial elimination of social differences but that the social differences among classes and strata are historically necessary in developed socialist society and play a productive role. With the workers class playing the leading role, a process of rapprochement takes place among the classes and strata that amounts to a gradual reduction of social differences but also allows for the wealth of needs, the variety of interests and the differentiation in the working people's way of life. The realm of freedom, as prognosticated by Engels--as Mikhael N. Rutkevich, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, pointed out--can be brought to realization only through stages in a penetrating process of social transformation.

The speech referred to two indispensable prerequisites for humanism in real socialism: First, the decisive step toward realizing socialist humanism in practical social life lies in the socialist revolution through which the workers class in alliance with the other working classes and strata seizes political power. Second, socialist humanism requires for its firm economic basis the public ownership of the means of production. "Without the leadership role of the party, without the political rule of the workers class in alliance with the other working people, and without the public ownership in the means of production," the speech stated, "nowhere in the world has thus far a socialist society been established. Without the further development of socialist democracy, without perfecting the socialist state including the steady consolidation of the defense capability of socialism, neither the people nor the individuals would have self-determination." As different as the forms and ways toward the construction of socialist society may be, with regard to this the representatives of the fraternal parties in the socialist countries conveyed identical experiences in enforcing these general inevitabilities. The representative of the Yugoslav Communist League, Rade Aleksic, defined the political power of the workers class and the public ownership in the means of production as the basic prerequisite for socialist self-administration in Yugoslavia.

In the contributions made to the discussion by the representatives of fraternal parties in capitalist countries it became clear that real humanism also is alive in the communists' struggles for the interests of the working people, for peace and social progress. Jan Wienecke, for instance, member of the executive board of the [West German] DKP, told

of the efforts of the FRG communists to boost the workers' fighting strength in the enterprises. What fails to be taken away from the monopolies--he said--cannot be given to the working people. If the working people in the FRG is to receive what is rightly its own, the power and privileges of monopoly capital must be curtailed and its influence must be forced back and, eventually, surmounted.

Tradition, Ideal and Reality

The new quality of socialist humanism and the insight into the limitations of all previous humanism does not give us a narrow view on our humanistic legacy and progressive traditions. On the contrary. We consider ourselves the true heirs of all humanistic aspirations and ideas of the past. We appreciate the deep wealth in ideas of the humanism in earlier ages, which often even then far transcended the barriers of any given class society. That we appropriate critically on the basis of Marxist-Leninist theory and we are developing it further, creatively. The humanism of antiquity, as expressed particularly in classical Greek culture, is as much a source in the history of ideas for socialist humanism as is the humanistic movement of the Renaissance, the humanistic content of the European Enlightenment and of classical German philosophy. British and French utopian socialism, combining the ideas of humanism with the socialist society to come, already marks the transition into the world of ideas of socialist humanism.

In Weimar, Buchenwald and Erfurt our foreign guest could convince themselves by what they saw there of how generously, and with how high and militant a content of ideas, our humanistic legacy is being preserved, fostered and disseminated among all GDR working people. This is how the speech put it: "The great humanistic idea that humanity raises itself through its work, that is, its own strength, from raw natural conditions to higher forms of society, culture and civilization, reason and morality, that humanity must work out and fight for its progress itself, as developed in various forms by such thinkers as Bacon, Hobbes and Locke, Voltaire and Rousseau, Lessing, Goethe and Schiller, Kant, Fichte and Hegel, Fourier, Saint-Simon and Owen, Belinski, Herzen and Chernyshevski, finds its comprehensive portrayal in socialist humanism, its theoretical grounding in the foundation of objective social inevitabilities and its progressive realization in the course of the establishment of socialist and communist society."

Our humanism draws from the sources of the past, implies an active attitude of life for coping with present problems and focuses on the high ideals for the future of scientific communism. In this context issue was taken cogently with slander from the enemy to the effect that real socialism does not accord with the communist ideals and theoretical predictions of the classic authors of Marxism-Leninism, for which reason a different, "more libertarian or more democratic" socialism should have to be created.

We communists have a dialectical conception of the relationship between the ideal and reality. Ideals always rush ahead of reality, exceed reality. The concern of party policy precisely is to implement our social ideals through the working people's activities. That precisely makes humanism politically effective and politics truly humanistic. That also implies our constantly testing the conformity between our reality and our ideals and constantly rendering our ideals more precise in accordance with our practical experience. Thus there is a productive interaction between ideal and reality. Socialist reality--as the author Helmut Baierl formulated it--bears features of the ideal, and the ideal, features of reality.

Our ideals, Hannes Hoernig explained, "are no transcendent speculations. The Marxists never have conceived the ideal as subjectivist, fantastic or normative-dogmatic. They always marked as their ideals their long-term goals and principles which ultimately are derived from the objective tendencies of inevitable social development. . . . In contrast and contradistinction to all idealistic interpretations, which either attribute a transcendent character to ideals or implant them in an individual conscience, Marxism regards the ideals as an ideological expression of specific socioeconomic conditions of the life of men or classes expressing, along with the present, also the elements of the future contained in them. The ideals of socialism, therefore, amount to the reflection in ideas of the real social interests of the workers class and its allies. In them are formulated the world historic aspirations of the workers class and all peace-loving and democratic forces as the desirable objectives and tasks of our struggle."

Our socialist reality is no unproblematic and ideal "final condition" but a historically young social order full of dynamics. That was mainly discussed by the representatives of the CPSU, BCP, PZPR and SED. It was brought out clearly that the developed socialist society is not without contradictions, especially in its formation process. The still inadequately developed productive forces are sources of contradiction, for example, between growing needs and the possibility of satisfying them. Among some of the working people socialist consciousness may lag behind temporarily because "birth marks" of capitalism and external influences by imperialism still exist for one thing, and also because such complicated tasks as making scientific-technical progress prevail and combining it with the advantages of socialism, furthermore, make very high demands on the working people's insights into the inevitabilities of our new social environment. The uneven state of development in the various socialist countries likewise produces objectively conditioned diverse interests in one matter or another. Not last, the complicated external conditions under which the socialist countries have to bring their ambitious goals to realization burden their struggle. The raw material situation, the world market situation and the increased expenditures for military security compelled by the arms race of the imperialists do not exactly render the systematic construction of the new society unproblematic.

While constructing the socialist society, in the USSR as well as in most fraternal countries, many complicated problems and tasks had and have to be solved which by origin belonged to the capitalist era. The countries of the socialist community have met these enormous tests. Pitting socialist ideals against the reality of socialism therefore is neither feasible nor theoretically tenable in view of the socialist countries' practical experiences.

Not the communists, as was emphasized, but the bourgeoisie has long renounced humanistic ideals, as it is indeed not able to bring them to realization. Bourgeois ideologists, as Jens-Peter Madsen, candidate of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Denmark, clearly demonstrated, resort to new, so-called "concrete utopias," which are being pitted against real socialism, anticommunist and reactionary in their objectives and in line with the general trend toward irrationalism marking the intellectual life in the imperialist countries.

Freedom, Democracy, Human Rights

These concepts play a central role in the international ideological class struggles. Basically this involves the question which social order can guarantee a life of human dignity to the working people and an all-round development of personality.

Imperialism cannot do so. This was impressively demonstrated by James Eduard Jackson, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary of the U.S. Communist Party. He marked U.S. imperialism as the most pitiless form of capitalism at the present. Unemployment, racism like what happened in Miami, the urban crisis, inflation and other economic crises, foreign policy adventures such as the most recent intrigues against Cuba characterize the United States as a society sitting on a powder keg and going through some sort of a national disaster. As the representative of the leftist Communist Party of Sweden demonstrated, even countries under social reformist governments for years show the growing influence of the monopolies with all its reactionary consequences. The comments by Tom Redmond, deputy chairman of the Communist Party of Ireland, pointed out that still under the conditions of developed capitalism national oppression continues to assume cruel forms as in that of the British occupiers' military policy. One cannot speak of freedom, democracy and human rights under such circumstances.

Imperialism's human rights campaign has a most concrete background, which was unmasked above all by the head of the CPSU delegation, Isaak I Mints, member of the USSR Academy of Sciences. This is a campaign conducted through enormous financial means and on government orders against the historic fact that the realization of elemental human rights is the most pertinent concern on the part of real socialism. Socialism embodies the up to now highest historically possible developmental stage of freedom and democracy. That also, in particular, demonstrates its humanistic character.

In our republic the working people have the constitutionally guaranteed right and freedom to take part extensively in the shaping of political, economic, social and cultural life. In conformity with objective social inevitabilities, they may consciously and systematically, and thus freely, realize their common basic interests in peace, social justice and security, education and culture, and social relations marked by respect for human dignity and promoting the development of personality. Those are real freedoms and rights, which are being further expandened and deepened with the progress of socialist society. This was put in the speech as follows: "To the extent that one succeeds, while shaping the developed socialist society, in better controlling the natural and social conditions for the existence of society, in further developing the productive forces and more comprehensively satisfying the needs of the people, our real freedom will grow. The fundamental social, political and cultural rights and freedoms offered by socialist society, rather than surrendering the individuals to the uncertainties of the so-called labor market, guarantee the right to work, liberate them from subsistence anxiety and give them social security, eliminate their cultural backwardness and pave the way for them to all cultural treasures, rescue them from intellectual manipulation and facilitate their access to education and intellectual creativity. They give them every opportunity to develop their abilities and talents, develop into all-round educated personalities and also shape their personal lives deliberately in harmony with society."

Consciousness and creativity become all the more important the further socialism advances. Though socialism has existed only for a brief historic period, the changes that have come with it in the social position of man and in the character of social relations have already left clear traces in the intellectual profile of the citizens of our state: Self-assurance; the need for meaningful, creative activity; respect for a partner's dignity; openmindedness and participation in the "small and wider world" are the typical characteristics of the socialist sense of life. Such socialist virtues--as was shown in the speech and the discussion--could not have formed and prevailed of course without tenacious and bitter struggle against the force of petty bourgeois habits, egoism and individualism, irresponsibility and unconcern, lack of discipline and wastefulness, let alone the constant confrontation with the threats, calumnies and insinuations from the imperialist class enemy.

Live socialist democracy significantly helps form the socialist personality, develop its capacities beyond any immediate activity at one's work and thus create the subjective conditions for men to deliberately shape and control their process of social life. The speech conveyed the experience that the daily practice of democratic participation provides millions of people with the moral conviction their activity is useful and also that they are responsible to their work collective, enterprise collective and all of society.

Socialist democracy is no formal game. What is most important is that the possibilties and conditions are created and constantly further

developed for the working people to be able to take part in various ways and on all levels, in the people's representations, many social organizations and their enterprises, in the actual management of society. In this connection the discussion contributions by the representatives of the bloc parties met with vivid interests by the foreign guests. They refuted the enemy claim that those parties have no influence and only serve as a democratic facade. They demonstrated by means of many facts the independence of the bloc parties and their real possibilities for bringing to bear, in alliance with the leading workers class party, the interests of the citizens they represent politically.

Rationality and Humanity

In a world in which the scientific-technical revolution affects all historical processes there arises the question of course how socialism shapes its humanistic nature also with respect to economic necessities and social as well as intellectual-cultural consequences connected with scientific-technical progress.

In the speech the point was made that economic rationality and a humane management of labor conditions were not opposed to each other. Our party resolutions unequivocally focus on directly combining the rationalization and intensification of production with the improvement in labor conditions, the enhancement of labor culture and, primarily, progressive changes in the content of work, to provide more space for personality development. There are naturally still many unsolved problems in this area; heavy physical and hazardous working conditions have not yet been fully eliminated, and new technology at times brings with it monotonous work. Great advances have however already been made. Since as recently as 1971 almost 2 million jobs have been reorganized in industry, construction and transportation so as to further develop the socialist character of labor and its creative elements.

It is part of the humanism in our society that we produce under dignified human conditions and that our production itself aims at dignified human goals, which lie in the ever improving satisfaction of the people's material and cultural needs. That has been served by the unity between economic and social policy, and from it the GDR citizens have gained enormous social achievements for which the foreign guests at the conference expressed great respect. They rated our party's long-term social program as socialist humanism in action.

Our citizens know one must work hard for social improvements which, in turn, depend on o[illegible] economic efficiency, and it depends primarily on the acceleration of our scientific-technical progress.

The further shaping of the developed socialist society calls for more effectively combining the advantages of socialist society with the scientific-technical revolution. That includes, as the speech explained,

controlling, and humanistically shaping, scientific-technical progress for the good of man: "The use of microprocessors, the introduction of new technologies, substituting for traditional raw materials and material and many other results of our scientific-technical progress do not, under socialist conditions, threaten the working people's social security. They do naturally also confront our society with complicated problems. Also among us the working people have to submit to retraining to work themselves into novel and often complicated fields of work. In contrast to the working people in the profit-oriented capitalist society they do so, however, in an atmosphere of safety and social security because the socialist society manages these complicated processes in a manner that conforms to socialism and socialist humanism.

Scientific-technical progress, economic rationality and higher efficiency pose no opposition to socialist humanism. Rather they are decisive means for progressively realizing this humanism and are themselves subject to the criteria of socialist humanism. That forms the objective foundation for a positive attitude toward scientific-technical progress on the part of the overwhelming majority of the GDR working people. Among us one will hardly ever meet capitalism's widespread pessimism with regard to technology."

The Marxist-Leninist conception of the productive forces, of science and technology as revolutionizing factors of history thus, under socialist production relations, is tied in with the conception of socialist humanism. As Friedrich Engels wrote, the increasingly faster progressive development of the productive forces freed from the fetters of the capitalist mode of production leads to the "possibility to ensure an existence for all members of society by means of social production which not only is completely adequate materially and becomes richer from day to day but which also guarantees to them a completely free training and exercise of their physical and intellectual proclivities."[1]

Secure Peace--Basic Humanistic Concern

Securing the peace as a precept of socialist humanism calls for active deeds in implementing this great ideal of humanity. This idea and the connection between socialism, real humanism and peace—as cogently explained in the speech--characterized the entire conference. Thus the leaders of the working teams, Erich Hahn, Harald Neubert and Hans Koch, reported unanimously that during the debates the humanistic character of real socialism was mainly derived also from the resolute peace policy of the Soviet Union and the other socialist states.

One cannot speak of socialist humanism without remembering that the Soviet Union had the main share in the destruction of fascism and thus in the liberation of humanity from that inhuman barbarism. That was an acid test and victory for socialist humanism over antihumanism that has its deepest roots in the imperialist social system.

One cannot speak of socialist humanism without emphasizing that it has been the power of real socialism, primarily that of the Soviet Union, that has prevented imperialism for three and a half decades by now from unleashing a world war and has put out many a hotbed. The conference participants fully endorsed the following statement in the speech: "No imperialist lie of an alleged threat to peace by the Soviet Union can alter the fact that socialism due to its very nature, its social goals and its fundamental interests needs peace and produces peace. There are no forces in socialist society whose interests would conform with rearmament and war, which would profit from war. In fact it needs peace because it can attain its far reaching sociopolitical goals only through peace and the peaceful work of construction. No propaganda of expediency can hide the fact that imperialism inevitably makes for war, that the military-industrial complex constantly pushes the arms race to drive profits up, and that the most reactionary forces of imperialism are bent on finding a way out from their crisis in military adventures and on stopping by force the social progress of humanity."

One cannot speak of socialist humanism without paying tribute to the rigorous and sacrificial struggle by the communists in capitalist countries for peace and detente, against the aggressive policy of U.S. imperialism, against the neutron weapon and the production and stationing in Western Europe of new American missiles, and against the higher military budgets in the NATO countries. The representative of the Communist Party of the Netherlands, for instance, reported the struggle against the neutron bomb and NATO's missile resolution has turned the peace movement into a broad mass movement. Through mobilizing the broadest political and social forces in the joint struggle for peace new alliance possibilities open up, which also include forces that are politically far removed from the workers movement and that are joining the peace movement for ethical reasons, while they may have utopian notions, certain illusions about the causes for mobilization and the social content of the disarmament struggle, or even anticommunist reservations.

Finally, part of the socialist-humanist position is the realization that the most reactionary circles of imperialism have lately started a general attack upon peaceful coexistence by wishing to alter the military balance of power unilaterally in their own favor by increased armaments, are deliberately exacerbating the international situation and proceeding toward a policy of confrontation, blackmail and threats. The representatives of the fraternal parties were agreed--and this was in line with the Paris appeal of the communist and workers parties of Europe--that the offensive has to be taken in the struggle against those aggressive circles.

Mainly the representatives of the communist parties in the United States, Vietnam, Cuba and Japan analyzed in this context the aggressive intentions of U.S. imperialism and its Carter Administration and the collusion with the Chinese hegemonists. Hiroyuki Okamoto, member of the Central Committee Presidium of the Communist Party of Japan, speaking of the freedom

of the nations, unmasked the policy of the Carter Administration as a policy of strength aiming at reconstituting U.S. military and diplomatic supremacy on the global scale and reestablishing imperialist rule over other nations. He assessed the relationship between China and U.S. imperialism as mutual support for their respective hegemonistic and aggressive designs and from that derived the need for fighting against the Chinese aggression in Vietnam, the policy of extortion of Kampuchea, and the encirclement of the three Indochinese countries by the alliance of China, the United States and Japan.

In concluding the scientific conference in Erfurt, Otto Reinhold stated that the work of Engels, the hundredth anniversary of which had brought together representatives of communist and workers parties in Erfurt, had remained vital and topical as all the other works by the classical authors of Marxism-Leninism. Thus the conference was no mere commemorative event but a militant contribution to one of the most significant issues in the ideological confrontation of the present. Socialist humanism will continue to be given central attention in the theoretical and propaganda work of the communists.

FOOTNOTE

1. Friedrich Engels, "The Development of Socialism from Utopia to Science," Karl/Marx, "Werke" (Works), Vol 19, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1962, p 226.

5885
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WARSAW PACT PEACE INITIATIVES REVIEWED, EVALUATED

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[Article by Dr Herbert Krolikowski, member, SED Central Committee; state secretary, first deputy minister for foreign affairs: "Initiative for Peace"]

> [Text] The Warsaw Pact states, 25 years after founding their peace alliance, in Polands' capital once again took the initiative for safeguarding peace. In view of the dangerous exacerbation of the international situation brought about by the most aggressive forces of imperialism, they continue their socialist peace policy vigilantly and resolutely and are proposing a constructive action program to all states and peoples on stopping the arms race and eliminating the danger of war. At the same time they are taking those measures which, in the interest of their own security and of that of all peoples, ensure the defense capacity they need at all times.

For good reasons the peoples all over the world are watching the course of international events with special attention in these weeks and months, for this, after all, is a question here that affects the life of all humanity directly: Will we succeed in preserving and deepening international detente or is the world going to be thrown into the vortex of adventurous confrontation policy, engaged in by the ruling circles of the United States and other NATO states, with all its dangers to peace and thus to the life of the nations. Through the new initiative by the Warsaw Pact states, adopted at their most recent conference on 14 and 15 may this year in Warsaw, the progressive and peace-loving forces in all countries place their hopes in a recovery of the international situation, the elimination of threatening hotbeds of war and, thus, mainly in preventing the danger of a nuclear conflict, which would of necessity assume a worldwide scope.

In Warsaw, the city that was subjected to unspeakable suffering in the fascist world war, where in the spring of 1955 the socialist countries of Europe sealed their uniting into a resolute peace alliance by signing their "friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance treaty," they now, 25 years later, again took the initiative for further safeguarding peace. The world political importance of the Warsaw proposals lies, not last, in that they point out the way to detente and peace to the nations at a time when the forces of imperialism and hegemonism, through their adventurous course of the arms race and confrontation, are conjuring up serious dangers to world peace.

The Warsaw Pact states consistently pursued the historic peace course in Warsaw which real socialism has been taking since the hour of its birth in 1917 and which for a quarter of a century has proven their defense coalition a factor of peace, and this not only in Europe but all over the world. They had every good reason to announce at their anniversary conference that their socialist alliance serves peace and nothing but peace. Therein, after all, lies its eminent political strength. In the outcome of this tenacious and purposeful work by the states united in the Warsaw Pact, profound changes have occurred in international relations that are providing recognition for the interests of the peoples and more and more respect for reason as they already have been vested in many mandatory enactments under international law.

The main concern of the Warsaw conference of the Political Advisory Commission in 1980 aimed at the preservation and deepening of detente. How could it have been otherwise? The action program proposed at this conference offers a real chance of preventing international relations from being once again dmoinated by the spirit of cold war and from "propelling mankind toward nuclear world war under the impact of imperialist machinations."[1] It points the way to reinforcing trust, understanding, a permanent peaceful juxtaposition and salutary international cooperation.

"In the present complicated situation," of which Comrade L. I. Brezhnev spoke in Warsaw, "when millions of people worry about the fate of detente and peace,"[2] the proposals contained in the declaration and the announcement will leave clear traces all over the world. The fraternal socialist states, in their initiatives, confirmed their intention smoothly to continue the development of their mutual advantageous relations with the capitalist states in all fields and actively to cooperate with all states in solving the burning issues of our time. They made clear once again that peace and socialism are identical. At the 12th SED Central Committee plenum, Comrade Erich Honecker said about this policy which is being pursued by the allied socialist states: "Peace holds the uppermost position among the goals pursued by our socialist alliance with its coordinated foreign policy, relying on the unity of action among its member states, and in cooperation with all forces of good will on earth."[3]

That is the goal pursued by the foreign policy effort of socialism from its very beginning. In the mid-1970's it became especially clear that this policy was meeting with success, and mankind began to realize that it need not look at the cycle of war-peace-war as if it were decreed by fate.

Imperialism Has Aggravated the International Situation

"The transition from detente to confrontation the U.S. administration is encouraging, and into which it also means to drag the West European NATO countries, has considerably aggravated the international situation."[4] There arises the question where the causes for it have to be sought. Are these short-term operations or is it an objective posed for long term? And what is the implication for the destinies of the nations?

Even at their previous conference in Moscow in 1978 the Warsaw Pact states pointed out that massive attacks against detente were being undertaken by the forces of imperialism and reaction, that they were rekindling the arms race, interfering in the internal affairs of other states and seeking to subject independent states and peoples to their rule. The socialist states have always warned of such developments. In all seriousness it must be said that the international situation has been significantly aggravated--as shown by the Warsaw conference--and that the dangers for peace and detente have grown considerably.

The most aggressive imperialist circles evidently are not willing to accept the consolidation of the positions of socialism, the successes of the peoples in the young national states with their national liberation struggle, and the growth of the democratic, progressive forces in the capitalist world. They seek to push world events in a different direction. Detente and peace, which are furthering social progress in the world, are not agreeable to those forces. They "care for raw material sources, political and military-strategic positions, spheres of influence, and maximum profits."[5] Another factor--closely connected with it--is that in the imperialist countries the effects of the crisis keep weighing more and more heavily on all domains of economic and social life.

Those are the main causes for the exacerbation of the international situation, for the imperialist crusade against detente. Aggressively, they are making the useless attempt of interfering with the objective course of events, to reverse things and accomplish a development that would be in favor of imperialism.

Through activating the imperialist confrontation policy and a feverish mobilization of the NATO states, their deepening of political and military cooperation with China, an ever more aggressive military thrust in Asia, from the Indian Ocean to the Persian Gulf, and in Africa, and through steadily piling up unresolved international problems, imperialism attempts a counter-offensive against socialism, peace and progress.

As Comrade Erich Honecker, mindful of historic experiences, stated at the 12th Central Committee plenum, it was "not the first time for imperialism to seek for a way out of the crisis of its own system by means of military adventures."[6]

Irrefutable facts such as the unscrupulous demarche by the United States against the people's revolution in Iran--the so-called commando raid as well as military maneuvering by the United States in the Persian Gulf area--, its undiminished aid to Israel's terrorist policy of occupation and aggression, the steadily increasing interference since the April revolution of 1978 by U.S. imperialism and reactionary forces of other states in Afghanistan, but also China's attack on Vietnam factually carried out with U.S. approval and the persistent, latent danger in that region--all these facts openly attest to the brutality of the imperialist and reactionary forces. They amount to undeniable evidence for the seriousness of the situation that has arisen.

The long-term strategy of the most aggressive imperialist circles is equivocally proven, above all, by NATO's ratifying the long-term high mobilization program in May 1978, the fateful Brussels missile resolution and the nonratification, by the United States, of SALT II.

The conference of the NATO defense planning commission on 13 and 14 May 1980, held approximately at the same time as the conference of the Warsaw Pact Political Advisory Commission, concentrated on expanding NATO's operations area and on accelerating the long-term armaments programs decided on in 1978/79. An immediate program was adopted with the purpose of releasing NATO troops of the United States for employment in other regions of the world, especially for expanding the U.S. presence in the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf. The United States demanded an extra DM 10 billion, short-range, for escalating the arms race and the annual budget increases for all NATO states, decided on in Washington, by from 3 to 4 percent.

The socialist states will not sit idly by, of course. At the Warsaw conference, the necessary foreign policy steps were correlated and those measures were agreed on that will ensure the necessary fighting strength of the socialist military coalition's united armed forces.

NATO policy often has been and is being justified by a "threat from the east" or the "Soviet danger." Recently they will especially resort to Afghanistan and the events around Iran to justify by this historically long unmasked lie their own mobilization, their adventurous policy of military threats and their drive for military superiority. The worsening of the international situation has its origin however neither in Afghanistan nor in Iran, but the most reactionary imperialist circles, and especially the ones in the United States, are without any doubt responsible for it. Who threatens whom, and in what way, is revealed by the mere fact that the NATO long-range mobilization program and the deployment of new types of medium-range missiles in Western Europe are matters that were decided on before the events in Afghanistan occurred and despite urgent warnings by the socialist states.

The Constructive Detente Concept of Socialism

The Political Advisory Commission of the Warsaw Pact presented a constructive program at its Warsaw conference for the decisive questions pertaining especially in the current international situation to the safeguarding of peace. Concrete goals and approaches were presented, as Comrade Erich Honecker explained at the 12th SED Central Committee plenum. "We are," he said, "not in favor of breaking off but of continuing the dialog between east and west, south and north."[7]

That conforms also to the proposal in the declaration by the member states for a meeting on the highest level among the leading representatives of states in all regions of the world. This amounts to establishing the possibilities "for a direct dialog among statesmen of various regions aiming at the safeguarding of peace and cooperation among the peoples and preventing the danger of an atomic catastrophe for mankind."[8] That meeting is meant to be neither a substitution for the world security council nor for the UN General Assembly--as some Western mass media have claimed. The many meetings in Belgrade and the meeting between Comrade L. I. Brezhnev and French President Giscard d'Estaing in Warsaw, brought about by the invitation of the first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee Comrade Edward Gierek, have emphatically underscored how useful meetings are in the sense of this proposal by the Warsaw Pact states. There also accrues a special place value in this context to the meeting between Comrade Erich Honecker and the FRG Chancellor Helmut Schmidt in Belgrade. The Soviet Union and the other socialist states, in implementing the Leninist foreign policy, especially in the current complicated international situation, leave no stone unturned in counteracting any further exacerbation of the international situation. It is in line with the nature of the socialist peace policy that especially the Soviet Union brings its great political weight to bear on carrying on, in the interest of all peoples, the only reasonable course of detente.

The overall results of the May conference of the Political Advisory Commission of the Warsaw Pact demonstrated the determination of the fraternal socialist states to preserve and continue detente and mutually advantageous cooperation in the interest of peace in Europe and beyond.

As points of major emphasis for military detente in Europe, the Warsaw Pact member states focus on the consolidation and expansion of confidence forming measures, the renunciation of the use of force or threat of force, the limiting solely to defense needs of the armed forces and armaments of each state or group of states, and the mutual renunciation of attempts to gain military supremacy. They once again declare "that they have never striven and will not strive for military superiority. They consistently stand for the military balance being secured at ever lower levels, for the scaling down and elimination of the military confrontation in Europe."[9]

The socialist states are prepared to negotiate on any types of weapons. Their program comprises all essential aspects of military detente--the reduction of nuclear and conventional arms, accords on further confidence-building measures and political-legal steps to diminish the danger of war and strengthen the guarantees for the security of the states on our continent.

The implementation of the concrete measures proposed would mean a real increase in security for all European countries and contribute to the strengthening of confidence among them and to the cooling off of the political climate on the continent.

The Warsaw Pact states emphatically call on the Western countries to use the favorable conditions and possibilities their fair proposals have created for effective measures toward military detente and to avoid any acts that would undermine the process initiated by CSCE and block disarmament negotiations.

The socialist states represented at the Warsaw conference once again urgently appeal to the NATO states to refrain from the decision, fatal as it would be for the peace of Europe and the entire world, to produce and deploy new types of American medium range nuclear missiles in Western Europe. The results of the most recent conference of NATO's nuclear planning group indicate however that the United States and its allies seek to ignore this appeal and European public opinion. Though the Warsaw Pact Political Advisory Commission has appealed for proceeding through negotiations while respecting the security needs of both sides, the NATO states in Bodo once again ignored this call and set down measures that amount to an accelerated implementation of the missile decision of Brussels. To make negotiations possible, however, it would be necessary to cancel that decision or do away with all measures for its implementation.

As a practical course for agreeing on measures in military detente, the socialist states represented at the Warsaw conference reiterated their proposal to summon an all-European conference on military detente and disarmament on the political level. This is a realistic proposal which is topical and tied to deliberations and ideas of other states. The Warsaw Pact states are focusing on a speedy beginning of the practical preparations for that conference and have proposed Warsaw as the place where the conference should be held. They favor intensifying an exchange of views on the concrete questions with respect to the preparation of that conference and conducting consultations to that end among the representatives of the CSCE participants. At the Madrid conference agreements could be made about the time, place and working procedure of that conference, including its first-phase agenda.

The Madrid conference of the CSCE participants must occupy an important place in the struggle for the defense of peace and for consolidating and

and extending the results of the detente process achieved in the 1970's. The socialist states in Warsaw have once again reemphasized that they resolutely and with determination advocate for the Madrid meeting, to begin on 11 November 1980, to advance the security and cooperation in Europe and make progress particularly in the field of military detente. The Madrid meeting should then pick up those positive experiences and results that have been achieved in the last 5 years in implementation of the Helsinki Final Act.

An Action Program of World Political Scope

The socialist states place great importance on the objective of turning detente and disarmament into a worldwide process. Their Warsaw declaration, along with the appeal, proposed a concrete action program. Along with the ratification of SALT II, the following tasks are the centerpiece of their recommendations on stopping the arms race:

The speediest possible completion of negotiations on the general and complete prohibition of nuclear weapon tests, of radiological and chemical weapons, and on the non-use of nuclear weapons against non-nuclear states which do not have them on their territory; immediate start of negotiations on concluding a world treaty on the non-use of force, ending the production of nuclear weapons and the gradual reduction of their stockpiles all the way to their complete abolition, on a ban on the development of new types and new systems of weapons of mass destruction, and on the reduction of military budgets, above all those of the major powers; and on the start of negotiations on limiting and scaling down the level of military presence and military activity in the Atlantic, Indian and Pacific Ocean, the Mediterranean and the Persian Gulf.

The Warsaw Pact states are always ready to establish contacts and conduct a constructive and businesslike dialog on the substance of these proposals with all interested states. At the same time they delcare their readiness to examine attentively any proposals by other states on the consolidation of peace, the ending of the arms race, and disarmament.

Proceeding from their often reiterated desire to extend detente to all regions in the world, the socialist states in the Warsaw declaration have reconfirmed their standpoint of resolving permanently and justly by political means any international conflict situations threatening world peace and international security. They are indicating concrete ways for doing so in considering that the elimination of sources of tension and producing real steps toward military detente are mutually inseparable tasks.

The conference of the Warsaw Pact Political Advisory Commission had proven once again that the states participating in this defense coalition are fully aware of their great responsibility and approach the solving of the cardinal issues of international life with determination. Through

their businesslike and clear proposals they refute the claims made by imperialist politicians and the Peking leaders that detente had been deadlocked and the possibilities had been exhausted for finding political solutions for complicated international problems. The documents unanimously adopted at the Warsaw conference amount to concrete and feasible recommendations for solving the questions crucial for all, which in the current international situation have bearing on the safeguarding of peace, whereby they constitute a constructive concept of ensuring peace also for the 1980's. Once again the Warsaw conference has demonstrated that the policy of the fraternal socialist states knows neither fluctuations nor inconsistency. It always is deeply and unerringly committed to peace and social progress.

Through the unaminous adoption of the Warsaw documents the Warsaw Pact states have once again placed the great weight of their alliance in the scale of peace and international security. As in the last 25 years they will continue to work with all their strength in the future for the noble goal of socialism of freeing mankind from the scourge of war. The Warsaw resolutions are aimed at fulfilling the peoples' hopes for peace and a life of happiness.

FOOTNOTES

1. Erich Honecker, "Alongside the USSR for a Resolute Defense of Peace," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 28 April 1980, p 3.

2. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 16 May 1980, p 2.

3. Erich Honecker, "Das Beste zum X. Parteitag! Alles zum Wohle des Volkes, 12. Tagung des ZK der SED" (The Best for the 10th Party Congress! Everything for the Good of the People--12th SED Central Committee Plenum), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1980, p 11.

4. Ibid.

5. Erich Honecker, "Die naechsten Aufgaben der Partei bei der weiteren Durchfuehrung der Beschluesse des IX. Parteitages der SED" (The Next Party Tasks in the Continued Implementation of the Ninth SED Congress Resolutions), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1980, p 13.

6. Erich Honecker, " Das Beste . . .," op. cit., p 11.

7. Ibid., p 12.

8. Ibid., p 13.

9. "Declaration of the Warsaw Pact States," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 16 May 1980, p 3.

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TRENDS, SUCCESSES OF 'SOCIALIST WAY OF LIFE' ASSESSED

Effective Ideological Motivation

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[Article by Prof Dr Harry Nick, economist, research program director, Institute for Political Economy of Socialism, Academy of Social Sciences, SED Central Committee: "Social Security as Achievement and Task"]

[Text] In socialism, social security belongs among the basic characteristics of men's way of life, in capitalism, social insecurity. What is social security based on, what are its characteristics, how does it relate to individual freedom, and which role does work play in ensuring it? What is to be done so that the impulses resulting from social security become highly effective?

Unmistakably, the interest in questions and problems concerning men's quality of life on the whole has grown immensely in the recent past, and this in all parts of the world. The terms "way of life" and "quality of life," which stand for the totality of the forms of human activity in life, for the meaning given to human life, have acquired a firm usage in political and social science vocabulary. It attest to penetrating and far-reaching changes, mainly in the objective conditions and factors of human life, that the questions about what a certain social order, certain social forces and political programs, can or want to effect on the whole for improving human life are now raised more emphatically than they used to be. In line with the experiences of people in the ordinary development of our socialist society Comrade Erich Honecker, at the 12th Central Committee plenum, emphasized the magnitude in the changes of our people's life during the last decade. Socialism in our republic has "a considerable measure of maturity, internal stability and also effectiveness externally."[1]

The people's material standard of living has risen greatly in the 1970's. We almost completed equipping our households with their first durable consumer commodities like television sets, refrigerators and washing machines. That was the decade in which we, however, also completed the transition to the general education polytechnical secondary school, and important advances were made in all fields of intellectual-cultural life. Important things were accomplished in the implementation of the most extensive sociopolitical program in the history of our state which guarantees for all people a high degree of stability and of security in their social conditions of life. All this has penetrating effects on the totality of men's living conditions, their way of life, which mainly also includes that the emphasis has in this field also shifted more clearly still to the qualitative factor. The important thing is to ensure what we have achieved at a rising qualitative level and to take account of the grown qualitative demands for consumer goods and services, which includes satisfying the growing demand in high-grade consumer goods. All this is part and parcel of the task "to ensure what has been achieved thus far and continue gradually elevating the people's material and cultural standard of living."[2]

The growing weight of the qualitative aspect of the people's way of life also means of course that the interaction between the material and the intellectual-cultural conditions of life is becoming more intensive, the specifically socialist quality of our way of life becomes more pronounced, and thus the questions about the factors and conditions that determine the particular quality of the socialist way of life overall, in all basic forms of human activity, become more important and meet with increasing interest.

In the developed capitalist countries a great number of contradictory processes and phenomena lend a greater weight to the questions about the quality of life:

The objective reproduction conditions of labor are changing. Scientific-technical progress, increasing labor pressure and other factors have the effect that health care and training and advanced training gain greater importance objectively. Thus the range of demands the workers class raises in its confrontation with the capitalists must increasingly get wider and go beyond wage demands. There simply are demands which concern the important aspects of the quality of life in toto.

Experience has shown that even a high material standard of living on the part of broad strata will not eliminate the social evils of capitalism, the worry people have about their elemental conditions of subsistence. There is increasing tension within the web of the people's social relations. Even when someone does have a relatively high material standard of living, he is not freed from anxiety and must fear to "crash" socially. And someone who is being courted in business and by advertising--and this all the more persistently the more difficult economic growth

becomes--, but must knuckle under at work and--consequently--away from his job as well,[3] finds out practically that there is more to a good and meaningful life than high real wages.

Finally it must not be overlooked that the much overused catch phrase of the "quality of life" in capitalist countries constitutes some sort of modern "supplication of heaven" and in a very demagogical fashion is offered as a substitution for unsatisfied demands for improved material living conditions. The thesis that "man does not live by bread alone" is then turned into the demand they should not ask for higher wages and not only look at the material side but have more respect for the "inner values." It has nothing to do with truly improving the objective conditions for a finer quality of life.

In contradiction to the constant claims by bourgeois ideology that men's general value orientations are for all intents and purposes identical "in east and west," and that the concrete forms of life primarily depend on the income level and are subject to the general scientific-technical level, it turns out that the essential qualitative criteria for men's way of life in capitalism and socialism diverge more and more. This results from the fact that the opposite specific inevitabilities working at the depth of the social processes, and thus of men's ways of life, are becoming more and more pronounced and increasingly affect the concrete forms of life. Among the most important of these conditioning inevitabilities which penetrate the entire way of life is men's social security under socialism and the equally objectively conditioned social insecurity in capitalism.

Social Security, an Essential Part of Socialism

Social security is a basic criterion for men's way of life, a general criterion effectively qualifying all vital areas, resulting from the essence of socialism. It profoundly affects men's spirit of life, their sense of personal value, the quality of their interhuman relations, the totality of the advantages and impulses of our socialist order. It is among the decisive general criteria of the socialist way of life and one of its historic advantages.

Social security has been and remains a basic element of the socialist idea, an irrevocable goal of the revolutionary workers movement. It is a task of such a high rank that one surely may say: The objectively historic necessity of socialism, its deep moral justification are essentially to be derived from its ability to tap the potentials of the modern productive forces for the enrichment of human life, and this for all members of society. As long ago as in 1845 Friedrich Engels reasoned for the social concern of socialism by saying it would "create for all people a life situation where each can freely develop his human nature, live in a human relationship with his neighbors and need not fear any violent upheavals in his life situation."[4]

Certainly there are some external similarities, differences quantitative in kind in the materially objective and also in some social living conditions of men in capitalist and socialist countries. But as far as the social security for working people is concerned, the difference existing is elemental and general: it exists in socialism but not in capitalism.

No one will deny that in capitalist countries also there are improvements in men's social living conditions and advances in education, health protection and so forth. Yet these are no achievements of capitalism. On the contrary, they have to be bullied out of capitalism. In socialism, social progress results from the nature of this mode of production, but not so in capitalism. There social improvements have to be gained by the working people in bitter struggle against monopoly capital. And these achievements of their struggle are always in jeopardy; even to preserve them they have to struggle stubbornly. And they also always only concern particular aspects of men's living conditions. Social security is unobtainable in capitalism.

Social security is indivisible. Either it exists for all members of society or not at all. Unemployment, for example, in no way means that only the directly affected segment of the people who are able to work has become socially insecure. The fear of becoming unemployed has still more devastating effects on the totality of men's living conditions; this fear affects those who are working. They are the ones who must knuckle under and whose human dignity is besmirched each day.

It is an expression of the humanistic nature of socialism that it truly brings about the elevation of the material and cultural living conditions of men for all, for every individual. This term, "for all," is underscored time and time again in the works by the founding fathers of Marxism-Leninism and in our party documents when the goals and ideals of the workers movement come under discussion. Capitalism, Karl Marx wrote, makes for the sort of "development of the social productive forces and the creation of material production conditions which alone can form the real basis of a higher form of society the basic principle of which is the full and free development of each individual."[5] And Lenin stressed as the goal of socialism "ensuring the highest welfare and free all-round development of all members of society."[6]

These statements also make clear what we have to understand as social security in socialism. Social security of course means protection for everyone from material hardships and hunger, and from "violent upheavals of his life situation," that is social security at old age, in the case of illness and so forth. Even these elemental social securities do not exist for all people in any capitalist country. But social security means more than that:

It means the certitude that the material and cultural standard of living rises subject to the growing material and intellectual wealth of society and one's own performance. This fact it is to a large extent that makes

for the social optimism of men in socialism. And its weight is all the greater, the more far-reaching the changes are that are caused by the progress of science and technology and are signaled for the future.

In other words, social security is not confined to the material conditions of life. Real socialism eliminated illiteracy as fast as hunger. In the intellectual-cultural field--the level of education, the variety of men's intellectual-cultural needs and the prerequisites for their satisfaction--socialism has outdistanced the developed capitalist countries by miles.

The self-awareness and world-awareness caused by the security of the social conditions of life of men and their sovereignty in structuring their individual spheres of life and in dealing with other people are powerfully being bolstered by political and ideological factors. This sense of security also stems from the fact that every citizen of a socialist country can simply take it for granted that his state will do the utmost for safeguarding the country and the peace in the world, and for promoting the forces of progress and national independence. The internal stability of the political system in the socialist countries and the evidently increased instability in the political system of many capitalist countries play a great and increasing role in reinforcing the sense of social security in socialism.

Social Security and Freedom

To the extent that people come to recognize more clearly social security in socialism and social insecurity in the capitalist countries as an essential criterion for differentiating between social systems, bourgeois ideology is making greater efforts at not only deprecating or even stigmatizing social security but at presenting it as a negative value. This in every way is based on the centuries-old theoretical-ideological tradition of bourgeois economic liberalism, the basic tenet of which is that the principle of competition, the carrying out of opposing interests of men purportedly caused by the natural egoism of men ultimately produces the best result for society, and it is understood that this mechanism in competition implies the right to private property and the contrast between the poor and the rich. The idea of social equality and social security is of course alien to that concept.

Only during the short span of time when the bourgeoisie, because of a relatively high rate of economic growth over a longer period, gradually began to believe in its own convenient lie that capitalism had managed to control the problems of economic growth, its ideologists indulged themselves in the notion that capitalism could ensure social security, "welfare for all." That also was the title of a book, and its author, Ludwig Erhard--praised by FRG ideologists as the father of the "social market economy" to this day--, has meanwhile, when times got worse, departed rather quickly from those notions. He incessantly warned

against those who "do not want or cannot understand that by their demand for 'more social security' . . . they grant the state increasingly more rights to interfere in their private sphere whereby they will at long last become totally dependent on the collective."[7]

The price for social security is the loss of individual freedom--that, roughly, is a main argument bourgeois ideology levels against socialism. No longer, however, can they deny that socialism--and only socialism--can ensure social security for all. "If the citizens in Western states realize these preconditions by which communism knows of no unemployment problem they hardly will want to see those preconditions be brought to realization in the West," an entrepreneurs publication has said; each would "be employed by the state wherever he is needed in accordance with state economic plans," there was no freedom in choosing one's trade, no choice of a job and so forth.[8]

Unemployment and the fear of unemployment have grown. Since the 1974/75 crisis monopoly capital but the working people in the capitalist world as well have to live with the idea that massive unemployment has become permanent and the risk of increasing unemployment is very real. As the 1929/33 world economic crisis proved as untenable the preferred argument advanced by bourgeois ideology that the workers themselves had to be blamed for unemployment--"he who wants to work will find work, too"--, the explanation under today's condition that unemployment is the price for certain other advantages of the "market economy" turns out to be just as cynical. And then there is nothing left actually but trying to belittle the effects of unemployment as such. That in turn ultimately is possible only when the role of work as the most important human life activity, as the basis for man's existence and the field in which his personality forms is disparaged. And this also is precisely the direction followed in recent times by purposeful efforts on the part of bourgeois ideology. The question is being raised, for instance: "Are we running into a crisis for the meaning of work? Is the vital value of work confined henceforth to hobbies?"[9]

Among the answers one finds claims that "for the individual, personal work to assure his existence no longer is necessary."[10] How is that explained? "The unemployed, after all, keep alive too!" That no doubt is the most radical remedy bourgeois ideology could want to prescribe for common sense which regards unemployment and subsistence security as incompatible. Especially in connection with the effects of microelectronics, robot technology, which no doubt will further increase the social insecurity in the capitalist countries, the media in those countries loudly ponder the thought whether there is much work at all that would "constitute a value as such." And then they say "most people do not care for their work as such" but only for their income. That is why one should not engage in employment therapy but think about distribution questions. Pictures are being drawn that show how the robots do the work and the unemployed are "lying in the sun."[11] At the conference on "Socioeconomic Problems and Application Possibilities for Microelectronics in the Labor Process" (September 1979 at Zandvoort, Netherlands) the question was raised how men could be furnished with a new sense of life

when this life no longer is based on work.

There is nothing novel at all of course in the idea of keeping some of the people, who cannot be assigned to useful activities, happy by "bread and the show of the circus." That idea was born during the decline of the Roman Empire, nearly two thousand years ago. Evidently, all that has been referred to here essentially has nothing to do with the effects of technology, is not a general "identity crisis of labor" but rather a crisis in the existence of the exploiter order.

Such arguments obviously are due mainly to the effort of counteracting the growing realization that social security counts among the highest social values, that it affects all areas of life, and that it is prerequisite to realizing actually all social basic rights--the right to work, to education, recreation, old-age care and health care, the right to a free choice of occupation, and of the job--, and that social security is one of the essential factors causing the qualitative superiority of the socialist way of life.

Social security is indispensably prerequisite to personal freedom. It alone makes it possible for the individual to plan and purposefully pursue what he wants to do in life and to make a success of it together with others, by carefully balancing his own inclinations and abilities against social requirements and possibilities. However brutally it may want to falsify reality, bourgeois ideology will not be able to obscure for any length of time the fact that men under the conditions of social security in the socialist countries possess vastly greater choices with respect to their occupation, their level of education and their jobs.

The sociopolitical model of a "social and free market economy" which has been hailed for decades, mainly by FRG ideologists and politicians, assigns a central spot to the claim that this market economy--in contradistinction to the planned economy--makes possible the freedom to choose what one wants to consume and one's occupation and job, and this presumably thanks to the beneficial effects of the market mechanism which, in an efficient and most elastic fashion, would keep economic magnitudes constantly in equilibrium through the constant balance between demand and supply. Nothing need to be said here about how the market regulates production, which really functions most miserably.[12] But as to the labor market, labor as a commodity--which Karl Marx demonstrated long ago--, there always is a shortage of jobs and an excess in the supply of manpower. Not only that the worker in capitalism cannot get away from the capitalist class, from exploitation, in addition he is supposed to be grateful to an individual capitalist for being allowed to work for him and to be exploited by him. Not the worker has a choice but the capitalist has one in that he can select from the excess supply of manpower those he deems most suitable, those who will diligently produce surplus value.

The possibilities for choosing a trade and a job are most rigorously curtailed in times of crisis, much more so in fact than indicated by unemployment figures, for instance. If more than 20 percent of the school

graduates cannot find an apprenticeship at all, a higher percentage still there will have been most likely that simply took any training job that was available. The same holds true for one's regular job. And bourgeois jurisdiction will see to it that the concept of "reasonable job" be given the broadest interpretation in the interest of this entrepreneurs' economy, a striking designation for the market economy given once by Otto Wolff von Amerongen himself, the president of the Federal Chamber of Industry and Commerce of the FRG,[13] that they can in fact enforce, for instance, relocation of residence through threatening the withholding of unemployment insurance benefits. This is the soil on which one finds residues of early capitalist or almost feudal labor relations thrive through the borrowing or lending of manpower or the extortion and despoliation by tenants in a personal relationship of dependency.

Concerning the Role of Labor

Social security is indispensably prerequisite to forming and developing the new, typically socialist, impulses of social and, in particular, economic progress. The question as to the impulses of labor in socialism and to the sources from which socialism derives its social energies has been the focal point of the issue between the adherents and enemies of socialism as long as the idea of a socially just social order of human dignity has been in existence. The issue always again concerned itself with the question how people would work under social conditions when not compelled to work either by external coercion or the discipline of the cane or the discipline of hunger. Why should under such conditions people be motivated to work in the first place? What would their motivation be? The arguments by all reactionaries why socialism is impossible and is unable to last have always been, and are, that it would eventually collapse under its own inertia because of the absence of such work impulses as greed for possession, poverty and misery, and direct economic and noneconomic coercion. The classic author among the reactionaries, Thomas Malthus, considered socialism unable "to produce the spur for action which alone could overcome men's natural laziness and stir them up for a proper culture on earth and for producing the comforts needed for their own well-being."[14]

In conformity with reality, however, the adherents to the idea of a necessary social renewal have shown that it is precisely the capitalist order as any other exploiter order before that prevents the abilities and talents of the people from unfolding, that in it the limited goals of production thwart the development of the productive forces and the needs of the people are not satisfied to the extent allowed, on objective grounds, by the given developmental level of the productive forces. From there they derive the conviction--meanwhile confirmed by life in the mightily developing socialist countries--that only socialism will, for the first time, make possible the true unfolding of mass creativity in the most important area of human activity, in the field of labor. In contrast to the exploiter order, utopian socialists in their social designs expressed the yearnings of toiling men not for a liberation

from labor but for the liberation of the workers from exploitation and suppression, for the free development of human essential capacities. Then also, Thomas More's "Utopia" describes a social condition--even though in visionary radiance--where "there is nowhere a possibility for idleness or a pretext for laziness, where no one sits around idly,"[15] "but everyone is diligently engaged in his trade without, however, toiling through uninterrupted labor, like a beast of burden, from early morning to late at night; for that would be more than slavish toil."[16] Charles Fourier, one of the most important utopian socialist, gives a downright emphatic description of men's fervid activity: Men "throw themselves at their work with a zeal that mocks any impediments."[17] Fourier finds the cause for it mainly in that in the new society each can pursue the occupation for which he is most talented and from which he therefore derives the greatest satisfaction.

Marx and Engels were resolutely opposed to regarding work as a necessary evil as well as against the notion work could once become mere game. Bourgeois ideology, to the extent that it deals with labor altogether, sees in the worker always an object, a production factor, a special kind of working tool, but not a creatively engaged subject. This too is an absolutely apt reflection of the manner in which capital deals with labor in practical terms. This kind of negative valuation of labor we can find, for example, in Adam Smith, the most important representative of the classical bourgeois political economy. He thinks work is a sacrifice for the worker, a sacrifice of rest, freedom and happiness, a constant and strenuous overcoming of obstacles. Marx commented on that: "But that this overcoming of obstacles is an exercise of freedom as such--and that, furthermore, the external purposes are divested of the appearance of merely external natural necessity and are posited as purposes, posited by the individual himself--thus become self-realization, objectification of the subject, and that means real freedom, with its action simply being work, is something of which A. Smith has no idea either."[18] Marx and Engels proved that work is the most important sphere of human activity, man's most important vital expression through which he became a man in the first place and through which he effects the upward development of the human species. A true loss of meaning in human work would be tantamount to a degeneration of the human species.

The objective necesssity of socialism was, essentially, explained by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels by that a society has to be created "in which, on the one hand, no one may shift his own share in productive labor, this natural condition of human existence, onto others, and in which, on the other hand, productive labor, instead of a means for enslavement, becomes a means for the liberation of men in that it offers each individual the opportunity to form and exercise all his abilities, physical as well as mental, in every direction, so that from a burden it becomes a joy."[19]

Labor could of course not play this role in the process of man's social as well as individual life, if it were to become--as Fourier had claimed--

mere sport and amusement. Labor will always remain hardship too. No social condition is conceivable where it could be nothing but joy and pleasure all day long for every individual, as it were. Marx was emphatic about our having to understand work as a necessity, as a basic condition for the existence of human life in all social eras. And with respect to socialism, he said: "Freedom in this field can only lie in that socialized man, the associated producers, regulate rationally this metabolism of theirs with nature and place it under their collective control instead of being governed by it as of a blind power; handling it with the least expenditure of effort and under conditions most dignified and adequate to their human nature. Yet this always remains a realm of necessity."[20] The sense of honestly doing one's duty is, especially in socialism, one of the most important elements of human self-assurance, one of the lofty sentiments only work can bestow as it increasingly challenges the creativity of men in socialist society.

Released Social Energies

The first practical evidence for the production of social energies due to the liberation of the workers class from exploitation, new and totally inconceivable under the conditions of private property, came from the communist subbotniks. The fact that under socialist property conditions man can develop his creative capacities in the most important area of his life's activity, in his work, and that work for the first time can become a matter of honor, of glory, and that production here for the first time is borne by the initiative and the conscious creativity of the immediate producers who also without restraint enjoy its benefits--all this was, is and remains the deepest cause for the historic justification, the need, and the superiority of socialism. "Only now," Lenin wrote, "the possibility is being created at a broad scope, truly for the masses to develop a spirit of enterprise, competition and bold initiative. For the first time after centuries of working for others, of unfree labor for the exploiters, the possibility arises that one work for oneself and do so while relying on all the achievements of modern technology and culture."[21] Only in a socialist country can there be worker personalities who are as well known all over the country as are politicians, artists and scientists.

At the same time, and precisely in connection with his tribute to the world historic importance of the communist subbotniks, Lenin laid great stress on pointing out that the struggle for high labor discipline and for rational labor organization would become harder than the overthrow of the bourgeoisie had been because that would call for the "most persistent, stubborn and strenuous heroism in everyday mass labor."[22] This description has remained correct to this day: on the one hand the massive heroism of labor, in no way conceivable under capitalist conditions, but on the other hand, the heavy struggle for high labor discipline everywhere and all the time and for rational labor organization in line with our social possibilities and requirements.

That the impulses inherent in socialism become increasingly more effective in men's everyday conduct is one of the basic requirements in shaping the developed socialist society. That also means that such rudimentary precepts as a high working culture, the full utilization of working hours, the thrifty handling of material and energy, and the careful maintenance of working tools become second nature.

Of great importance for developing men's creative initiative is a meaningful combination between intellectual and material incentives for work, the rigorous implementation of the performance principle. This principle expresses the measure of social justice attained and attainable in socialism: The social recognition, including the income allocation, goes to all by the same measure--the work performance, and not by where one comes from or what one owns. Implementing the performance principle calls for much consistency of practical management activity. This consistency to a large extent controls the speed of economic progress, and hence of social progress as such. The performance principle, material incentives on the one hand and labor motivation as an idea, on the other, condition and fertilize each other. Experiences have taught us--and the economic advances made especially on the basis of the policy of the eight and ninth party congresses have underscored it--that labor motivation as an idea--the readiness to achieve a lot for society, for "outsiders"--can develop best when one's own experience has shown that good work makes itself paid, that individual, collective and overall social interests coincide in socialism. Wherever much money is made the easy way or where, conversely, considerable and successful personal efforts in education and training, on behalf of fine work results, fail to find material expression, those fundamental connections will not be demonstrated through one's own practical experiences, for which reason political-ideological work also will be less fruitful. Where material and ideational labor motivation work in the same direction, mass initiative will develop best.

The historic experience of the socialist countries confirms that "upheavals in one's personal life situation," unemployment and the upkeep of parasitical classes and strata are by no means necessary as impulses--as bourgeois ideologists would want us to believe. These experiences, however, also tell us that the impulses resulting from social security do not necessarily and by themselves become highly effective but that it requires effective ideological work and high-grade management activity, and that an effective combination between social, collective and individual interests and systematic efforts for enhancing the intellectual-cultural level of the people, their socialist consciousness, are required.

FOOTNOTES

1. Erich Honecker, "Das Beste zum X. Parteitag! Alles zum Wohle des Volkes! 12. Tagung des ZK der SED" (The Best for the 10th Party Congress! Everything for the Good of the People--12th SED Central Committee Plenum), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1980, p 9.

2. Ibid., p 10.

3. "It's not only a matter of money," a Turkish colleague has said, "the job has to become more human. When anyone of us has to go and take a leak, he must ask a dozen times for permission to do so." Quoted from Michael Busse, "Arbeit ohne Arbeiter" (Work Without Workers), Frankfurt/Main, 1978, p 27.

4. Friedrich Engels, "Two Speeches in Elberfeld," II, Marx/Engels, "Werke" (Works), Vol 2, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1957, p 556.

5. Karl Marx, "Das Kapital" Vol I, Marx/Engels, "Werke," Vol 23, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1962, p 618.

6. V. I. Lenin, "Remarks on Plekhanov's Second Draft Program," "Werke," Vol 6, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1959, p 40.

7. DIE WELT, Bonn, 14 October 1971, p IX.

8. MONATSBLAETTER FUER FREIHEITLICHE WIRTSCHAFTSPOLITIK, Frankfurt/Main, No 2, 1976, p 151.

9. BLICK DURCH DIE WIRTSCHAFT, Frankfurt/Main, 7 March 1980, p 1.

10. Ibid.

11. DIE ZEIT, Hamburg, 19 October 1979, p 35.

12. Cf. Harry Nick, "The Dilemma of the 'Market Economy,'" EINHEIT, No 4, 1979, pp 373 ff.

13. HANDELSBLATT, Duesseldorf, 16 March 1972.

14. Thomas Robert Malthus, "Versuch ueber des Bevoelkerungsgesetz" (An Essay on the Principle of Population), Berlin, 1900, p 443.

15. Thomas More, "Utopia," Philipp Reclam jun. publishing house, Leipzig, 1974, p 70.

16. Ibid., p 58.

17. Charles Fourier, "Theorie der vier Bewegungen und der allgemeinen Bestimmungen" (Theorie des Quatre Mouvements et des Destinees Generales), Vienna, 1966, p 226.

18. Karl Marx, "Principles of the Critique of Political Economy," Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1953, p 505.

19. Friedrich Engels, "Anti-Duehring," "Werke," Vol 20, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1962, pp 274 f.

20. Karl Marx, "Das Kapital," Vol III, Marx/Engels, "Werke," Vol 25, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1964, p 828

21. V. I. Lenin, "How to Organize the Competition," "Werke," Vol 26, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1961, p 405.

22. V. I. Lenin, "The Great Initiative," "Werke," Vol 29, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1961, p 413.

Differentiated Development

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 35 No 7/8, Jul-Aug 80 signed to press 13 Jun 80 pp 757-764

[Article by Prof Dr Rudi Weidig, director, Institute for Marxist-Leninist Sociology, Academy of Social Sciences, SED Central Committee: "On the Development of the Socialist Way of Life in the GDR"]

> [Text] The development of the socialist way of life is based on the socialist mode of production and of necessity finds its centerpiece in conscientious, honest and socially useful work. Shaping it means inevitability, achievement and task at once. The growing uniformity in the principles of the socialist way of life in no way amounts to a levelling process in men's life activities but a process that includes the differentiation and variety of interets, needs and inclinations.

One of the central concerns of our humanistic party policy lies in purposefully developing the socialist way of life in all social domains, social classes and strata of our socialist society. In the program issued by the ninth party congress, our party gives itself the task to see to it "that the characteristic mode of social life and individual conduct that conforms to the developed socialist society will increasingly become more prominent in all domains of life--at work and at leisure, in the work collective, the family and all the habits in life."[1] That means inevitability, achievement and task at once. The development of the socialist way of life in terms of its social content means, after all, that the workers class, the class of the cooperative farmers, the intelligentsia and the other working people will structure by what they do their living conditions and modes of conduct in conformity with their common basic interests and the ideas scientifically established in Marxism-Leninism.

Fundamentally new attitudes toward life have already been formed in all social groups of our society with the advance of socialism. They find their clear expression in the working people's massive creative activity

in socialist competition, in the development and further perfection of socialist democracy and the all-round development of people's physical and mental capacities and abilities toward solving the economic, scientific, technical and social tasks in our social development. Such features and characteristics of socialist conduct as a resolute dedication to the safeguarding of peace, our firm friendship with the peoples of the Soviet Union, our active solidarity with the peoples struggling for their national and social liberation, the various initiatives for an accelerated enforcing of rationalization and for decisively improving our labor productivity, the development of social relations among the working people based on comradely cooperation, the extensive development of collectivity, and the fine education and training already are typical of the vast majority of the working people in our country and a clear expression of the humanistic character of the socialist social order in the GDR.

The socialist way of life focuses on the well-being of the people and thus on their conscious commitment and active dedication to improving the life of the individual, the collectives and all of society. It is incompatible with a passive attitude, mere contemplativeness, or idly waiting for further improvements in our lives. A way of life that implies one's own contribution to improving the material and intellectual-cultural life of the people, equality, freedom and social security is deeply rooted in the social interests of the revolutionary workers movement, in the traditions, attitudes and ideals of the revolutionary workers class.

Inevitability, Achievement and Task

The socialist way of life is a way of life of working classes and strata, aimed at the development of the kind of social conditions that make man the measure of all things. It is aimed at the development of his creativity, his intellectual and physical abilities and activities at an increasingly higher level, and it is based on social security, safety, vivid collectivity and the constant improvement in working and living conditions. That this amounts to increasingly more pronounced criteria in the real life of the vast majority of the people in all classes and strata of our society is clearly expressed in our society every day. That is attested by the successful balance-sheet of our economic and social policy, especially since the eighth and ninth party congresses, the upswing in housing construction, the greater net income and annual vacation received by the working people, especially the workers class, and the care for children, working women and the veterans of labor.[2] The direct working and living conditions of millions of working people have been noticeably improved.

The growing development of the socialist way of life is shown by various forms and the high level of social activity. Sociological surveys established that in Dresden Bezirk, for example, 64 percent of the workers, 75 percent of the employees, and 44 percent of the cooperative farmers

do volunteer work in various social functions in their enterprise or residential area whereby they are actively and directly involved in the management and planning of collective and social tasks. Various forms of socialist collectivity and the emergence of appropriate attitudes and modes of conduct are widespread.

Socialism ensures a way of life which, based on a fine education and training for the working people in all classes and strata, challenges and promotes them. More than 77 percent of all the GDR working people has obtained specialized degrees or advanced training. The proportion of semi-skilled and unskilled workers has dropped from 70 percent in 1955 to 22.6 percent in 1978. In the young generation that gets the full benefit of the socialist educational system the social group of semiskilled and unskilled workers will no longer be reproduced. By the end of the century that social group of semiskilled -unskilled—which by and large still typified the training skills and social condition of the workers class in the GDR 30 years ago--will hardly any longer exist.

The socialist way of life and the formation of their essential features in all classes and strata of our society is anything but the illusory dream image the bourgeois ideologists indefatigably insist it is against all evidence of reality. A most real and characteristic feature, a general inevitability of socialism it is. Inevitably the socialist way of life "is grounded in the socialist mode of production."[3] As the foundation for the development of socialist society, the basic premise for the economic and social progress of socialist society, the socialist mode of production can fully effectively come into its own only when the subjects of this mode of production, the working people in all classes and strata, conduct themselves as the socialist proprietors and producers. Thus the socialist mode of production then also is an essential aspect of the socialist way of life which, in turn, is one of the decisive social and ideological impulses for further perfecting the socialist production relations and developing the modern productive forces.

There is nothing rigid about the socialist mode of production. Its formation and development is a contradictory and highly dynamic process shaped by the working people consciously under the leadership of their Marxist-Leninist party. Any given developmental level of the socialist mode of production thus also reflects materialized and objectified attitudes and conduct by the people. That is to say that, as Karl Marx said, the "manner in which people produce their foodstuffs already is a specific type of activity by these individuals, a specific way in which they live their lives, a specific mode of living."[4]

Part of the formation and development of the socialist way of life finally also is that the current and future requirements for the development of the socialist mode of production always give rise to new demands for social life and individual conduct. This process has by no means been terminated and is not yet complete--however much has already been achieved that is great and the real substance of the socialist way of life in our time

already constitutes a great accomplishment of socialism. The general formation of the socialist way of life in all classes and strata in our society as well as in the personal lives of all working people is a task that has to be solved together with the further shaping of the developed socialist society at a constantly higher level. That includes "preserving and protecting and, at once, further developing and perfecting what has been achieved through struggle."[5] A simple and smooth path it is not, simply because the socialist way of shaping life includes steadily elevating the socialist consciousness of the masses, their education, their technical skills, their general culture as well as overcoming obsolete habits, traditions and customs.

The socialist way of life, safeguarding what exists and progressively shaping living conditions at work and leisure, must above all be placed on a stable economic basis. The much more complicated reproduction conditions of recent years call for great efforts by socialist society and all its citizens for ensuring and systematically further developing the high level attained in living conditions. Once again, at the 12th Central Committee plenum, Comrade Erich Honecker said the most important thing was "significantly to improve our country's economic efficiency."[6] It means that the struggle for developing the modern productive forces and their efficient use, and the acceleration of scientific-technical progress, is the decisive link in the chain for increasing the rate of economic growth above and beyond normal measures.

From there new criteria also arise for the political, economic and scientific-technical creativity of the workers, employees, intellectuals and the other working people. Conscientious, honest, socially useful work, the centerpiece of the socialist way of life, becomes increasingly the crucial testing ground and essential condition for all sociopolitical progress. More than ever the most important point is to provide an atmosphere everywhere in which initiative, creative contest, a sense of responsibility, love for work and revolutionary deeds for strengthening socialism as well as our readiness for the protection and defense of our achievements can fully develop. Because without honest and diligent work, without conscious and systematically organized mass action, mobilized by our Marxist-Leninist party, without the dedicated commitment of millions to their own interests, without each individual taking an energetic stand for the good of all members of our truly humane society, we will not be able to find those answers, solutions and alternatives which are urgently needed for coping with the considerably higher requirements of the 1980's.

Sociological investigations and labor surveys demonstrate in this context that the greater potentials extant in education and training, in creative activity and initiative as well as in the socialist attitude toward work can mainly be developed extensively in places where in a good work atmosphere creative participation flourishes, socialist rationalization goes together with concern with working conditions, with the targeted reduction or elimination of heavy physical, hazardous or mentally

undemanding work, where work is well organized, the workers are informed at the proper time and thoroughly, and their counsel is listened to, where stable collective relations are developed and material and moral recognition is paid in accordance with actual personal and collective services performed for society. Violations of these proven socialist management principles, in turn, often cause dissatisfaction, deficient labor discipline, inadequate performance and fluctuations.

A key function here lies in setting up appropriate working conditions and assigning work that is mentally demanding. Various sociological surveys have shown that the readiness of the working people to take an active part in enforcing scientific-technical progress is all the more developed the more they are aware that this produces high performance improvements, and the more directly they sense the concern for good working conditions that is connected with the introduction of new technology and techniques, especially a reduction of heavy and hazardous work, work that is mentally more demanding, more varied and more interesting, while the high level of knowledge and skill which most working people have reached conforms with their actual job requirements and can be put into effect in the work they do.

Unity and Differentiation in the Development of the Socialist Way of Life

It is therefore part of further improving the efficiency of the party's political leadership activity always to keep accurately in mind the general and the special conditions, the uniform and differentiating features in the development of the socialist way of life. As a historically novel qualitative element of the socialist way of life a special point is usually made of the formation of common traits in all classes and strata and social groups in our society. And indeed, the basic trend of the socialist way of life, which also more and more prevails in the SED's purposeful alliance policy throughout the practical life of our society, lies in the development of basic identities in the essential conditions of life and modes of conduct. This, objectively, stems from the fact that we are here concerned with the development of the conditions of life and modes of conduct of comradely associated working classes and strata which by their activity produce the material and intellectual wealth of all society themselves. The uniformity in the basic traits of the socialist way of life reflects the uniformity of the basic social relationship between the working people in all classes and strata and the socialist ownership in the means of production and the socialist workers and farmers state, the uniformity of the basic social interests, the social goals and the growing political-moral unity of the classes and strata in our society.

Such a way of life is unprecedented in all of history. In the exploiter society the fundamental conditions of life, the goals in life and the modes of conduct of the various classes are socially distinct and marked by class antagonism.

It therefore is an important historic achievement, one of the greatest social accomplishments of socialism in fact, that it not only did away with the exploiter classes and their parasitical way of life that was predicated on the exploitation of the working people, but also, through the new power and property relations, created those decisive conditions that make it possible for the working classes and strata to fashion their own way of life in accordance with their own basic social interests and on the basis of their own work performance. Thus, under the leadership of the working class and its revolutionary party, essential uniform traits of the socialist way of life are forming in all social classes and strata. They are various in kind. They express themselves, for instance, in the comprehensive development of socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism as much as in their collectivity and comradely cooperation, in their social activities and their sense of social responsibility, which gives rise to appropriate modes of conduct, in their socialist attitude toward work, public property and scientific-technical progress, and in their active dedication to the consolidation of socialist state power and of peace. Such achievements of socialism as the right to work, social security, equality and safety are characteristic of all classes and strata in our society. Extensive democratic participation in the management and planning of social affairs and access to education, training and the treasures of culture and art shape their life. Such and other similar common properties are of crucial importance for the development of concerted social activities by the working people in all classes and strata in the continued shaping of the developed socialist society.

The ever increasing common traits in the basic features of socialist life activity are supplemented by a variety of manifestations of diversified differences. Diversified processes in the development of the socialist way of life are found in the uneven levels in which characteristics that in principle are uniform have been molded and also in that there exist different criteria in the concrete conditions of life among the various social groups and individuals. With respect to which, the following general remark is called for:

The growing homogeneity in the basic features of the socialist way of life in no way means uniformity or the levelling of living conditions or interests, abilities and talents of men. If bourgeois ideologists keep trumpeting around in the world that socialism, in theory and practice, negates individuality and independence altogether, and the wealth of men's social activity in life, their anticommunist disparagement of real socialism is all too apparent. Life itself gives the lie to them. And it is this life that confirms that not until socialism those material and ideational premises have been created that allow the working people to develop and bestir themselves as personalities interested in many different things, cultivate individual capabilities, talents and inclinations, and thus invest their lives with content and culture. Increasing collectivity and growing individuality and variety in the personal lifestyle are not opposed but harmoniously complementary in socialism. Thus

the increasing diversity and variety of the socialist personalities' interests, needs, relations and activities at work and at leisure are essential factors enriching their common properties without the constant encouragement of which socialist collectivity is impossible. This must be stressed for the mere fact that the all-round development and use of the abilities and talents of personality, the respect for and encouragement of man's individuality, and the variety of needs and the diversification of education are indispensable prerequisites for the development of creativity and for the further enrichment of personal and public life, and are a condition for the growing wealth of social relations and the increasing attraction of socialist common traits. These differentiations that conform to the socialist way of life are a progressive factor with respect to the initiative and public activity of men in our society and are being encouraged.

Altogether, the development of the socialist way of life is a contradictory process of constant confrontation, where new things grow and old ones have to be done away with. In making new modes of conduct, relations and activities at work and at leisure and in the family grow extensively on behalf of public and personal progress, we must however also resolutely turn back and overcome any conduct that is alien to the essence of socialism--like irresponsibility, passivity, insouciance, or the attempt to live at the expense of others and similar traits. Our party never harbored the illusion that a process as revolutionary and penetrating as the comprehensive enforcement of the socialist way of life in all domains and the life of every man could be brought to realization within a brief period and without conflict. The way of life conforming to the old society took centuries and many generations to evolve and has deeply affected, and deformed, a large part of the working people, and has molded many of their habits, views and attitudes that, objectively, oppose the interests of the workers class. Furthermore, the enemy, via his mass media and through many other channels, does everything he can to export his ideology and the forms of his way of life to the socialist countries and to preserve and nourish modes of thought that are alien to socialist attitude. All this has brough it about that petty bourgeois modes of thinking and conduct have not yet been done away with everywhere, that some citizens are still trying, for instance, egoistically to violate the principle of distribution according to performance, to exploit insufficient controls for enriching themselves personally without doing any work, or to "make money" out of defects in labor organization. That then is why the development of the socialist way of life calls for effective ideological work and the rigorous application of socialist legality and discipline, so as to turn down the old and more and more help the new to prevail.

The socialist society has a social structure that is new in kind. Class antagonism, which for millenia dominated the relations among the various groups of people, has been abolished, but not all class and other social differences have by that token been overcome as yet. Those social differentiations as they exist between the workers class and the class of the

cooperative farmers, between those two classes and the social stratum of the intelligentsia and the other working people and between those who primarily work physically and primarily work mentally, and between the urban and the rural population, are reflected in the differentiated development of the socialist way of life. It means the socialist way of life has an internal social structure. It is fashioned primarily by the workers class, the main political and social force, but it develops as a mode of life of socially differentiated groups of working people and, within the scope of increasingly common features, also is marked by any particular conditions of work and life, traditions and functions in socialist society. There are for instance particulars and differentiated conditions in the development of the socialist way of life as between life in the city and in the countryside, in the large city, the small town or the village, in industrial sprawls or in agricultural areas with a smaller population density. These differentiations range all the way to the specific conditions for satisfying needs and for leisure-time conduct and family life.

As far as differences go in the sharing of the socialist way of life brought about by the level currently attained for the social productive forces, they can of course not be resolved immediately and all at once. Scientific-technical progress and, on its basis, socialist intensification are the crucial link for systematically forming those material conditions more and more comprehensively, which will facilitate the gradual reduction and elimination of these social differentiations.

To create the high level of the social productive forces required for it, it is necessary extensively to develop in all classes and strata in our society our social activity, creativity, and a performance willingness and attitude as the essential substance of the socialist way of life. For this it is necessary to use still more effectively the general features of the socialist way of life, fashioned especially by the workers class and its world-outlook, as well as the specific conditions, facilities and functions of the various social classes, strata and social groups, on behalf of social progress. That also implies our fully developing the potentials of public property and of cooperative property in agriculture and the specific conditions of the highly skilled intellectual-creative activity of the intelligentsia and the special skills of the craftsmen and tradesmen, for higher performances for the benefit of socialist society and of every individual. In this way any given particular conditions in the social situation and development and the social differences, or differentiations, in living conditions and in attitudes can be used as a productive factor, and the special contribution of the social classes and strata to scientific-technical progress and the further development of the socialist way of life can be boosted.

FOOTNOTES

1. "Programm der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands" (SED Program), Dietz publishing house, Berlin. 1976, p 53.

2. Cf. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Aus dem Bericht des Politbueros an die 11. Tagung des ZK der SED" (From the Politburo Report to the 11th SED Central Committee Plenum), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1979, pp 41 ff.

3. "Programm . . .," loc. cit., p 53.

4. Karl Marx/Friedrich Engels, "The German Ideology," "Werke" (Works), Vol 3, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1958, p 21.

5. Kurt Hager, "Philosophie und Politik" (Philosophy and Politics), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1979, p 7.

6. Erich Honecker, "Das Beste zum X. Parteitag! Alles zum Wohle des Volkes! 12. Tagung des ZK der SED" (The Best for the 10th Party Congress! Everything for the Good of the People--12th SED Central Committee Plenum), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1980, p 15.

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ADVANCES IN PUBLIC HEALTH SYSTEM REVIEWED

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[Article by Dr Werner Hering, member, SED Central Committee; chief, Health Department, SED CC: "Our Socialist Health System--Achievements and Demands"]

> [Text] The eighth and ninth congress decisions form the foundation for the performance trends and chief developmental directions of the GDR health system. They are an element of the SED social policy. A program for the development of medical care is consistently being brought to realization through stages. What demands are made for further improving the quality and effectiveness of medical work on management and planning and on the training of associates in public health, on medical research and political-ideological work?

The GDR health system went through a particularly successful stage of development in the 1970's. Through the eighth party congress resolutions, the joint resolution by the Politburo, the Council of Ministers and the FDGB Federal Executive Board of 1973 on further measures for implementing the socialist program in the field of public health, and the ninth party congress resolutions, the main trends were set down for setting up, step by step, a public health system appropriate to the developed socialist society. We have made good headway with it. Patients have justified confidence in the technical skill of the physicians and nurses. Most citizens regard the society-sponsored extensive protection of their health as an essential achievement of our socialist order.

Through the eighth and ninth party congress resolutions it was possible to provide a better quality of health care development in many respects. At present, approximately 460,000 officials take care of the health and social welfare of the GDR citizens. The number of physicians has risen by almost 6,000 since 1970 to 33,000. That makes the GDR stand out in

international comparisons. Since 1971, as many as 8,000 new medical and dental positions have been created, more than 100,000 nursery spots, and approximately 30,000 spots in leisure-time and health care centers. As many as 280,000 children up to the age of three are lovingly taken care of today in day nurseries, and more than 110,000 senior citizens spend their old age, socially secure and safe, in leisure-time and health care centers. New hospitals have been taken into operation in Riesa, Schwedt, Weisswasser, Halle-Kroellwitz, Neubrandenburg and Suhl. In some older facilities we succeeded in significantly improving the care and nursing conditions for the patients, completing the medical-technical equipment, and further easing the working and living conditions for the physicians and nurses.

As to the substantive development of the health system, the eighth and ninth party congress resolutions focus on giving, on a priority basis, all citizens better access to the medical services required for satisfying men's most important and most frequent needs for medical care. Mainly, the citizens are meant to take advantage, without any difficulties, of the services of out-patient and stationary basic care, which amount to roughly 90 percent of all transactions between the citizens and the health system. Thus our health policy is responsive to the general concern of our party's social policy to tackle, and gradually solve, the everyday issues which the vast majority of the workers class and the working people feel are especially urgent.[1] To solve this strategic health policy task, a graduated program for improving medical care was initiated.

On the Development of Ou-patient Facilities

The first stage in this program provided for developing out-patient service into an efficient area of public health and for ensuring high-grade service especially for care in general medicine and pediatrics. Today, 18,000 physicians work in out-patient facilities--a good 5,000 more than in 1970 and, on the whole, more than half of all physicians. With 560 polyclinics, 980 out-patient facilities, 1,650 state-sponsored medical practices, and 2,250 physicians and dentists licensed to work on their own, the GDR has a relatively fine network of out-patient health facilities. While in 1970, an average citizen would resort to out-patient medical or dental help seven times, today he does so 11 times annually. That amounts to 180 million transactions with the socialist health system annually in out-patient treatment alone. In turning out-patient treatment into an efficient functional area, an important health policy objective was achieved. As a result, in many places reservation and waiting periods could be reduced, and it has become easier for a citizen today to find a doctor in whom he has confidence.

Good dental care is an important issue. Since 1978 there has been a more noticeable effect of the measures initiated directly after the eighth party congress for improving the training capacities for stomatoly students, and also of the help provided by the Soviet Union and other

fraternal countries in dental training. For the first time since late in 1977, the number of dentists rose by 800. This development is going to continue more vigorously in years ahead, so that we will be able to do away with the often still too long waiting periods for dental treatment and repair.

With all this we do not ignore that there are still unresolved problems and difficulties. We still have not enough specialists in general medicine and pediatrics. Medical occupations in some large cities and industrial areas, for instance in such important working class centers as Halle, Merseburg, Bitterfeld, Karl-Marx-Stadt and Senftenberg, call for special attention. Especially there, where great economic achievements are performed, the highest level of medical care must be guaranteed. For that we need a full cooperation from the graduates of medical studies. The medical and dental positions required have to be created, and the public state organs have to make housing available. After the 11th Central Committee plenum the party organs once more dealt with these matters thoroughly and, together with the public health ministry, set down measures to achieve, in preparation of the 10th party congress, further noticeable improvements for the citizen and provide permanent solutions. That calls for still more extensive support by bezirk and kreis headquarters, more purposeful political-ideological work, and more rigid management by the competent state organs.

We must also do away with any routine treatments and lack of attention to patients so that we will be able to speak of a socialist doctor-patient relationship everywhere. To that end, a good amount of ideological work has still to be done in quite a number of places.

When new large residential areas were being built, we did not always manage to build polyclinics and out-patient clinics simultaneously. But it is part of a functional residential area "that the citizens' medical care also is assured."[2] Individual medical out-patient facilities set up in apartments are no substitute for polyclinics and out-patient clinics. Nor is that economically justifiable.

Development of First Aid

This form of rapid professional medical care in cases of accidents, life-endangering conditions and serious acute illnesses is currently in effect in 63 kreises--all big cities included--for a total of 7.5 million citizens. Whereas in 1970, circa 50,000 persons seriously ill or hurt in accidents were helped this way, in 1979 more than 160,000 received such often life-saving aid. Through the development of emergency and intensive care units in hospitals a closed rescue chain evolves ranging from the place where the emergency occurred all the way to highly specialized in-house care. Not last, we thereby reduced the number of those who die in accidents each year by more than 1,000. In the years ahead this important form of medical aid is to be made available to all citizens.

Improved Efficiency for Our Hospitals

Due to the successful development of out-patient treatment, the ninth party congress was able to focus on developing in-house and out-patient care together and pay more attention to hospitals in this connection. This introduced a second phase in implementing the graduated program.

Up to 1975, out-patient service had been developed partly at the expense of hospital development. Today it has become possible to carry on the development of these two great areas of medical care at a much more balanced ratio. That also is urgently necessary because the enormous increase in knowledge on the part of medical science through the last 20 years takes effect first and foremost in the hospitals. Possibilities in surgery and in successfully performing ever more complicated surgery even on babies and older people have broadened significantly. While up to a few years ago in cases of accidents and bone fractures the bed and the cast amounted to the most important therapy, today more than 20,000 expensive operations based on new technology are performed each year providing the patients with a more rapid and funcionally better healing process, even though the techniques and the nursing care are more expensive. In 1979, there were 60,000 patients more than in 1970 who received highly skilled medical care in the special departments of intensive therapy, orthopedics and urology alone. Whereas in 1970, for instance, 750 pacemakers were implanted, in 1979, the number had already risen to 5,100--and 85 percent of them came out of our own production. Due to that, the GDR now occupies one of the leading positions in Europe. Complicated heart surgery with the heart-lung machine increased from 200 to 800 cases annually. Since last year the GDR has been among the countries where even the most complicated operations can be performed in this field. Artificial kidney operations went up from 10,000 in 1970 to 86,000 in 1979. More than 4,000 prostheses were implanted in 1979.

The broad introduction of new and, at the same time, most of the time extremely labor-intensive diagnostic and therapeutic methods, and the greater possibilities for taking care of acutely ill and older patients have significantly increased the physical and psychological stress on physicians and nurses in the hospital. These qualitatively novel demands that are going hand in hand with an enormous increase in operational efforts cannot be coped with, despite considerably more intensive work, by physicians and nurses remaining unchanged in number. For that reason, especially since 1976 great efforts have been made to improve the medical personnel in specialized surgical departments and recruit more nurses for in-hospital care. The addition of physicians in the hospitals has been noticeable. It however still does not ensure enough medical personnel everywhere. In the 1980's also circa half of the new doctors will be employed in the hospitals. Altogether the point is, through improved political-ideological work by the party and FDJ organizations, mainly on the college level, to bring it about that the young medical intelligentsia becomes willing, without reservation, to work wherever it is most necessary for our society.

To insure high-level nursing care, it is extremely important to get more nurses. That applies mainly to the big cities, including the capital Berlin. Considering how indispensable it is for uninterrupted medical care that by far the largest proportion of medium-level medical personnel do shift work --75 percent right now is working on shifts, 50 percent in the three-shift system--, it becomes clear what complicated tasks the health system faces here. Constant care for favorable working and living conditions, creating a good work climate and deepening socialist attitudes and convictions in professional ethics belong among the priority tasks of the political-ideological work of the party and trade union organizations and the state managers in hospitals and clinics.

Further improving our hospitals' efficiency requires systematically carrying on the program issued by the ninth party congress on the reconstruction and new construction of efficient health facilities by means of a high economic performance improvement and the energy of the working people even under the changed economic conditions of the 1980's. Besides the Charite, the largest investment project of the health system in the history of the GDR, 12 other hospitals are under construction. When they are completed, approximately 150,000 patients can be treated more expertly each year, over 60,000 more operations can be performed, and we will get circa 3 million more X-rays and 14 million additional laboratory analyses.

The burdens placed on the GDR economy in the 1980's make it necessary to elaborate a still stricter rank and sequence for the use of financial and material funds in the investments for solving the most urgent health policy objectives, in that funds are used as efficiently, effectively for the public and economically as possible. Along with completing the hospitals under construction, systematic investment and maintenance funds are mainly to be used for the maintenance and reconstruction of existing hospitals and foster-homes.

Medical Care in the Enterprise

The industrial health system reflects most emphatically the social character of our health protection system. A considerable performance level has been reached in this area. There are, after all, more than 3,000 physicians and dentists who are responsible for the health of the workers and other working people in the enterprises directly. Two thirds of all people employed--5.5 million working people--get extensive medical and labor-medical care through the industrial health system. In recent years, therefore, the emphasis was placed on extending industrial health care not just quantitatively, but qualitatively as well. This orientation is meant to improve further the medical care for the production workers in the large-scale enterprises. At the same time the eighth and ninth party congresses have ordered strengthening the influence of medicine on making working and living conditions healthier. That some production workers are still working under conditions harmful to health is a fact. And also the mechanization and chemical processes of agriculture entail new requirements in labor medicine.

Making working and living conditions healthier is of course not exclusively the responsibility of medicine. It also has to do with a targeted influence to be brought to bear on the matter of reporting sick, which causes considerable losses in social labor capacity. The health system, no doubt, plays a special role in this; the judgment on being able to work calls for high diagnostic and therapeutical skills. Every physician has to be aware that he, by being authorized to make out sick leave slips and prescriptions, has a key to the people's treasury in his pocket. What is most important in reducing sick-leave status is and remains that all those that are responsible here, the enterprise managements, the foremen and brigade chiefs, the trade union organizations and the health system, assume their responsibilities and closely cooperate at once and that the political-ideological clarification process is purposefully being advanced regarding these matters by the party and trade union collectives. If there is a constant draft in some part of the plant, no manager should be surprised many people report sick. Flue shots do not help then. Not even after the efforts on behalf of developing an effective vaccine against flue virus by Dresden's Saxon Serum Plant have been successful.

Extensive Mother and Child Care

From the outset, the socialist society has given special attention to the health protection of mother and child. That, not last, follows from the great objective of our society to insure a healthy development for every young person and make possible a harmonious development of his physical and mental capacities. The special health protection for women on a job or during their pregnancy, delivery or childbed period helps create the kind of conditions for women to be able actually to assume increasingly more their equal position in practical life. Our performance level in pregnancy, maternity and child care is something we can be proud of. With an infant mortality rate of 13.1 per 1,000 live births and a maternal mortality rate of 1.6 per 10,000 births, our republic occupies a noteworthy rank internationally.

The gratifying birth increase of recent years makes higher demands on our health system. That pertains to our having to expand our capacities in midwifery and the modernization or reconstruction of pregnancy and maternity counseling centers. There is a consistent effort at further raising the number of beds for deliveries, so that all mothers giving birth can stay at least 7 days in a clinic. In the years ahead, more expert pregnancy and maternity counseling and a pediatric care for the newborn in line with modern developments must of course constantly be given our special attention.

Although during the current five-year plan and through additional initiatives by the kreises, more than 50,000 day nursery spots are being newly created--Potsdam Bezirk has set an example here--, the number of infants to be cared for is rising faster at present than the new extra nursery spots. In international comparisons, we come out with the

highest rate of infant care, in placing circa 600 of the 1,000 infants entitled to it in day nurseries, infants, that is, up to the age of three. In spite of that, many thousand applications for day nursery spots can at this time not yet be passed. It shows how urgent it is systematically to expand further the network of day nurseries and to make optimum use of them.

Also in the development of placing physically or psychologically retarded in day nurseries and homes our society has evidently made fast progress in recent years.

Increasing Importance for Medical Training and Research

While in the last 35 years an efficient health system has been generated in our republic, still more training and medical research will determine the further improvement of the quality and effectiveness of medical work in the future. That places a high demand on the knowledge and skill, and thus on the training and advanced training, of the scientists and physicians. The full use of all intellectual and material potentials increasingly more becomes the crucial factor for performance improvements in medical work on the whole in the further shaping of the developed socialist society. In conformity with the demands of the 11th and 12th Central Committee plena, these factors will become more and more important in the 1980's. Even while on the threshold into the 1980's, the Politburo took a position on basic natural science and technical research and medical research and adopted basic resolutions on the development of the university system.[3]

In recent years, the medical scientists in our republic accomplished internationally recognized research achievements at a high theoretical level and of great practical use to health protection. That included procedures for extending blood bank storage periods and producing substitute skin tissue for covering large wounds, immunological diagnostic methods and an automated microscopic image analysis for cancer probes, the investigation of cellular mechanism in memory formation, the development of modern dialysis processes, and the first successful liver and island cell transplants and other matters. These outstanding achievements demonstrate it is necessary and possible to develop medical research in conformity with our social prerequisites as well as with regard to our country's medical traditions.

In confrontation with imperialism, it is a challenge of great political importance for all medical scientists in our country further to advance the fine international reputation of our health system in the 1980's through top performances in the science, in the prevention, diagnosis and treatment of illnesses and in their etiology and generation. The tasks passed on in the Politburo resolution on matters of medical research concentrate on areas that would make us expect pioneering results for medical research and achievements of international rank, with a growth of insights that is of great social interest. It is understood that

that in medical research too, the GDR relies on close cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries. For moving in those directions we need a fresh spirit in research, the right cadres, a bold promotion of the rising generation, and implacable comparisons with world standards, and that presupposes a militant atmosphere in all party organizations and medical science institutions.

Determining the endogenous (internal) causes of cardiac infarcation, high blood pressure, cancer, flue, psychological and other illnesses is the focal point in medical research today. Access to that is most readily found by combining medical research with basic biological research and through the cooperation between clinical and theoretical-experimental collectives of scientists. Medical research ought to pay greater attention to the increasing frequency of chronic diseases. Also in medicine it is necessary to examine, without reservation, the originality of a science requirement for each project, so that we will not merely "run after" any international trends. Stricter criteria obviously have to be applied to the defense of research projects and research results. The recently formed medical science council is especially responsible for that.

High medical research requirements make high demands on industry but also have, more than ever, direct effects on intelligence-intensive production. That calls for still closer connections between medical research and the industrial branches and research centers that are important to medicine, particularly those in electrical engineering and electronics, machine building, chemistry, optics, the light industry and the microbiological and pharmaceutical industries, so that top-achievements are obtained in research and production. The automated measuring microscope Parmaquant, which is of crucial importance to cancer diagnostics, was developed through the cooperation between medical scientists in Rostock and Carl Zeiss Jena combine collectives and is an outstanding example for how rapidly and successfully a completely new idea can be brought to realization through a concentrated use of cadres and means and in close cooperation with industry while rigorously utilizing the advantages of our own social order. Such developments can also be beneficial for industry and export.

Creativity and Great Dedication by the Physicians and Nurses

The physicians, dentists, nurses and other associates in public health are able and willing to dedicate all their strength to solving the demanding tasks which, in conformity with party resolutions, confront our health system. That is confirmed by the numerous initiatives and fine results of socialist competition.

Every citizen appreciates a sound, reliable and helpful medical consultation or dental treatment. Many factors, no doubt, affect the quality and effectiveness of medical care. Decisive is the knowledge and skill, the

professional ethics and the dedication of the physicians and dentists, the nurses and all other associates in public health. It will depend on the maturity of a medical personality, his education and political attitude, his strength of radiation as a human being, his cultural level and the example he sets as a citizen, what effects he will have on his patients and in the residential area, and how much confidence a patient and citizen will place in him. That makes our party's steady political-ideological work with the medical intelligentsia all the more responsible a task. It vitally helps inspiring every physician and nurse for providing the highest grade of medical work and for gaining as much knowledge as possible, to be able to give the citizens access to the achievements of modern medicine and helps making the physicians and nurses feel an all-inclusive sense of responsibility to the development of our socialist public health system, in that a comradely productive cooperation between work collectives and institutions develops ever more strongly--or, in short, that all associates in the socialist health system help implement creatively and with a high sense of dedication our party and state policy, especially in their own professional field. There must nowhere be a sterile atmosphere in public health except in the operating room! Medical activity has never been unideological or apolitical in history; but not until socialism do the humanistic concerns of medicine and professional medical ethics fully coincide with the society's interests and the policy of the state.

FOOTNOTES

1. Cf. Erich Honecker, "Everything for the Good of the People, for Socialism and Peace," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 16/17 October 1976, p 3.

2. Erich Honecker, "Die naechsten Aufgaben der Partei bei der weiteren Durchfuehrung der Beschluesse des IX. Parteitages der SED" (The Next Party Tasks in the Continued Implementation of the Ninth SED Congress), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1980, p 68.

3. Comrade Inge Lange, "Aus dem Bericht des Politbueros an die 12. Tagung des ZK der SED" (From the Politburo Report to the 12th SED Central Committee Plenum), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1980, pp 41-42, 53-56.

5885
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SUCCESSFUL DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY REVIEWED

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 35 No 7/8, Jul-Aug 80 signed to press 13 Jun 80 pp 765-770

[Article by Prof Dr Gerhard Schulze, jurist, first dean (prorektor), GDR Academy of Political Science and Jurisprudence: "On the Humanistic Essence of Socialist Democracy." A translation of an earlier EINHEIT article on the same subject by Prof Otto Reinhold, containing further references to related information, is published under the heading, "Socialist Versus Bourgeois Democracy Analyzed," in JPRS 73253, 18 Apr 79, No 1670 of this series, pp 24-33]

[Text] Led by the workers class and its Marxist-Leninist party, the working people in our republic direct and plan the affairs of state in the freedom of their own self-determination. The article demonstrates that the deeply humanistic essence of socialist democracy expresses itself in various ways and that democratic codetermination effectively fosters personality development. The proven forms of democratic participation must be further molded and perfected, and all citizens must actively be drawn into the solution of the social tasks.

Socialist democracy with its deeply humanistic essence is one of the most important achievements in the construction of the new, socialist society led by the workers class and its Marxist-Leninist party. All experiences of the victorious workers class in the socialist countries confirm the Leninist doctrine that "vital creative socialism is the work of the popular masses themselves."[1]

In free self-determination and equality the working people in our country consciously shape their public life on the basis of the objective inevitabilities of social development. The socialist social order causes and promotes the free development of the working people's essential capacities in the process of work and their public activities--which expresses

the humanistic essence of socialist democracy. Not until socialism were the conditions created for actually allowing the working people, led by the workers class and its Marxist-Leninist party, to manage and plan their affairs of state through their own free decision-making. Socialism provided the workers class and its alliance partners with true sovereign self-determination both for the people and the individual. The workers class in power made possible the development of real, socialist democracy, the comradely and creative cooperation of all working classes and strata for shaping the new society that is adequate to man and insures that the people owns what the people's hands create.

Our experiences with the successful course behind us in the development and consolidation of the socialist state demonstrate to us that it is not from one day to the next but throughout a permanent process of democratic participation that the working people acquire the abilites to structure public relations in conformity with objective requirements on behalf and for the benefit of the people. Precisely through the process of democratic participation in the management and planning of society the working people have been and are being enabled to meet the constantly new and complicated developmental requirements. Vital socialist democracy--as demonstrated daily by our political practice--decisively affects the personality development of the individual, the molding and continued shaping of his modes of thought and conduct. Democratic participation elevates and reinforces political awareness, fosters the shaping of a firm class standpoint, and deepens the knowledge of the inevitabilities of our era and of the course, directed by the party, toward further social progress. That also expresses socialist democracy as real humanism.

Inseparable from that is the fact that the humanistic essence of socialist democracy, its superiority over any other form of bourgeois democracy, results from that the socialist state does not only proclaim the citizens' freedoms and rights but socialist society provides its citizens with real possibilities and conditions for making actual use of these rights and freedoms.

We rightly speak of the humanistic essence of socialist democracy also because the citizens' democratic participation in all fundamental decisions--like the laws, law regulations and resolutions--enables them in the first place consciously to fashion and control their process of public life. Our country's working people themselves are the ones who, for instance, have coauthored our party program and their state laws in the truest sense of the word. Only recall, for example, the breadth and intensity of the popular debate on the party program draft for the Ninth SED Congress, which charted the course and objective of our social development over an extended time period. The Central Committee received a total of 1,168,000 letters, position papers and recommendations from citizens, work collectives, SED members and candidates, party collectives and members of other parties. It is the custom in our socialist society to submit for public debate the drafts of basic laws to the population

before they are ratified by the People's Chamber. Millions of working people have taken part in the popular debates on such draft laws--which was made a principle of the Constitution in its article 65 section 3--and thereby helped improve their quality. The humanistic essence of our socialist democracy is thus attested to not only by the content of our laws but likewise by the following facts: some 750,000 citizens debated the draft of the family code and submitted 23,737 suggestions; in 60,000 meetings, 1,500,000 citizens took part in the discussion of the law on the local people's representations, submitting 4,300 amendment proposals for that draft law; and 5,400,000 citizens discussed the draft for the youth law and made 4,821 proposals on amending that draft law; equally pronounced was the democratic participation by all segments of the population in the discussion of other fundamental draft laws, as the civil code and labor law.

Such facts also show how our socialist society implements this deeply humanistic principle: all political power is exercised by the working people and serves their well-being, the safeguarding of peace, and the protection of human dignity. Firm foundations have been laid for this decisive constitutional principle: the humanistic essence of socialist democracy is predicated on the political rule by the workers class and its being led by the Marxist-Leninist party, on the public ownership in the means of production and thus surmounting the exploitation of man by man and abolishing class antagonism. Only by having all working classes and strata rally around it in alliance, the workers class, led by its vanguard, was able to lead the socialist revolution to victory, consolidate the socialist workers and farmers state as a form of the dictatorship of the proletariat, which represents the interests of the entire GDR people, and make its political power prevail on a broad democratic base through which it invests our socialist order with its humane traits and combative qualities.

All our experiences confirm this: the working people's determined leadership by the workers class and its Marxist-Leninist party not only proves the decisive condition for the transition to our new, humane order of socialism. It also is the indispensable prerequisite for the further shaping of the developed socialist society and thus for creating the fundamental preconditions for the gradual transition to communism.

Spread and Perfection of Socialist Democracy

Coping with the demanding tasks facing our country in the 1980's, in the further shaping of our developed socialist society, means still more effectively bringing to bear on it all the advantages and impulses of socialism. That applies particularly to further perfecting our socialist democracy. After all, the years behind us in our development have provided us with the persuasive evidence that the people's sovereign self-determination has become a powerful impulse for our successful advances. For that important social progress that was achieved through the implementation of the eighth and ninth party congress resolutions was due to the

strong public activities of the workers class and all working people. Their sense of responsibility, expert involvement, experiences and creative, dedicated efforts were decisive in having our socialist society, as Comrade Erich Honecker stressed at the 12th Central Committee plenum, "attain a considerable degree of maturity, internal stability and, at once, effectiveness in external respects."[2]

To continue resolutely the party policy which serves the good of the people, to insure, and step by step further extend, the material and intellectual-cultural standard of living achieved, under the changed external, principally the foreign economy, conditions far more complicated problems have to be solved than in the 1970's. To meet them adequately and accelerate scientific-technical progress, whereby we can cope with a decisive improvement of our economic efficiency, is a challenge to the deliberate and systematically organized cooperation among all working people--to the effectiveness of socialist democracy. Strengthening the socialist state and further perfecting socialist democracy are matters that condition each other. The socialist state, after all, is the chief instrument the working people, led by the workers class, have in shaping the new society, and "the further spread and perfecting of socialist democracy," as the party program puts it, "is the main direction in which socialist state power develops."[3]

Life has produced many different forms, well tested in practice, for the citizens' democratic participation in public affairs. More effective use of them still has to be made so that the citizens can take part still more extensively in making expert decisions on the concrete issues of economic, social and intellectual-cultural life in the enterprises and cooperatives, the towns and communities, the councils and commissions of the people's representations and various other social organizations. Our experiences have taught us, after all, that the working people are all the sooner ready to participate democratically with all their strength, responsibly and with rich initiatives, the more strongly they sense that their participation is needed, their counsel, their recommendations and their critical suggestions as well, and their committed dedication to implementing them becomes a benefit for society and the individual. That is conspicuously attested to by the results of our competition, "More Beautiful Towns and Communities--Join In!" Millions of citizens are engaged here in manifold creative activities which help fulfill the economic plan, mobilize and expand the activities in the citizens' cooperative efforts for all classes, strata and age-groups, and shape the environment in accordance with their interests. For many citizens the participation in this National Front competition--which turned into a genuine people's initiative--was the first step toward deliberately participating in public life. These and all other proven forms of democratic involvement must be fully used toward actively including, more and more, all citizens in finding solutions for the tasks in all domains of public life.

In this connection also it is of great importance that the matters in which the citizens address themselves at their state organs are processed attentively and unbureaucratically. While our state power is consolidated and our socialist democracy is made more perfect, "the greatest value should be placed on involving the citizens, on attentively dealing with their suggestions and critical advice," Comrade Erich Honecker has demanded. "Everyone should sense we highly appreciate his responsible participation in solving our common public tasks and take seriously any matter in which he addresses himself with trust at the organs of state."[4]

The People's Representations--Foundation of Our State Power

The democratically elected people's representations and the work they do for the good of the citizens are a visible reflection of the high level of implementation of our socialist democracy. In contrast to the bourgeois system of representation, the people's representations in our socialist state reflect the social structure of socialist society. In them are drawn together the best forces of the workers class and of the other working people allied with it. The outcome of democratic elections, they enjoy the people's trust and are accountable to the citizens.

In our socialist society, the people's representations are the most comprehensive power organs of the state in which and through which the workers class and the other working people allied with it exercise their political power. From the People's Chamber to the bezirk and kreis assemblies, the city-kreis assemblies and city-district assemblies, all the way down to the community representations, they form the basis of the uniform system of state power in the GDR and are, at once, the most complete embodiment of its democratic character. The people's representations manifest the will of the working people. Their more than 200,000 members are a great political force. On 20 May 1979, people's representations were elected in the kreises, towns and communities "which are not only greater in number, but also of a new quality in their composition."[5] They have a greater proportion of workers of material production, many youths and women among them. The deputies are distinguished by their fine education, sound political and technical knowledge, great expertise and rich life experience.

In years past, the activity of the people's representations has visibly gained in quality. They deal with all fundamental problems in their territories, increasingly better learn to combine properly the territorial needs with overall social requirements, resolutely concentrate on the problems in the implementation of their territorial plans, and are developing direct permanent contacts with the industrial work collectives and the cooperatives and with the citizens in the residential areas. In spite of that it is necessary to tap still many other reserves in order to make still more effective the deputies' work, especially of those who are engaged in material production. That includes having the

councils create all prerequisites and working conditions that will make it easier for the deputies to exercise their volunteer activities for the good of their voters and in the overall state interest. It is also shown that the active stand taken by the people's representatives in their enterprises and the respect for and support of their activity by the work collectives and enterprise managements are increasingly turning into an essential factor of successful deputy activity.

Along with the deputies there are tens of thousands of citizens in the GDR who engage in various forms of volunteer work in the state apparatus. In more than 30 fields of activity in the state apparatus, in the central and local organs, volunteer collectives are working in the form of commissions, committees, councils and activists groups. Volunteer associates, helpers and delegates are engaged in 20 other fields of activity. This active participation by citizens virtually extends to all domains in state management and planning and is brought to bear on every phase in the state management process.

Millions of working people are taking part in government! Their work crucially helps fashion the humanistic essence of socialist democracy: Our republic has 204,910 citizens who are deputies of the People's Chamber and the local people's representations; circa 500,000 citizens are working on the standing commissions and activists groups of the people's representations; 335,000 citizens are working on the 17,000 National Front commissions; 95,550 working people are members of the 9,762 centralized continual production consultations of their enterprises; 300,000 citizens are on the retail trade organization and restaurant advisory councils and on the sales outlet commissions; 358,000 workers, master workmen, engineers and scientists are working in work and research communities; 225,623 working people are in conflicts commissions; 50,173 citizens are involved in jurisdiction; 53,448 citizens are members of our arbitration commissions; 223,929 working people assist in the Workers and Farmers' Inspectorate and are working in circa 6,500 inspectorate commissions; and 680,765 citizens, in 5,894 parents' advisory councils and in 104,465 groups of teachers' aides, aid in the education and training of our young people at our schools.

These impressive facts per se demonstrate the humanistic essence of our socialist democracy, even if they do not by themselves reflect the substance and effectiveness of the work or the degree of maturity in democratic participation. Nor are they in any way complete. Millions of citizens also affect the fashioning of public life through their functions in trade unions, in social welfare and public health, in the domains of culture and sports, in insuring order and security and many other places. Thousands of citizens are committed to other bodies and social organizations. The involvement of the vast majority of the working people in state and economic management and their confident cooperation regardless of world-outlook, religion or party membership--this proves to be one of the decisive advantages of socialist democracy, an important pledge to that the people own what the people's hands create. Socialist democracy--that is truly government by the people, exercised by the people and its elected organs.

Socialist Democracy and Personality Development

To exercise political power and consciously shape all domains of public life--the way our socialist society practically engages in politics--directly affects the personality development of those who are democratically engaged like that. Taking part in expert decision-making after all, calls for great political knowledge, solid technical skills, and high personal commitment--regardless of which level or which organization. In the process of democratic engagement all this is fostered to a decisive degree, the individual gains new knowledge and deepens his insights into overall social interconnections and inevitabilities, broadens his understanding of the party's overall strategy and tactics, and enhances his personal conviction of the correctness of our course. This revolutionary practice forms personality to a high extent, furthers independent, initiative-rich activities, and further develops the awareness that the responsibility one bears is for the whole.

Especially this democratic participation often presents an individual with an entirely new testing ground and expects prudent decisions from him in thus far unfamiliar areas (only consider the many teachers' aides and parents' advisory council members elected for such functions for the first time, who might even be assuming such an executive function for the first time, or consider the arbitration commissions, the traffic safety activists groups, advisory councils of various kinds, where citizens frequently take their first steps in democratic participation in elected functions).

No statistics are likely to account for how democratic participation develops the talents, inclinations, interests and abilities of an individual. Great importance for personality development does however attach to democratic participation. It enriches the individual's store of experiences, improves his judgment, develops his sense of responsibility and also crucially affects his conduct at work and at leisure. Democratic participation also enriches the individual's public relations, his relations with society. Often it is only through this activity that an individual, in pursuit of common tasks, makes close contact with citizens differing in skills, world-outlook, religion and party membership. And how many may there be who in an election function for the first time pose tasks the fulfillment of which they have to control, and who for the first time have to prepare an accounting or an exchange of experiences by themselves.

Democratic participation is neither a formality nor an end in itself. Responsible and conscientious work it is, aimed at bringing the advantages and impulses of socialism still more comprehensively to bear, at creating all conditions under which public relations and the abilities and talents of people can fully develop, so they may invest their lives with substance and culture.

FOOTNOTES

1. V. I. Lenin, "All-Russian Central Executive Committee Meeting," "Werke" (Works), Vol 26, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1961, p 283.

2. Erich Honecker, "Das Beste zum X. Parteitag! Alles zum Wohle des Volkes, 12. Tagung des ZK der SED" (The Best for the 10th Party Congress! All for the Good of the People--12th SED Central Committee Plenum), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1980, p 9.

3. Programm der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands" (SED Program), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, p 41.

4. Erich Honecker, "Our Program of Full Employment, the People's Prosperity and Stability Bears Rich Fruit," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 12 February 1978, p 4.

5. Erich Honecker, "Die naechsten Aufgaben der Partei bei der weiteren Durchfuehrung der Beschluesse des IX. Parteitages der SED" (The Next Party Tasks in the Continued Implementation of the Ninth SED Congress Resolutions), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1980, p 72.

5885
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'DIALECTIC' OF SOCIAL, PERSONAL FREEDOM IN SOCIALISM EXPLAINED

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 101, 7 Jul 80 p 1

[Report from Berlin: "SED Rejects Criticism of Individual Freedom in Socialism." A translation of the East Berlin EINHEIT article cited below follows this commentary]

[Text] The theoretical SED journal EINHEIT (No 7/8, 1980) has rejected Western criticism of restricted individual freedom in socialism. Such attacks bore "features of the historical defensive" and aimed at placing in doubt "the new quality of social and individual freedom in socialism." The "social freedom" gained by socialism was "prerequisite, basis and thus the historic framework, as it were, for the development of individual freedom." The possibilities for further shaping individual freedom in socialism depended on the degree attained in the collective control by the working people over their natural and social life processes. Consequently, individual freedom in socialism was "nothing definitive, nothing attained for once and for all." It was always in a state of change and developed with the growth of the productive forces and with the perfection of the people's production relations and intellectual culture. From that one should have to proceed in wishing to "judge today's developmental status and the current developmental requirements for social and personal freedom correctly." Through the shaping of the developed socialist society, the conditions would expand for the free development of individuality.

Marxist Philosopher's Discussion

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 35 No 7/8, Jul-Aug 80 signed to press 13 Jun 80 pp 771-779

[Article by Prof Dr Herbert Steininger, program director, Marxist-Leninist Philosophy Department, Humboldt University, East Berlin: "Freedom and Individuality." Translations of articles on related topics as indicated are published in the following JPRS issues of this series: on

the importance of 'subjective rights,' personal freedom--74723, 6 Dec 79, No 1744, pp 28-48; concept, theory of human rights, personal freedom--70919, 7 Apr 78, No 1520, pp 29-47; 70196, 21 Nov 77, No 1476, pp 34-45; 70001, 19 Oct 77, No 1463, pp 72-80 (followed by interview on problems of personal freedom, pp 81-85); and 69532, 1 Aug 77, No 1426, pp 36-56; on human rights, class rights--70702, 28 Feb 78, No 1507, pp 73-79 and 68187, 9 Nov 76, No 1317, pp 17-27; and on development of personal freedom--69293, 22 Jun 77, No 1404, pp 105-118 and 68228, 17 Nov 76, No 1320, pp 19-33]

[Text] Freedom is man's control over nature, society and himself--a process combining natural law, the laws of social development, scientific understanding and conscious action. Explaining this, while taking issue with the bourgeois ideology of freedom, the article explores the new quality of social and individual freedom in socialism and the dialectical interactions between social and individual development.

The great and historically motivating idea of human freedom imbues our party's program tasks and the struggle for their implementation. That idea, going far back in human history and pervading history as soon as it becomes the history of class struggle, has received scientific form in the world-outlook of the workers class. The founding fathers of Marxism-Leninism, in their materialist-dialectical concept of society and man, established the realization that the development of individual freedom is a decisive element of social freedom in socialism, and that here the conditions, prerequisites and impulses for the unrestrained development of the individual are formed and come into their own.

A natural concomitant of the matter is that especially with regard to this point socialist and bourgeois ideology collide with each other most vehemently and the conflict over theoretical, ideological and political issues connecting with it is visibly intensifying. Since socialism assumed its real shape in the Soviet Union and the countries of the socialist community, bourgeois ideology, after all, no longer has had to deal merely with the Marxist-Leninist theory of man and his freedom, but also with their real existence, their struggle in our era and their present-day activities. The real existence and historic work of men in socialist society clearly and convincingly reveal the main goal of socialist social development--to raise, on the basis of a high speed in socialist production development, the people's material and cultural standard of living, whereby to create increasingly better conditions for developing the individuality of each, his creativity, initiative, knowledge and skills.

Historically on the Defensive

Bourgeois ideological attacks on real socialism, especially on its historically new, enormous potentials for the development of individual freedom, bear the features of the historic defensive into which imperialism has long been forced. They are aimed at placing in doubt the new quality of social and individual freedom in socialism as much as its decisive foundation and conditions--the political power of the workers class in alliance with the other working people and the public ownership in the means of production. The idea and reality of individual freedom in socialism are equally intolerable to the bourgeois ideology. They irrevocably refute the basic concept in the bourgeois ideology on freedom, inseparably connected with the bourgeois idea of society and of man, grounding individual freedom in the private ownership in the means of production. Be they program documents or social conceptions of rightist-conservative or social-reformist forces, or conceptions based on existentialist, positivistic or religious views--the conceptions of freedom proclaimed in them are always determined by the idea that the one-sided and limited freedom of capitalist commodity production ultimately determines the freedom of the human individual. What is revealed there is the class character of all bourgeois theory on freedom.

In the FRG, for example, the CDU's basic program, passed at the 26th party conference in Ludwigshafen, declares the so-called social market economy a social premise anchored in the "idea of responsible freedom as part of the Christian image of man" (figure 65 of the program).[1] The CSU program in the FRG likewise proceeds from that idea. It declares a policy that would preserve and consolidate the so-called social market economy to insure "that an individual can exploit the new and great possibilities for freedom and development resulting from the change of society and the changes in social structures."[2]

The orientation framework '85, adopted at the SPD Congress in Mannheim in 1975, does say: "Freedom is however social reality, and not merely an illusion and privilege for a few, only when all men have the actual (economic, political, social, cultural) possibility for free development." But with it, the private economic disposition over the means of production and market competition, i.e. the capitalist economy, are declared indispensable. They are merely thought to be in need of supplementary government management measures.[3]

Bourgeois theories on freedom, generated in the struggle by the rising bourgeoisie against feudalism, today are in many regards reactionary, whatever they may look like. First, they are aimed at concealing the nature of imperialism i.e. as much as possible hide the fact that the economic and political power of the monopolies, "which are everywhere pressing for domination and not for freedom," as Lenin put it, is "reaction all the way through."[4] Second, bourgeois freedom theories play an important role in the intellectual manipulation of the working people in

the capitalist countries. They aim at obliterating the ever more glaring contradiction between the proclaimed bourgeois-democratic rights and freedoms and social reality by maintaining and solidifying the illusion of the "free" and "mature" citizen, to tie the working people down to state monopoly capitalism.[5] Third finally, this way they are trying to deplete the problems of genuine human emancipation in our era of their vital social substance.

All possibilities of philosophic idealism are mobilized to this end. Freedom is conceived as an absolute "value" valid forever, is detached from its social frame of reference and presented as an anthropological problem that relates mainly to individual human beings only. That precisely is the case when CDU representatives in the FRG announce, for instance, that freedom is "personally accountable freedom, individual accountability and coresponsibility in society," while it is emphasized at once that "the freedom of man is based on a reality that transcends the human world."[6] The logic in this conception lies in shifting the foundations of human freedom to the irrational, extraterrestrial domain, by which the question about the social foundations of freedom and the real possibilities any concrete society offers to individual freedom becomes pointless. Then freedom--turned thereby into a personal matter, a matter of "man created for freedom"--can consequently also be left to the sole responsibility of the individual "who must account for his freedom."[7] The clear-text on this reads as follows, however: When man is unfree it is not because he lives under social conditions that prevent man from controlling the circumstances of his material and intellectual life but only because he does not meet his accountability to freedom, does not live up to it--so that it is up to the individual whether he is free or not. It is obvious who benefits from this conception of freedom, inasmuch as it comes down to it that freedom, in "transcending the human world," can then not be the outcome of revolutionary struggle, for which reason such struggle becomes actually meaningless.

In contrast to bourgeois conceptions of freedom, the Marxist-Leninist definition of freedom proceeds from the thought that human action has its basis in the objective inevitabilities in the development of nature and society, and it connects this materialistic point of departure with the recognition of conscious activity by socialized man. That is an acknowledgment of human dignity and of the value of true individuality at once. For the core of this conception is the most vital question of what it means to be truly human--the question of man's relation with his natural and social environment, the question of the practical control man has over nature, society and himself. The Marxist-Leninist answer conceives of freedom as a process that combines natural law, the laws of social development, scientific understanding and conscious action. This unity--and only this unity--gives society and the individuals the real possibility for being able to control the objective conditions of the real life process and to have individuality come into its own. In this sense also it was that Marx and Engels opposed the idealistic conception that man

was free "through the negative capacity to avoid one thing or another." Rather, he is free "through his positive capacity of bringing his true individuality to bear."[8]

Free through the positive capacity of bringing true individuality to bear--that is, first and foremost, a social problem. The essential circumstances and conditions that determine the formation of those human characteristics which, as individual modes of thinking and conduct, as the wealth of his intellectual life, as the development of his talents and abilities, and as the development and application of his creative forces, constitute his individuality are to be found mainly in the material process of public life, that is, in any given mode of production and the social, political, ideological and cultural social relations conditioned by it. Through the process of material life, in the production and reproduction of public life based on the given production relations and of course also in the practical and intellectual activities in political, scientific and cultural life, the individual develops, forms the features and traits of his individuality, shapes his personality.

As long as social conditions exist that are based on the private ownership in the means of production, it is not the individuality of working man that is wanted, but only one aspect of this individuality--the useful labor capacity in it. That leads to the consequence that individuality is suppressed a million times, the gifts and talents of millions and millions of people remain undeveloped, the trend toward impoverishing and stunting individuality prevails over all public life, and enormous efforts are required to at least partly counteract that trend in the workers class and among other working classes and strata.

How topical these problems are particularly at present is shown by the situation in capitalism. In connection with the deepening crisis in that society, the unfavorable developmental conditions for individuality are only being further exacerbated in the capitalist industrial countries through their massive unemployment. The official unemployment figures in those countries have risen from 8 to 17 million since 1970.

Of special significance to the developmental constraints on individuality are the problems brought about by scientific-technical progress under capitalist conditions. The modern achievements of science and technology show up there as "job killers," as hostile to whole occupational groups whose special knowledge and skills are invalidated, but hostile also to those who remain in the production process and whose exploitation is being intensified while their efficiency and health are ruined more rapidly. The catastrophic character of the social consequences of scientific-technical progress under capitalist conditions is seen wherever it is a matter of the essential prerequisites for the development of the individual, for the forming of individuality--also in the fields of training and general education. When millions of young people find there is no place for them in that society, that they are not needed and they cannot, however hard they try, make their lives meaningful, it has deep and permanent negative effects on the development of individuality.

It is no coincidence therefore that bourgeois ideologists play down the importance of these aspects of the material life process for the development and molding of individuality but declare the formal bourgeois freedom rights the ne plus ultra of human individuality development. The formal bourgeois freedom rights which in the light of the bourgeois ideologists show up as the end-all of all freedom of personality do have their importance no doubt for the members of the workers class and for other working people. They can be used in the struggle for social progress and socialism for organizing the workers class and in developing the anti-monopolist struggle for insuring and expanding the working people's democratic rights.

But however important bourgeois freedom rights are for individual existence and for the struggle by progressive forces in that society, however necessary it is to defend them against any attempt at constricting them further by the monopoly bourgeoisie--the margin they leave for the actual control of man over nature, the social processes and himself, and thus over the massive development of individuality, is extremely narrow. The exploitation relations of capitalist society and freedom "are mutually exclusive. Freedom for the working people arises only with the end of exploitation, with socialism."[9]

Accretion of Freedom in Society--A Gain of Individual Life

The freedom of the individual in socialism is a historic achievment. Its objective prerequisites lie in the political power of the workers class and its allies, in the public ownership in the means of production, the planned management of the social developmental processes and in the growing control over nature by means of a rapid development of the productive forces. It insures the freedom from exploitation--the key problem that has to be solved if one is to talk seriously of individual freedom, and not in the euphemistic sense in which bourgeois ideology talks about reality. It insures the freedom from the insecurity about subsistence resulting for millions from the capitalist mode of production. It insures a material standard of living that rises with the development of the productive forces and the productivity of social labor. It guarantees comprehensive education for all working people that includes the scientific world-outlook and the acquisition of technical knowledge and skills in conformity with personal inclinations and within the scope of public requirements. And it guarantees, if one summarizes it all, the individuals' participation, based on active, creative and expert decisions, in the solution of social tasks. It is particularly this participation by the individual in the rule exercised by the associated producers, invested by expertise and borne in responsibility, which makes possible for and demands of the individual the development of his individuality all-around.

But that is tantamount to always making more strongly prevail whatever makes human existence more worthwhile and enriches it: working creatively, testing, and productively and constructively applying, one's capacities and capabilities, enjoying the accomplishments of human culture,

contributing to its preservation and augmentation, finding satisfaction in one's own work and in working together with others, and living a life that is meaningful, rich and fulfilled. The revolutionary workers movement has always been struggling for a society that enables each member freely to develop and engage his personal capacities. That is why in the SED Program the all-round development of the capabilities and talents of personality for the good of the individual and of all socialist society is called one of the noblest goals of the revolutionary workers movement.

The Marxist-Leninist theory of individual freedom and real socialism in practice refute the bourgeois notion that the problem of individuality is under all social conditions the problem of the individual who has to prevail against society in creating for himself, in view of the enslaving, anonymous forces of society, a domain of private interests and inclinations, a "freedom sphere" that is screened off from the concerns of society at large. This bourgeois conception reflects the intensifying antagonism between individual and society which has its roots in the private ownership in the means of production, the isolation of individuals and their opposition in the struggle of all against all. That idea of human individuality and of the freedom of the individual is as poor in substance as the concept of man on which it is based. It cannot answer the question what the real requirements for individuality development truly are because it starts from the proposition that the antagonism between the individual and society is inherent in human existence per se and cannot be broken. The definition of individual freedom, after all, is purely negative, entirely the position that was criticized by Marx and Engels, as freedom from something. While that indeed is one aspect of freedom, but when applied to the whole, its proper character gets debased. Freedom must at the same time also be defined as freedom for something.[10] Only that reveals the social leeway, the possibilities for actions, the space for movement and development in the activities in the subject of freedom, expressed in the freedom to act and be active in conformity with the development of society and of the individual.

The freedom to act expresses itself in socialist society in the conscious participation by millions of citizens in the democratic exercise of power, in the purposeful struggle for plan fulfillment, which makes high demands on the individual and the collectives alike, and in the competition and innovator movement. It expresses itself in the manifold relations of comradely cooperation and mutual aid, developed in the work and study collectives, the residential areas, the leisure-time and recreational facilities and so forth. It comes out in study, in the deliberate appropriation of education and culture, in the dedication to the protection of the socialist achievements and of our socialist fatherland against any imperialist attack and, not last, in our proletarian internationalism in action, our active solidarity with all peoples in the world fighting for their social and national liberation.

To become active in this sense is of course in the interest of socialist society. It benefits from it and carries it ahead, for which reason it also provides appropriate social recognition and appreciation for it. It would be one-sided, naturally, to look at the freedom of action only under this aspect. Our classic authors already pointed out that, in socialist society, the social activity of the individual in interaction with the conditions of public life is the foundation and decisive element in the development of essential human capacities and that social activity is the main road to forming personality and developing talents and capabilities, not only in one's work but equally so in other fields, such as the field of culture and art, for developing the ability to enjoy oneself in many respects and so forth. "Nothing develops personality as much as an active stand in life, a conscious attitude toward one's social obligation, when the unity of words and deeds becomes the everyday norm of conduct,"[11] Comrade Brezhnev remarked at the 25th CPSU Congress.

Such an active attitude in life, the social commitment, has become the crucial factor of personality development in socialist society because, as Karl Marx predicted in the "Theories on Surplus Value," the antagonism between society and individual has here been broken and the "development of the capabilities of the human species coincides with the development of each individual."[12] That is why socialism, for the first time in history, creates the social prerequisites for enabling everyone to develop his individuality. This is evidenced, for example, by our socialist educational system which, in conformity with its humanistic objective, makes sure that everyone can get a fine general education, and the individual can get training in his diversified talents and develop his abilities. That starts early in kindergarten and continues in school and other educational institutions. Or think of the potentials in the arts as they develop, for instance, through the regularly held workers' festivals and other forms of personal cultural activities, or of athletic talent, purposefully trained through the Young People's Spartacus Sports Festival. And still many other things might be mentioned in this context.

When bourgeois ideologists accuse socialism of contempt for individual concerns and of subordinating the individual to society and thereby depriving him of his freedom, his developmental possibilities, they engage in one of the most malicious anticommunist distortions of reality. Such slander usually comes combined with recommendations to modify socialism through the blessings of bourgeois democracy and freedom in such a way that it assumes a "human face." Among the historic achievements of socialism is that it has replaced the formal bourgeois freedoms and rights by real freedoms and rights and constantly develops and perfects them further. How else could it assume truly human form? Perhaps by the inhuman, destructive freedom of exploitation of man by man? By the dubious freedom to disseminate unscientific, reactionary anti-human ideologies in the name of freedom? Or by the freedom of the individual

that is often proclaimed in bourgeois constitutions and commemorative orations though, admittedly, it does actually not exist, unless he belongs to the ruling class in that society, to infuse his own opinion and his interests into the molding of public intent and the processes of economic and social decision-making?

Our criteria for the freedom of the individual and of society are not those of historically obsolete stages of development. Bourgeois individualism is just as little a criterion for how individuality makes itself prevail in socialist society. Those criteria stem from the nature of socialist society itself, from its inherent basic inevitabilities. Human freedom and individual development irrevocably belong to the essence of this society, are deeply anchored in the structure of its economy, its sociopolitical life, its culture. The fundamental requirement of this society to develop in every way all productive forces, above all economic growth and the productivity and efficiency of social labor, in order to develop the people's material and cultural standard of living, is no general requirement in the interest of some anonymous society apart from the interests of the individual. On the contrary, it expresses the vital interests of the individuals--the workers, cooperative farmers, members of the intelligentsia and all members of society.

The individuals' vital interest, first and foremost, lies in the safeguarding of peace, material security, the free development of his talents and abilities, and a cultured life. This interest, for all intents and purposes, coincides with the interests of socialist society in the development of the productive forces, the consolidation and perfection of the production relations, the development of cultural life, and creating and insuring favorable external conditions for the development of socialist society. Whatever aspect of the work of socialist society one may look at, its ultimate and supreme goal always is man, the development and happiness of the individual, which however cannot be attained outside, or even in opposition to, socialist society. The complicated economic, social, political and cultural problems that have to be coped with in realizing the meaning of socialism can doubtless only be solved on a social scale. Yet no social end in itself attaches to the solutions we seek, find and implement. The total interest of society is expressed in them, which not only recognizes individual interests but helps them come into play.

With regard to the problems of freedom this means that in socialist society individual freedom is exhausted neither in social freedom nor in the freedom of the collective. Individual freedom is not simply a consequence of social freedom, does not automatically evolve from it. Social freedom is the premise on which individual freedom can develop. Social freedom makes possible for the individual freedom of thought, of decision-making, of taking action and developing his talents and abilities. But these possibilities will assume the reality of individual freedom only to the

degree an individual takes advantage of them for his personality development and takes part, in accordance with his individual capacity and by investing his knowledge and skills and creative capabilities, in solving the tasks of the collectives and of the entire society. In practically taking possession of social freedom, in developing his initiative through his own free decision, and acting, in conformity with social requirements, according to his personal interests, an individual can develop his individuality and truly bring it into play.

Thereby the development of human individuality, of the creative capacities of the individual, at the same time becomes a condition for the further advance of society, individual freedom causing and advancing the development of social freedom. It was this aspect of the interrelation between individual and society, between individual and social freedom, Marx and Engels had in mind when they wrote in the "Communist Manifesto" that with the communist form of society replacing the old bourgeois society with its classes and class antagonisms, there would come "an association wherein the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all."[13]

The social freedom gained by socialism is prerequisite, basis and thus the historic framework, as it were, for the development of individual freedom. The development of individual freedom thereby then also becomes an essential criterion for the degree of maturity in social freedom and its steady further development for the good of all. Therein lies the dialectic of social and individual freedom in socialism, the characteristic process of its development. The possibilities for the further shaping of individual freedom in socialism depend on the degree reached in the collective control of the working people over their natural and social life processes. The growth of this control, in turn, depends on the conscious acts taken by the many individuals and on the individual potentials and abilities they invest in them.

Initiative--Real Possibility, Requirement and Obligation

The socialist revolution is a leap by mankind from the realm of necessity into the realm of freedom also because with it, for the first time in history, a society made its appearance that makes possible and, without reservation, asks for the free initiative of each individual in all domains of public life. If in this society the individual applies his individuality the socialist way and develops in his activity his initiative as a component of the collective planned shaping and further development of the social conditions of life, then it becomes a mighty impulse toward social progress and augments the freedom of society. With it, the individual grows, his personality gains something, his character forms and becomes firmer. The society's gain in freedom thus amounts to a vital gain for the individual that expands the range of his development and so becomes a gain in individuality. It was precisely this question Lenin had in mind when he wrote, in his essay, "How to Organize the Competition," that only through the construction of socialist society

the possibility would be created "for the broad masses, truly for the masses, to develop their spirit of enterprise, competition and bold initiative."[14]

Naturally, even in socialist society individual freedom is nothing definitive, nothing attained for once and for all and thus a definite quantity. It is always in a state of change and develops with the growth of the productive forces and with the perfection of the people's production relations and intellectual culture. From that one must proceed in wishing to judge today's developmental status and the current developmental requirements for social and personal freedom correctly. Through the shaping of the developed socialist society, we expand the conditions for personality formation, for a massive free development of individuality. That is an objective requirement of the social process rooted in the modern productive forces and their speedy further development as well as in the socialist power and property relations. The dynamics of our social development, for all intents and purposes, results from the creative initiative of the many individuals within the conscious, purposeful, planned activities of socialist society, activities based on the insights of our scientific world-outlook and the authoritative decisions by our Marxist-Leninist party.

These are extremely important interconnections for the strategy on economic development. At the 12th SED Central Committee plenum, Comrade Erich Honecker made a point of the working people's great dedication to their work who "unite their activities in order to apply the advantages of socialism more and more in the GDR--in the interest of our society and for their own benefit."[15] This readiness to perform will bear all the more fruit, the better the working people are informed about the situation and solutions are discussed and decided on with them.

All this places high demands on our political-ideological work. We must take into account here that the majority of our population has already grown up under socialism, acquired extensive education in our republic and learned to think and judge politically and share the responsibility for society at large. All the more does the further development of free initiative call for penetrating and comprehensive insights into the inevitabilities of social development, the economic interconnections, and the objective requirements for political action--that is, expert knowledge prerequisite to free and responsible action on a higher qualitative level than perhaps a decade or two decades ago.

What our classic authors predicted about the interrelations between social and individual matters, between social and individual freedom in socialism, today, for all intents and purposes, controls the real process of life of our society and of the individuals belonging to it. It is our task to make ever better use of this wellspring of interrelations that socialism alone could tap and put into effect, on behalf of the life and happiness of each individual.

FOOTNOTES

1. DAS PARLAMENT, Bonn, Supplement No 7, 17 February 1979, p 26.

2. "Grundsatzprogramm der Christlich Sozialen Union," Munich, 1979, p 14.

3. "Orientierungsrahmen '85," Bonn, pp 41-42.

4. V. I. Lenin, "Imperialism--The Highest Stage of Capitalism," "Werke" (Works), Vol 22, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1960, p 302.

5. Cf. Ekkehard Lieberam and Karl-Heinz Roeder, "Imperialism Securing Its Power on an Authoritarian Course," EINHEIT, No 3, 1980, pp 258 ff.

6. DAS PARLAMENT, loc. cit, pp 16 and 13.

7. Ibid., p 11.

8. Friedrich Engels and Karl Marx, "The Holy Family," "Werke," Vol 2, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1957, p 138.

9. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den IX. Parteitag der SED" (SED Central Committee Report to the Ninth SED Congress), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, p 111.

10. Cf. Gottfried Stiehler, "Ueber den Wert der Individualitaet im Sozialismus" (On the Value of Individuality in Socialism), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1978, p 164.

11. L. I. Brezhnev, "XXV. Parteitag der KPdSU, Rechenschaftsbericht des Zentralkomitees der Kommunistischen Partei der Sowjetunion und die naechsten Aufgaben der Partei in der Innen- und Aussenpolitik" (CPSU Central Committee Status Report and the Next Party Tasks in Domestic and Foreign Policy--25th CPSU Congress), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, p 95.

12. Marx/Engels, "Werke," Vol 26.3, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, p 111.

13. Marx/Engels, "Werke," Vol 4, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1959, p 482.

14. V. I. Lenin, "Werke," Vol 26, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1961, p 405.

15. Erich Honecker, "Das Beste zum X. Parteitag! Alles zum Wohle des Volkes! 12. Tagung des ZK der SED" (The Best for the 10th Party Congress! Everything for the Good of the People--12th SED Central Committee Plenum), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1980, p 16.

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SOCIAL SCIENCE TEACHERS TO STRESS DIALECTICS, CLASS MORALITY

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 35 No 7/8, Jul-Aug 80 signed to press 13 Jun 80 pp 798-805

[Article by Prof Dr Gerhart Neuner, member, SED Central Committee; president, GDR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences; member, GDR Academy of Sciences: "Educating Active Fighters for Our Revolutionary Cause"]

[Text] Proceeding from the requirements and conditions of the 1980's, suggestions are made for more deeply thinking about education issues. Understanding the ideological-intellectual and social-psychological peculiarities of today's youth and a constructive, confident relationship with them is a decisive condition for success in our education. It is important convincingly to convey the theory and methods of our world-outlook to young people, instill a combative attitude in them and immunize them against imperialist diversion. Communist morality and moral education in the Leninist sense have to pervade all regular school activities.

In preparation for the 10th SED Congress, in educational matters also a creative discussion is under way in which we are assessing what has been achieved, proceeding from the ninth party congress resolutions and the guidelines of the eighth educational congress. Insights and experiences at hand have to be worked on, and we have to examine how to carry on our deliberations with an eye to the requirements and conditions of the 1980's.

Awareness, Dedication and Responsibility

Today's political struggles, the guidelines of the most recent Central Committee plena, and the speech to the kreis first secretaries by SED Central Committee General Secretary Comrade Erich Honecker have given many impulses to thinking more deeply about ideological work and educatior

matters. The 1980's make the highest demands on political awareness and orientation capability, steadfastness, willingness for performance and efficiency, the joy in dedication and a moral conduct in any field whatever--in strengthening our economic efficiency, coping with scientific-technical progress, improving the defense capacity of socialism and developing socialist democracy and the socialist way of life. It is the announced policy of our party deliberately to foster, further train and actively use these subjective factors in progress. That is of considerable consequence to the political-ideological work among youth, the development and use of our educational potential, and the communist education of the up-and-coming generation.

The young people who are going to assume responsibility in the years ahead were formed by socialism with its achievements and advantages. They are standing up well in the class conflicts of our days. Highly educated, taught allegiance to their socialist fatherland, firmly connected with the Soviet Union and the other countries in the socialist community, and with all progressive forces in the world, and ready for active solidarity, they are eager for responsibility and possibilities for proving themselves--and we are in no way oblivious to that with some youths there are some problems. We find the willingness and ability for high-level performance, open-mindedness to science and culture, responsiveness to scientific-technical problems, and interest in ideological, intellectual-cultural, ethical and esthetic issues. These young people avail themselves of the achievements of real socialism as a matter of course, at times it seems almost too much so. We would however be misled in our educational work without always considering the ideological-intellectual, social-psychological peculiarities and performance potential of today's youth.

A constructive, confident relationship with youth is and remains a crucial condition for successful ideological and educational work. Our party, the top representatives of which were outstanding youth functionaries, also has important theoretical knowledge and practical experiences in this regard. Understanding for youth does not mean, as was stated at the GDR's eighth educational congress, "to release youth from their responsibility; quite on the contrary, it must be demanded of them. But first young people have to learn how to bear responsibility for themselves and for others. This is why we must let them take part in the solution of problems and the implementation of tasks, why we must acquaint ourselves with their interests and carefully guide them, listen to their opinion, respect it, and take it seriously if they themselves do."[1] Such an attitude toward youth implies understanding and confidence as much as demands, consistency, open-mindedness, humor and refraining from petty regimentation. Such matters of principle with respect to the proper relationship with and attitude toward youth ought to play an important role in each party organization, especially in the schools and educational institutions.

Our imperialist enemy opposes the humanistic ideas and values of socialism with a whole arsenal of the most reactionary past and current ideologies, anticommunism and anti-Sovietism, geopolitical and colonialist conceptions, and pessimism about the future and dread. A flood of the most vicious slander and distortions is being poured on the people. Modern mass media and sophisticated mass manipulation procedures are targeted and employed. Youth in our republic--as much as other working people--see themselves directly confronted with that in various ways. Our enemy has not abandoned the hope to make GDR youth waver in its stable political stance and firm allegiance to the socialist fatherland. Educational FRG Land ministers passed a resolution, "The German Question in Instruction," on 23 November 1978 which aims not only at poisoning FRG youth in the nationalistic-revanchist sense. Its declared objective also is to reach the youth in our republic with the counterrevolutionary thesis "that their homeland is actually called Germany and not GDR."[2] Any kind of historic distortion must serve that end--Prussian history, fascism, the anti-fascist resistance struggle, or the last 35 years. Perhaps one can still succeed--so they figure--in chilling the youth in our republic, at least ideologically. Delusion thus is their copy editor when bourgeois ideologists eagerly are propagating withdrawal into the private sphere, the idea of recalcitrance.

Political Decision on Scientific Ground

It is an important achievement that our youth systematically absorbs the scientific ideology of the workers class through scientific method from early on in the educational facilities, the Ernst Thaelmann pioneer organization and the FDJ, and in extracurricular activities. That conforms to their need to gain a proper orientation in the world and to take sides deliberately. The teachers, especially in the social science subjects, work as propagandists in the truest sense of the word, making young people acquainted with the Marxist-Leninist world-outlook and our party policy day in and day out. Social science instruction is intent on scientific quality, on making the pupils aware and convinced of the inseparable connection between theory and practice, and theory and party policy, on combining the teaching of fundamental theoretical knowledge with topical events.[3] Experience has taught us that theory becomes all the more an effective means for understanding policy and an aid in personal decisions and a weapon in the struggle, the more thoroughly and expertly it is imparted. Without solid knowledge and skill there is no political application and no educational effect in what was learned!

At times young people in the social sciences may be able to talk about one thing or another, but their knowledge is not solid, nor are they sufficiently able to apply it and correctly evaluate political events. Teaching plans and instruction materials in the social sciences focus on conveying basic facts, interconnections and inevitabilities. They aim at laying a foundation for the basic convictions in our world-outlook.

In elaborating them, we paid attention to determining more clearly the points of concentration and the nodal points in the material, the points of major emphasis to be treated. That succeeded especially well in the more recent teaching schedules and study materials for history grades 10 and 11 and civics grade 11, for example. The proclivity toward completeness often still impedes solid teaching and skill development, however. A more accurate definition of the foundations to be laid remains a task for further cooperative efforts among teachers, method designers and social scientists in the various disciplines.

For some social and political contexts it also holds true that thought must be given to how they are to be treated on the level of the most up-to-date data and facts, for instance the development of the world revolutionary process, problems in the coping with the scientific-technical revolution, the place value of science and technology, the ways and means for introducing economic contexts, a well balanced and accentuated presentation of our national history, and the dialectics between nature and society, for instance in connection with energy, raw material and environmental problems, the socialist performance principle, and the questions about the meaning of life and about what is desirable and valuable. It is and remains a peculiarity of social science instruction that, due to social development, and to new insights and topical experience gained by youth, certain teaching materials, and teaching schedules as well, must more rapidly be brought up-to-date.

Especially important and complicated is the matter of grade levels in social science education. A young person must deal with the same basic political-ideological questions on different age levels, always of course in relation to topical tasks, knowledge and experience. Social science education therefore has to be structured in such a way that certain basic political-ideological questions are picked up again and deepened on different grade levels and that the knowledge of the Marxist-Leninist principles concentrically expands. Unless grade level matters are properly coped with, young people will feel that concentric expansion and deepening is merely a repetition of what they already know. And then there are some subjects which even because of their teaching schedules and study materials lead to unjustified repetitions and duplication, for instance, about the character of our era, socialist economic integration, the historic leadership role of the workers class, or the essence and tasks of socialist state power. This calls for better correlation between instruction, basic study and propaganda activities.

The principles of the Marxist-Leninist world-outlook are imparted in various social and natural science courses. In preparing the teaching schedules and study materials now in effect, and on their basis, a lot of good has been done to make young people aware, through a specific subject of instruction, right through that subject, of ideological insights and political and moral contexts. We paid attention here to V. I. Lenin's reminder of principle that instead of overusing the term

Marxism, we should impart insights and modes of thinking in workers class theory and policy by the whole manner of presenting subject contexts.[4] Frantic political-ideological references or topicalizations remain ineffective or might even have negative effects. Always should we be mindful, even when managers make demands on the teacher, that there is no way at all to detach ideological cogency and persuasiveness in instruction from its technical-scientific and didactic-methodological quality. Ideological contexts and political and moral conclusions strong in the power to convince presuppose a deep understanding of scientific facts and inevitable connections. They become especially prominent in instruction where it is a matter of applying science data to problems of politics and life. Pupils are extraordinarily receptive to energy and raw material issues, environmental problems, matters of the application of nuclear energy, microelectronics, the materials economy, energy conservation, genetics and breeding. They comprehend quite well that the ways and means by which such problems are tackled and solved bear a close connection with our social order, world-outlook, and moral values and norms. The latest facts, information and interconnections is what the teachers need in this regard. Outstanding scientific specialists should take a part in providing them with them.

For enabling pupils to think dialectically, school instruction has great opportunities. Teaching schedules and study materials are based on the premise that skill in dialectic thinking cannot be reduced to conveying a limited number of thought principles and rules. As a thinking method, dialectics is to be demonstrated, developed and practiced within subject contexts, substantively and concretely, in application to questions of life. For some courses it has been worked out in greater detail how in the acquisition and application of subject knowledge elementary skills in dialectic-materialist thinking can be developed. Great efforts are being made to familiarize the pupils with the dialectics of the class struggle, the long-range prospects of the socialist revolution in the GDR, and the dialectic developmental processes in nature. But frequently there is still some trouble in convincing young people with regard to contradictory developmental processes in connection with advances and temporary reversals in the class struggle, with problems and contradictions in coping with our scientific-technical progress, in the development of new perspectives on and attitudes toward labor and in shaping a new way of life and so forth. Undialectic presentations with hyperbole are not credible and can produce illusions or even doubt. It is an important task for philosphers and educators to process available insights and experiences and show more concretely how young people can be enabled step by step to think dialectically.

Conveying our world-outlook demands problem-related instruction, active issue-taking, and independent thought. Especially under the current conditions of the class struggle, we must make more, in instruction and teaching, of the active, combative potentials in our world-outlook. We have to attack imperialist policy and ideology aggressively from our

own positions. Experienced teachers and propagandists will equip young people with facts, proofs and arguments that enable them to perceive the superiority of the Marxist-Leninist theory and method through concrete examples. They will demonstrate how imperialist ideologists, by changing "theories" and conceptions, contend for the basic interests of the monopoly bourgeoisie and defend the exploitative and oppressive relations. At the same time they will show by concrete example how the enemy uses psychological and other data for his sophisticated anti-human manipulation practices and misuses in the mass media words and images for stupefaction and for arousing the lowest instincts and blind sentiments. Then they will immunize the young people most effectively against imperialist theories.

Our intention in political-ideological and educational work is not merely to instill a world-outlook in the young people, it rather must be developed into an active attitude toward the world. Insights and thinking methods of our world-outlook--and this conforms to its revolutionary character--have to be turned for the young people from "values as such" to "values for me." The values of our world-outlook and morality, in contrast to bourgeois value conceptions, are scientifically established and explicable. But understanding this per se creates no value relationship as yet; that requires the experience of these values. Experienced educators and propagandists will look at existing attitudes, opinions and moods and pick up experiences, induce young people to analyze, critically absorb and take issue with them in terms of their value from a theoretical standpoint.

Young people in the transitional age from childhood to adolescence, as one knows, develop strong self-assurance, sometimes all too pointedly. They seek to work out their ideas and values by themselves and to test them by applying them. As much as ideals have been realized and roads been paved in our socialist society, it would yet be risky for us to assume that it is altogether without problems for the young people of today to take possession of all this. Every generation and every individual must always again appropriate, acquire and achieve what is objectively worth having, preserving and defending. There is no other way for making convictions and attitudes unshakable, for establishing the active position that is needed for defending, extending and carrying on with what was achieved, and for adding new achievements to what there is which must stand their test today and tomorrow.

Not only should we explain interconnections and answer questions, we should also foster attitudes more and offer opportunities for proving them in practical deeds for our socialist cause. That is why we need more of an exchange of experiences on how we can create the conditions under which the young people's insights and acknowledgements combine with active attitudes and performances, with enthusiasm and the sense of sacrifice, and on how in test situations, in study and work and sociopolitical activities, convictions and attitudes can be proven and fortified through practical efforts.

Instilling Communist Morality

In the further development of socialism, in the struggle for highest science and production achievements, and in the fashioning of the new way of life, morality becomes a crucial factor. It was not by coincidence that the GDR's eighth educational congress picked up the Leninist thesis that all youth education, training and schooling should have to be an imparting of communist morality.[5] That calls for leading all education up to class-bound moral decisions, moral testing every day, in interhuman relations, and in the struggle for highest achievements. The consequences resulting from that kind of orientation are not understood as long as they are, as sometimes happens, interpreted merely in conceptual terms.

The basis and orientation for communist morality is the Marxist-Leninist world-outlook. It provides a scientifically established world view, a general mentality, that lays the foundations for moral decisions on behalf of socialism, the socialist fatherland, internationalist thinking, feeling and conduct, solidarity with all exploited and oppressed, a new attitude toward work, a willingness for performance, discipline, collective spirit, and creative thirking and behavior. Rationalization, the careful handling of working time and materials, an unimpeded operation of complex technical installations, the introduction of microelectronics, or the release and transfer of manpower are matters that bring with them many different moral demands. Conscientious, honest work for the socialist cause, the willingness to do any work that becomes necessary for socity, the discipline and responsibility for fine quality all must express the extent to which the Marxist-Leninist world-outlook and attitude toward the world have become everyday standards of living.

There may in life of course arise contradictions between ideological understanding and moral decisions, especially among adolescents. Young educated persons at times are inclined to theorize and reason about almost anything. In our educational work we must allow no gap between "great words" and "small deeds." Experienced educators are greatly interested in inducing young people time and time again to derive class-bound moral decisions from theoretical insights, helping them in this while practicing and fortifying appropriate conduct. Sometimes people still proceed from the indiscriminate notion that individual consciousness development would automatically, through political and ideological insight, give rise to moral consequences. Yet, while embedded within the totality of our ideology, morality is relatively independent. It aims directly at personal conduct, interhuman relations, and spheres of intimacy and presupposes an especially high degree of internal commitment, active attitude and identification. So morality cannot simply be "taught." It must be appropriated through confrontation and practical acts in individual decisions and collective testing. Young people seeking their place in life are very sensitive to moral questions. They seek ideals and models with which to identify. A certain inclination to be rigorous in one's moral judgment is one of the appealing peculiarities and privileges of youth. For educational work, that presents an opportunity and task.

Experienced educators will pick up the desire of young people for moral self-improvement. They will encourage young people to mobilize and apply their extensive knowledge, ideological insights and life experiences to situations making moral demands on them and to make their moral decisions consciously. Instruction and productive work offer manifold opportunities for it, and so does FDJ and pioneer work and extracurricular activity. They are, however, still too insufficiently being used. Much still happens more or less by chance, due to special occasions or events. Moral knowledge is sometimes imparted on too high a level of generalization still, exclusively on the level of overall social interconnections, needs and requirements.

It sometimes is simpler to identify with moral decisions in special class struggle situations and extraordinary test situations than to spot and evaluate the moral content of everyday conduct and social relations in one's own sphere of experience. But for every working person, and that includes every young person, it must first and foremost pertain, in his own sphere, to the moral responsibility for the socialist cause, the strengthening and defense of our socialist fatherland, the safeguarding of peace and the consolidation of socialism in the world, the materials economy, scientific-technical progress, discipline and order. We must help young people to pass from overall social and scientific-technical contexts to their own experiences and relations, their everyday study and work, their sociopolitical conduct and own decisions in life, and do so with full facts, vividly and without obtrusive sermonizing.

The coping with science and technology contains "tasks of enormous magnitude which youth must learn to understand as a task."[6] Especially young people must understand the scientific-technical revolution as a challenge to their own knowledge, skills, moral stance and performance. For the revolutionary fighter today, performance in production and science, in the struggle for top achievements and in innovator recommendations, what is esentially involved are moral questions. Without such personality traits as an attitude that will not be satisfied with what has been achieved and will always seek better results and more efficient solutions, without discipline, without the ability to work within the collective, and without endurance and persistence, high achievements are not possible anywhere--least of all in science and technology. We ought to launch more of an experience exchange on how we can establish an atmosphere in our polytechnical secondary schools where top achievements are challenged and rated as moral obligations. Creative thinking, seeking new solutions, boldness and the willingness to take risk should be stimulated morally and materially. Part of that would be to rate more highly, in the schools, in instruction, and in polytechnical and vocational training, that a risk is taken on behalf of new solutions than that one would play it safe along worn-out tracks. Experienced educators know how to create a level of demands, in instruction and in the collectives, that implies intolerance to mediocrity. They instill the awareness that it is immoral to take one's clues from the average, hide behind others, or live at the expense of

others. Such matters of principle with regard to a moral atmosphere and education also ought to be launched for discussions and exchange of experiences among the young people themselves.

There is also a connection here with the problem of the so-called general human moral values and norms. Marxism-Leninism stresses the class character of morality. Yet, with it, it recognizes that moral norms and values also relate to what is universally human, ethical experiences of mankind throughout the centuries. Moral norms and values like performing one's duty, conscientiousness, integrity, comradeship, respect for the aged, and modesty have been valued highly by the working people for centuries. Developed and enriched, they become firm elements of communist morality. With the continued shaping of developed socialist society conditions arise under which such universal human moral values and norms in interhuman relations and in the conduct of men are given their proper due. As implications resulting from that for our educational work, the eighth educational congress has pointed out that communist moral education includes ethical education in the sense of imparting universal human ethical values and modes of conduct, without being reduced to them.[7] Wherever we deal with young people we must not slight such matters as the ways and means of dealing with one another, courtesy, respect for the elders, cleanliness, and esthetic, cultured surroundings. Such norms and modes of conduct not only are compatible with our world-outlook and with communist morality, they are actually demanded by it and have to become elements of socialist ordinary life and regular habits. Thus, when we care for cleanliness, order, an esthetic and cultured atmosphere, for the conversational tone, frankness, integrity and comradeship in schools, homes, and FDJ and pioneer groups, it is not a matter of some secondary issues but amounts to ideological questions of principle in our educational conception and practice.

The rating of ethics and morality in education demonstrated by the eighth educational congress has in many ways animated the discussion and experience exchange. In pedagogs collectives the question is being discussed how the children's and youths' studies, work and sociopolitical activities at school can be shaped in such a way that the moral dimension contained in such activities comes out more clearly, moral motivation is more deliberatley developed and the results achieved also are rated more in moral terms. In many places, pioneers and FDJ members with interesting ideas also take part in such discussions. They are talking about how the pupils' studies is motivated as a right and moral duty, the results of study are evaluated accordingly, and a high demand level is created in the classroom with regard to the ethics of study. Many schools are developing traditions in contesting for top study results, for scientific-technical innovator achievements, for responsibility for the neighbor's learning success, for mutual aid, and for sponsorships by the upper grades for the lower ones, all of which is deeply moral in substance. Fine use is being made of the great moral-educational potentials in the pupils' work, their socially useful work in school, in the residential areas and, in particular, their productive work in polytechnical training and in the socialist enterprises.

We attach great importance to making the pupils aware of the social and economic contexts in which their own productive work is embedded and to motivating their work assignments and qualitative requirements politically and morally. Labor competition with its opportunities for making comparisons and moral and material inducement become important educational tools. The example set by outstanding workers, the atmosphere in the struggle for top achievements within the work collective, movements and traditions of conscientious work, such as "May Hand for My Product" and "Notes on the Plan," all this releases important ethical and educational potentials. The pedagogs collectives are now considering how the schools can pick up the experiences imparted by the moral norms on industrial conduct in the socialist enterprise. That could tap important educational reserves.

Schools and other educational institutions now pay more attention to the moral implications of collective relations. It has been realized that it is a decisive question for moral education to find out which norms and modes of conduct prevail within the collective, what the demands and requirements are, what role comradeship plays and mutual aid, and frankness and integrity, and what is tolerated, fostered or resolutely opposed. Experienced educators know that with respect to the atmosphere in the collectives and the style and tone of relations there are no "small" matters one might ignore or let pass. That starts with the level of demands that exists in this regard in the pedagogs collective itself because from there crucial influences are brought to bear on the ways and means of pupils' relations in school. If clear demands are raised and clear norms are set, and valuable traditions are developed, the most ordinary matters of schooling, of cleanliness, order, discipline, study and work conduct, mutual aid and responsibility, and social activity become moral issues. Schools that work in that manner do not lack situations for moral decisions nor opportunities for young people to take a position and reveal their true colors, to stand up to their ideas and cope with conflict situations. No frantic search for that will then be needed. In every party organization and every pedagogs collective we need more of a sense of that moral education, understood in the Leninist sense, has to be a component of ordinary educational procedures at school in its whole complexity.

FOOTNOTES

1. Margot Honecker, "Der geselischaftliche Auftrag unserer Schule, VIII. Paedagogischer Kongress" (The Social Function of Our Schools--Eighth Educational Congress), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1978, p 22.

2. DAS PARLAMENT, Bonn, No 37, 15 September 1979, p 2.

3. Margot Honecker, op. cit., p 49.

4. Cf. Nadezhda Konstantinovna Krupskaya, "The Upcoming Tasks in the Pioneer Movement," "Sozialistische Paedagogik" (Socialist Pedagogics), Vol IV, Volk und Wissen publishing house, Berlin, 1967, pp 156-157.

5. Cf. V. I. Lenin, "The Tasks of the Youth Associations," "Werke" (Works), Vol 31, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1959, p 280.

6. Margot Honecker, op. cit., p 32.

7. Ibid., p 16.

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NEED FOR INTENSIFIED 'HOMELAND HISTORY' STUDY DISCUSSED

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 35 No 7/8, Jul-Aug 80 signed to press 13 Jun 80 pp 813-819

[Article by Prof Dr Willibald Gutsche,department chief, Central Institute for History, GDR Academy of Sciences; chairman, central executive board, Society for History of the Homeland, GDR Cultural League: "Homeland Bonds and Homeland History in Our Society." A translation of the 1978 EINHEIT article by Prof Walter Wimmer, cited in footnote 4 below, is published under the heading, "Historic, Socialist Concepts of Homeland, Fatherland Analyzed," in JPRS 72782, 7 Feb 79, No 1644 of this series, pp 25-34. A translation of an earlier interview with Professor Gutsche is published under the heading, "'Socialist Homeland' Propaganda to Be Intensified," in JPRS 73433, 11 May 79, No 1679 of this series, pp 28-33. The translated discussion of the values and dangers of regional patriotism by a number of Leipzig Bezirk dignitaries is available in JPRS 74156, 11 Sep 79, No 1714 of this series, pp 13-26]

> [Text] The citizens' conscious creative participation in the continued shaping of the developed socialist society is to a marked degree affected by their bonds with their more immediate socialist home area, organic component of our socialist fatherland, the homeland of the entire GDR people. A political-ideological task not to be underrated therefore is to make homeland history, on a high scientific level, so vivid and interesting that it will still more become a source of pride in our socialist fatherland.

The GDR citizens' love for their socialist fatherland is among the most important factors that make us step into the new decade with optimism. Fatherland, homeland--that is not just the mountains and valleys, as a popular song says. The people's homeland, their faterland, is principally defined by the "given political, cultural and social setting"[1] in which the people live, work and struggle, which ultimately also determines their relations with their natural environment.

In the form of the GDR, which is the state embodiment of the best traditions of German history, our people created their socialist fatherland governed by true humanism, which, led by the workers class and its Marxist-Leninist party, became the home for all its citizens where they, in social security and safety, because of the real socialism they themselves have created, truly feel at home. "It is because its citizens have created this state together and have made it what it is today that it is a true home for all who live here, a homestead, a being at home."[2]

These fundamental conditions also mold the relations the working people in our country have to the local environment familiar to them, to their hometown, for instance, their more immediate home, which develops within the scope and as an organic element of our socialist fatherland. In this more immediate area of work and living, where they shape their relations to society and nature directly and concretely, where their affiliations are especially close through their sentiments and experiences, and through their occupational and social activities, the citizens experience most concretely the connection between regional, national and international events, between their socialist fatherland and the socialist community of states.[3] From this "skintight" relationship with their environment in which they are "at home" especially intensive rational and emotional relations arise that play an important role in their relationship with their socialist fatherland and greatly affect their feeling, thinking and conduct.

What the substance of these human bonds with one's home and fatherland is, that depends on the prevailing social relations, on class membership and the class standpoint. Homeland and fatherland are indeed historic categories. They do not exist outside of society, their substance is class-bound. Under antagonistic class conditions, the love for one's homeland and fatherland was contradictory in nature. Whereas the ruling classes deprive the people of the country's wealth and have been misusing the working people's especially close ties to their home area, and their love for it, for purposes inimical to the people, for the revolutionary and all other progressive forces, love for the homeland and fatherland has always been an essential source of strength in their sacrificial struggle for a home, for a fatherland, in which the people's masses can develop their creative capacities free from exploitation and oppression.

The socialist revolution has abolished the contradiction between the people's love for their home and their being dominated and exploited by the reactionary classes. For the first time in the history of our people, the working masses, led by the workers class and its Marxist-Leninist party, have conquered their own fatherland and homeland in the GDR, whereby they became the masters in their own land. In our country, that rid itself of exploitative rule, socialist homeland bonds have become a mighty force of the working people in their struggle for the continued shaping of the developed socialist society and the defense of their achievements.[4]

That also has given the people's love for their homeland a deeper and new meaning. Socialist love for one's homeland mainly grows out of the active participation in the revolutionary shaping of the homeland, from the experiences in the stuggle and in life, from the people's new relationship with their history and their natural environment, from their conscious and creative participation as active and decisive shapers of their own history. That includes historic understanding because one's own personal experiences cover only a historically brief period and creative participation calls for an awareness that ultimately can develop only on the basis of historic insights. Only in a historic frame of reference can the inevitabilities of social development, and thus the lessons of the past, the achievements of the present, and the tasks for the future become understandable and conceivable in their whole scope. Knowing of the birth and growth of our socialist state and of its firm historic foundation is therefore indispensable for revolutionary conduct today.

Homeland History--A Source of Pride in Our Socialist Fatherland

For gaining and conveying such knowledge, homeland history holds a high place value because the image of history and historic consciousness, after all, also form to a considerable degree the knowledge and data of homeland history. Many people, especially the citizens of the younger generations, gain their access to more intensively taking issue with the past and to insights into historic inevitabilities through homeland history. They are directly confronted with historic phenomena, processes and personalities, historic traditions and results of historic developments, and most visibly so through their concrete manifestations and testimonials in the field of daily life and work, and because they are particularly familiar with the present and past of their immediate living and working sphere, in which they themselves shape history, many questions asked of history mature within this concrete context.

The citizen's conscious, active, creative participation in the continued shaping of the developed socialist society, in his enterprise, his community, his residential area, where his relationship with the socialist state is brought to realization most directly, depends to a considerable extent on his consciousness of history, which in turn is closely interrelated with his knowledge of his homeland history, his relations to the present and past of his more immediate socialist home.

Finally, the working people's dealing with the history of their more immediate home area is an important element of life in socialism and contributes to the shaping of the socialist way of life. Knowing of the past of their homeland, being acquainted with its historic sites and with the cultural and scientific achievements performed there, and the awareness that one carries on the work of the revolutionary and other progressive pioneers, are essential elements in one's own revolutionary conduct and important conditions for feeling at home.

It therefore is a political-ideological task, not to be underrated, to encourage the working people's growing interest in homeland history, to make sure that the interest in homeland history will lead to knowledge about it, which will help deepen general historic knowledge and socialist consciousness. Knowing of the past and of the sacrificial struggle by generations of the best fighters of our people for a homeland freed from exploitation and oppression enhances the respect for the revolutionary and other progressive humanistic traditions of our people and helps develop and deepen the socialist love for one's homeland, socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism. Rendering homeland history vivid and interesting then becomes a source of pride in our fatherland and of commitment to our socialist state.

Each place in our republic, every enterprise, every residential area is a piece of live history of our workers and farmers state that must be carefully brought to mind. Through it we can vividly illustrate the "historic reason" for our socialist fatherland as well as its dynamic development, the successes in the revolutionary struggles of previous generations as much as the achievements of our days, the magnitude of what has been accomplished. Homeland history thus helps deepen the realization that the "birth and growth of the GDR is the inevitable outcome and consummation of the centuries of struggle by the progressive forces in our people for a new humanistic German state."[5]

However, a better use of homeland history for molding consciousness is not attainable by simply assigning more space for it in our political-ideological work. In line with the resolutions of the Ninth SED Congress on higher demands for the social sciences and for history propaganda, we must also seek to improve the quality of work in homeland history. Both in its breadth and its scientific depth must homeland history be further developed.

To this task is devoted in particular the Sciety for History of the Homeland under the GDR Cultural League, where thousands of working people--lay and professional historians, in close cooperation with the history commissions at the party's bezirk and kreis headquarters, the committees of the antifascist resistance fighters, the local state organs, the territorial science facilities, the National Front commissions, the bezirk chapters of the Historical Society, the FDJ, the memorial sites, museums and community halls and so forth--help gain and disseminate knowledge and understanding of homeland history whereby to deepen the bonds with the socialist homeland as an essential foundation for the sense of patriotic and internationalist responsibility.

Homeland historians explore the past of their communities and are chroniclers of the revolutionary changes of our days. Folklorists and cultural historians deal with the history of the production, culture and way of life of the working classes and strata, reveal progressive cultural achievements and cultivate our folkloristic legacy. Numismatists

gain insights into economic history by exploring the history of money which they make available to the presentation of homeland history. Historians of prehistory and ancient history ascertain, document and preserve land memorials and help in conveying a scientific picture of the world, and the friends of the cultural-historic tin figure illustrate historic and cultural-historic events by a scientifically sound and emotionally effective display of figures, scenes and panoramas. They all, through the results of their work, enrich our intellectual-cultural life--through memorial sites, ethnological showcases and museums, through preserving and caring for historic monuments, lectures, excursions and exhibitions, press reports and scientific studies, the organization of local festivals and the cultivation of progressive popular customs.

The Society for the History of the Homeland intends to improve the social benefit arising from the activities that stem from these various inclinations and the passionate joy in discovery, the various skills and facilities. The Society seeks to deepen the theoretical and methodological premises. Above all it seeks a greater inclusion of homeland history in the cultural-political work in the territory, in regional and supra-regional research projects and propaganda tasks, more intensive analysis by educational institutions and more cooperation between lay historians and science institutions. It focuses on a most feasible long-term coordination, timely and thorough direction and care, and the development of new forms of mass effectiveness.

Engaging in homeland history so vividly that it becomes an essential factor in socialist conscicusness development can, of course, not be confined to the citizens affiliated in the Society for the History of the Homeland under the GDR Cultural League. Party and state functionaries who promote initiatives for making homeland history more useful for solving our current political tasks thereby release potentials for the further development of socialist national consciousness, and thus, for the development of the working people's creative initiatives in the economy and in other public domains.

A very important task of homeland history lies in our helping to write and disseminate the history of our socialist fatherland. The impressive advances by the people's masses, unprecedented in the history of the German people and inconceivable under capitalist conditions, became possible only through sacrificial struggles and efforts by the working people under the leadership of the workers class and its revolutionary party, and as a result of the fraternal aid from the USSR and the other socialist states. By the example of each village, each town, each kreis and each bezirk we can impressively demonstrate how our achievements were gained, augmented and defended by overcoming difficulties and contradictions and through heavy class struggle. Especially in this field of homeland history many interesting questions are still waiting for thorough answers, and here we must trace the effectiveness of the general inevitabilities in their specific manifestations and uncover, and make conscious, the dialectical connections between regional, national and international development.

Local chronicles deserve special attention here. The documents and materials collected, and chronologically and systematically arranged by the chroniclers, reveal much about the most recent political, economic, social and cultural development and about the natural conditions and environmental designs in our villages and towns. They not only are an important foundation for socialist historiography, but they also make possible imparting to the population a vivid picture of the most recent past of the specific locality while reminding the people. time and time again of their own share in it in a vivid fashion.

Among the traditions to be tapped still more for class-bound and patriotic education mainly are those of the revolutionary workers movement. Our republic, after all, principally is the heir and fulfillment of its more than hundred years of struggle. The cultivation of this tradition also continues to deserve special attention in the field of homeland history. This involves not only a deeper exploration and more effective propagation of already well-known events and developmental trends in the history of the local workers movement and of the achievements of its leading personalities, but also the gaining of new knowledge and insights into the emergence and formation of the proletariat as a class, the changes in its structure, and the thus far often ignored "levels" of the class struggle, the proletarian cultural traditions and the development of the way of life of the workers class and the other working classes and strata within the territory. Specific traditions in the history of the local workers movement, such as the Erfurt Party Congress of 1891, the illegal resistance struggle of Dr Theodor Neubauer in Tabarz, the struggle of the revolutionary workers against the Kapp putsch in Gotha and Ohrdruf--to mention some examples from one bezirk--call not only for taking care of the memorial sites and showcases, but also for a more intensive and systematic exploration and popularization of them, if they are to be come effective in the consciousness-forming sense, as nodal points in home territory's picture of history.

From the fact that we are the heirs not only of the revolutionary workers movement but of everything progressive "our people and mankind have gained throughout history in insights into the nature of the world and of man, and have created in ideals pointing to the future, in beauty and poetry,"[6] and from the realization that socialist historic consciousness presupposes a comprehensive image of history, the task arises also to include more strongly than we have done in our homeland history work, without any constraints, everything valuable and positive that has formed throughout the centuries in the bezirk, the kreis, the town and the village, and that finds its fulfillment and continuation, at a higher level of social development, in the socialist GDR.

This involves all achievements for progress in the various forms of our society, mainly all revolutionary struggles of the oppressed classes and strata, but also all the humanistic accomplishments by representatives of other classes and strata, particularly during the rising phases of any of those social systems. That includes, for instance, also the

far distant past, the traditions of prehistory and ancient history, the analysis of which will enrich our image of history. In addition to discovering the cultural achievements in those millenia in human development, prehistory and ancient history, from the study of which the classic authors of Marxism gained essential insights for their design of a classless society, can make important contributions to deeper insights into historic inevitabilities.

There is no place in the whole territory of our republic the past of which would be devoid of revolutionary struggles, of achievements for the development of the productive forces, of the struggle by progressive forces against reaction and the work of progressive personalities for humanistic goals, such as Bad Frankenhausen with the peasants' heroic struggle under the leadership of Thomas Muentzer, Wittenberg and Eisenach, where Martin Luther worked, Erfurt, with the activities of the humanists circle, Burg near Magdeburg, where the military theoretician Carl von Clausewitz lived, Sommerschenburg, where the Prussian army reformer Neidhardt von Gneisenau spent the last years of his life, to mention but a few examples. But even in this field of homeland history, it is not merely a matter of such well-known facts but, increasingly more also, of disclosing thus far still unknown progressive achievements which--while they partly may have only been effective within a restricted space--helped social progress to triumph, for which reason they are part of our inalienable legacy. In short: it is a matter of opening up our entire humanistic, democratic legacy.

Dialectics of Two Class Lines

The insight into the historic inevitabilities and the critical appropriation of our historic legacy demand that we understand homeland history, as all other history as well, "as it truly evolved and by what it was controlled--the dialectics of two class lines, the struggle between progress and reaction."[7] For one thing, the historic necessity and the importance of revolutionary and other progressive struggles, deeds and ideas, as well as the magnitude of the achievements by the forces taking part in them, can be measured, evaluated and appreciated only if we know their causes, impulses, goals and the political forms of the given class forces. On the other hand, homeland history cannot only deepen the working people's bonds with their socialist homeland by more intensively conveying to them the revolutionary and other progressive traditions, but also by a comparative analysis of diametrically opposed living conditions for the people's masses and ruling classes under the conditions of the exploitative society.

A higher grade of research and propaganda in homeland history mainly demands placing them still more solidly on the methodological principles of historical materialism. Here we especially have to do away with the notion that regional historical events merely serve as illustrations for general historic processes, that they only play a passive role. Such a presentation in homeland history contradicts all methodological principles

of the Marxist-Leninist conception of history because it ignores the objective dialectics of the regional, national and international.

The history of one's immediate home area is an element in the process of general history. Yet the universal inevitabilities have a specific way of asserting themselves in regional history, and the general process of history always also is at once a product of the specific and the particular. So one has to ascertain in what ways events and tendencies in homeland history have affected, conditioned or stimulated the process of general history and, vice versa, how general processes affected historic development in the home area, whereby one can present regional history understandably in its interrelations with national and world history. Here the history of socialist society in the GDR, the birth and growth of our socialist fatherland, should be given appropriate attention in its interaction with the development of the immediate home area. The main orientation in dealing with homeland history should, in principle, be directed at the cornerstones in the history of the German people in their specific regional manifestations. Homeland history will, in the final analysis, be massively effective only if presented concretely and vividly. Boring or dull presentations contradict objective historic events in which men always have acted and are acting with passion.

In understanding our mission in this manner, we shall succeed in giving more and more citizens access to a rational understanding and emotional appropriation of their socialist homeland in its historic dimensions and thus make an essential contribution to fortifying and deepening their love for home and fatherland. The home environment is placed in a new light. Familiar localities and landscapes combine with historic events and destinies. Squares, buildings and monuments, streets, alleys and meadows, palaces, castles and cottages are transformed into eloquent witnesses of important social and political confrontations and decisions, into arenas for heroic struggles between progress and reaction. Past generations of the popular masses and their striking leader figures shed their anonymity and become familiar to us in their life and work, their feeling, thinking and actions. We learn to empathize with their merits, their successes and failures, their defeats and victories, and with the magnitude of their achievements. This intimate encounter with history stirs justified pride in the achievements of progressive fighters of the past and reinforces our willingness to carry on their work at a higher level of development and to preserve and increase the wealth and beauty of our homeland, which now belongs to our people.

FOOTNOTES

1. V. I. Lenin, "Combative Militarism and the Anti-militarist Tactics of Social Democracy," "Werke" (Works), Vol 15, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1962, p 190.

2. "Appeal for the 30th Anniversary of the Founding of the GDR," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 18 November 1977, p 2.

3. Cf. "The Citizen and His Hometown--Theses," "Der Buerger und seine Heimatstadt," Staatsverlag der GDR, Berlin, 1979, pp 128 ff.

4. Cf. Walter Wimmer, "Socialist Homeland--Achievement and Task," EINHEIT, No 12, 1978, p 1231; Willibald Gutsche, "Mission, Course and Goal--Speech to the Founding Assembly of the Society for the History of the Homeland, GDR Cultural League," MITTEILUNGSBLATT DES KULTURBUNDES DER DDR, No 3, 1979, Supplement, pp 1 ff.

5. "Appeal . . .," loc. cit., p 1.

6. Erich Honecker, "Our Party's Cultural Policy Is Successfully Being Implemented," "Unerschuetterliches Buendnis zwischen Partei und Kulturschaffenden" (Unshakable Alliance Between the Party and the Creators of Culture), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1979, p 46.

7. Erich Honecker, "Die naechsten Aufgaben der Partei bei der weiteren Durchfuehrung der Beschluesse des IX. Parteitages der SED" (The Next Party Tasks in the Continued Implementation of the Ninth SED Congress Resolutions), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1980, p 89.

5885
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WILHELM PIECK YOUTH COLLEGE'S GROWING IMPORTANCE REVIEWED

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 35 No 7/8, Jul-Aug 80 signed to press 13 Jun 80 pp 848-852

['Information' feature report by Dr Klaus Boettcher, director, Wilhelm Pieck Youth College, Free German Youth (FDJ): "Wilhelm Pieck Youth College--Cadre Forge of FDJ"]

[Text] In the history of the youth college, 14 September 1950 is of outstanding importance. In compliance with a request from the Central Council of the FDJ, the President of the GDR, Wilhelm Pieck, gave the highest educational institution of the youth association the right to bear his name in the future. The speech Wilhelm Pieck gave on the occasion of the conferment of his name expressed the high appreciation for the work of the FDJ and the great confidence the party was placing in the strength of youth and its political organization. "If there was one thing that has always filled us with great pride and innermost satisfaction ever since there has been a GDR, it has been our youth's attitude toward the GDR and the great elan with which it has approached the tasks assigned to it," he emphasized.[1]

The Wilhelm Pieck Youth College, known in our organization under the honorific, "cadre forge of the FDJ," has had an important share in forming cadre faithfully dedicated to the party in all situations ever since it opened in May 1946. On the day when the name was conferred, Comrade Erich Honecker, FDJ chairman at the time, assured the president of the promise "to do all we can to train at the school that bears your name the best FDJ functionaries, the most courageous champions of the young generation in the struggle for peace."[2]

The youth college always has sought to live up to that standard. Nearly 13,000 FDJ functionaries have thus far graduated from this educational institution so rich in traditions and are standing their test in responsible functions of the youth organization, the party, state, economy, the armed organs and other mass organizations. Numerous have been the concrete tasks the various generations of FDJ functionaries have been

fulfilling during the various phases of the birth and growth of the GDR on orders from the party and the youth organization. Common to them always was and is to move ahead of all youth, mobilize them for implementing the party's program goals and thus make a significant contribution to the further shaping of unity and revolutionary continuity among the generations in our country.

Party Policy First Hand

Explaining the basic issues of Marxist-Leninist theory to youth, helping them more deeply penetrate the essence of fundamental party resolutions and imparting cogent arguments on topical issues--this SED tradition was fostered by Wilhelm Pieck together with Otto Grotewohl and many other executive functionaries. Twenty times Wilhelm Pieck stayed with teachers and students on Bogen Lake. With great propaganda skill, marked by simplicity, directness and great relevance to life, he explained the party policy and answered questions with which the youth functionaries were confronted during their work. To the students, Wilhelm Pieck was the brave fighter of the German and international workers movement and loyal friend of the Soviet Union, where he had lived for many years. From the president himself they got authentic information on the first socialist state in the world and its people and on the Leninist comsomol.

Great joy and enthusiasm always again welcomed Comrade Erich Honecker when he would visit the Wilhelm Pieck Youth College. His speech in initiating the fourth one-year course in October 1954 became a guideline for training thousands of cadre. "It is a great honor and obligation to be a student at the Wilhelm Pieck Youth College," he said. "It means investing all one's skill and abilities, one's talents and gifts, in acquiring high-grade scientific knowledge. It means approaching these studies and learning with stubborn diligence, indefatigable energy and tenacity. It means affecting one's fellow-students through one's personal example, comradely, frankly and honestly, and taking part in the development of a strong course collective. To be a student at the Wilhelm Pieck Youth College means to work, study, live and struggle in the spirit of this great son of our people, this leader of the German workers class and its entire nation, this important Marxist theoretician, outstanding statesman and brilliant organizer."[3]

These words of commitment are heard since by the students of every course of study on the very first day of their arrival. They make a demand on the education and self-education of every youth college student. The wealth of thought in the speech by Comrade Erich Honecker to this day offers fundamental guidelines and impulses on how the cadre are to be enabled to meet the higher demands the 1980's are placing on the youth organization as the active helper and fighting reserve of the party in developing an unshakable class standpoint for the young generation, attaining a great increase in economic efficiency, and insuring the secure military protection of socialism, and on how they are placed in the position where they can give political and organizational leadership to the "FDJ Party Congress Initiative."

The implementation of the high FDJ objectives in preparation of the 10th SED Congress calls for cadre who fulfill their mission through solid, applicable knowledge, political conviction and revolutionary passion, who set examples for youth in their political stance and ideological steadfastness, their dedication and moral characteristics, who inspire bravery and are talented organizers, lead the political discussion in all youth groups, have respect for collectivity and distinguish themselves by great personal responsibility. They must be cadre who with political and organizational consistency attend to all the aspects of youth life, meet their test as fine propagandists and champions of our world-outlook and aim all their energy at the fulfillment of the SED program.

Young people have many questions and expect frank and party-minded talk about problems pertaining to the struggle by the Soviet Union and the other countries in the socialist community of states for the all-round strengthening of socialism and the safeguarding of peace, or those that touch on the causes for the exacerbation of the international situation by U.S. imperialism and its NATO allies, or on the variety of forms and the harshness of the class struggle in our time. Expert and convincing answers help further strengthen the awareness of the triumph of our cause and develop an active class position and the readiness for high achievements of one's own toward strengthening and protecting socialism. For the training of the organizational functionaries this demands imparting to them the kind of knowledge that will enable them to grasp the essence of complex phenomena in our time while creating many opportunities for them to prove their ideological steadfastness. Prerequisite to that are intensive study of the main works of the classic authors of Marxism-Leninism and a precise acquaintance with the resolutions of the party and of the youth organization, mainly the SED program and the FDJ statute. That will train them in the ability to argue persuasively on all topical domestic and foreign policy issues and on organizational matters, as that is done at the school, for example, through the agitators contest.

We must thus constantly give thought to how we can make more efficient and more compatible with concrete social requirements the training of the 270 functionaries who are getting their preparation in the one-year courses for becoming kreis secretaries, bezirk executives, or members of the FDJ Central Council. The general scope of the instructional program, as ratified by the secretariat of the FDJ Central Council, is aimed at equipping the students with Marxist-Leninist theory, SED policy and the specific implications derived from all that for youth, so that they are in the position to disseminate them effectively among the young generation. The teachers and associates in the five departments attach special value to providing an ideological and historical understanding of the dialectics in social developmental processes in connection with the revolutionary world process and to the skills in taking issue, combatively and convincingly, and from the positions of socialist theory, with imperialist policy and ideology, especially with anticommunism and anti-Sovietism.

The main field of the educational and training work at the Youth College is a systematically conceptualized and rigidly conducted teachers training, aided by various forms of education and self-education in the students collectives. Through this unity we succeed increasingly in enabling the students to spread Marxism-Leninism and its implications to conscious daily acts among youth in such a way that everyone can sense the intellectual wealth and practical relevance of that science. That also includes our developing in the students the desire constantly to "consult" the classic authors of Marxism-Leninism and also to continue studying after school, so as to acquire the correct political evaluation of the complex manifestations of our time and properly put into effect the militant spirit of our world-outlook in the ideological class struggle.

In his convocation speech to the fourth one-year course, Comrade Erich Honecker directed the teachers' attention to inseparably combining the teaching of Marxist-Leninist theory with social practice, making high performance demands on themselves and successfully coping with the various and differentiated forms of organizational work resulting from the specific interests and needs of young people.

Through closely combining study with test situations, the students learn to disseminate Marxism-Leninism as a science that is a guide for action and the mastery over which helps in coping with social tasks better and better. It is a high demand made on the training of young professional revolutionaries always fully to meet the social requirements and to live up to the standards set by the organizational activists group. That also applies in particular to the contribution large segments of youth make to strengthening the GDR economically. The steep improvements our economy needs also come from the constantly increasing weight of the economic initiatives from youth. That reserves a prominent place in our training to the matters of political and organizational leadership in economic initiatives by the FDJ, the strengthening of its contribution to the acceleration of scientific-technical progress, to a productive full-capacity use of our basic assets, to the struggle for the highest grade of labor, to a thrifty use of energy, raw materials and material, to production boosts in export-worthy products and high-grade consumer commodities, and to more efficient investment activity. The same applies to the study of the most progressive experiences of our best youth brigades. That is served by the "Treffpunkte Verbandspraxis" (Meeting Places for Practical Association [FDJ] Experience) at the youth college with FDJ functionaries as much as by the practical work done in the FDJ bezirk organizations, by sponsorships for basic FDJ organizations or youth brigades, and also by the activity of almost 100 students as propagandists in the FDJ study year. Thereby it is being insured that training never gets detached from the most progressive experiences in FDJ work but is enriched and perfected by it.

Also important are the Wilhelm Pieck Student Days. They are high points in the theoretical-practical work because they directly challenge and stipulate the scientific creativity, independence and organizational skills of the

students. Under the responsibility of the FDJ basic organization management, important events are prepared, long range, for it, for instance the Lenin seminars, "Shock Troop in the Struggle," held together with foreign students.

An element of the training program of an importance to the future cadre which is not to be underrated is that the students meet their test as organizers and cosponsors of great political events. This line of tradition started with many students taking part, during the first course the youth college gave, in the first FDJ Parliament in Brandenburg in 1946 and ranges all the way to the Fifth Friendship Festival of USSR and GDR youth in 1980 in Karl-Marx-Stadt. Thereby teachers and students help in organizing unforgettable experiences for youth. But also in the process of educating the FDJ cadre, high points like that and other forms of social activity, aimed at reinforcing the unity of thinking, feeling and action, play a great role. A solid legitimacy test for knowledge and sentiment is a fundamental condition for successful work especially for professional revolutionaries who are supposed to be able to convince young people and inspire them for our cause.

The Wilhelm Pieck Youth College also makes use of the great educational potential of the traditions of the workers class, of its party and of the youth organization as well as of the revolutionary youth models. The contest among all seminar collectives for acquiring the authorization to bear the name of a revolutionary model plays a key role in this. All members of the collectives familiarize themselves with the life and struggle of their revolutionary model and, by studying the best experiences of their struggle, get extensive ideas of the path they followed and a clearer understanding of their successes, difficulties and problems. Through becoming acquainted with their models, they discover characteristics and modes of thinking and conduct that help in coping with current tasks and further the willingness and ability for FDJ functionaries to contend for bringing the ideals of their models to realization, and help raise the efforts to deepen the young people's consciousness of history. Thus organization functionaries are reaching maturity whose supreme professional ethos lies in fulfilling with knowledge and passion any mission assigned by the party and the youth organization, "who are steadfast and faithful patriots, solid friends of the Soviet Union, and all-round educated functionaries, real leaders of youth who in every situation remain loyal to the workers class party."[4]

Successful on the Side of Good Friends

Since the day it opened, the Wilhelm Pieck Youth College has solved the tasks it received from the party and the youth organization, helped by energetic support of its friends. In the truest sense of the word it is a child of solidarity, especially from the most experienced and politically hardened socialist youth organization, the Leninist comsomol, in studying and creatively applying its experiences in cadre training. Above all, the young officers of the Soviet Military Administration in Germany were the ones who greatly

aided the FDJ in setting up the youth college. As early as in the first year of its existence, Soviet officers would often lecture there and help and advise the young teachers collective. Late in 1946, the Soviet Military Administration in Germany presented the youth college with a science library which also included V. I. Lenin's speech, "The Tasks of the Youth Associations," the most important Marxist-Leninist document on youth policy. Nikolai Ostrovski's "How the Steel Was Hardened," Aleksandr Fadeev's "The Young Guard," works by Maxim Gorki and speeches and essays of Kalinin and Makarenko had a great educational influence on the youth college students. They had lasting effects on the young functionaries' thoughts about the Soviet Union and its youth and helped further deepen the sentiments of firm and indestructible friendship with Lenin's country.

At the new stage of cooperation between the Leninist comsomol and the FDJ, within the framework of the "Peace Flight to the East," comrades at the Wilhelm Pieck Youth College also got the opportunity to go to the Soviet Union and study comsomol work there. As early as in 1951, the year of the first one-year course, leading comrades at the school went along on study trips to the Soviet Union sponsored by the FDJ Central Council. Experiences of the central comsomol school--which today is the Comsomol College that, since 1949, has also made possible the training of FDJ functionaries--in teaching Marxism-Leninism, in organizing study schedules, in cabinet work and management activity are much help to the training given at our youth college. There is an extensive exchange of delegations and lecturers going on, representatives of the youth college attend summer courses at the comsomol college each year and spend several weeks in Moscow to study, and the exchange of science papers has been expanded.

For 4 years now, all the students of the GDR courses at the youth college have also been admitted to this broad exchange of experiences. There is a special friendship train that takes them to the Soviet Union where they then study comsomol experiences in situ, as it were. Joint seminars on the communist education of the young generation, extensive exchange of ideas on the work of young professional revolutionaries, excursions to revolutionary memorial sites, meetings with veterans of the party and of the Leninist comsomol, and evenings in Soviet families help in mutual enrichment and further solidify our friendship. Of great benefit for cadre training at the youth college also has been the cooperation with the central political schools of the fraternal organizations in socialist countries.

School of Proletarian Internationalism and Anti-imperialist Solidarity

As FDJ and solidarity belong together, so the cadre forge of the FDJ has proven at all times a school of proletarian internationalism and anti-imperialist solidarity. When the FDJ gained increasing international radiating strength, many youth associations wanted to study the experiences of our youth work. In January 1958 the first one-year course for cadre from foreign youth organizations got started. Nearly 2,000 friends from 75 youth

organizations have up to now taken 22 one-year courses at the Wilhelm Pieck Youth College. Constant contacts between FDJ members and the representatives of friendly youth organizations have had a positive effect on the development of young professional revolutionaries. Our foreign friends become acquainted here day in and day out with real socialism and with our youth and its youth association. FDJ students in turn can familiarize themselves with the problems in the struggle of progressive world youth against imperialism, racism, apartheid and Zionism. They get acquainted with comrades and friends who in their home countries themselves underwent capitalist exploitation, torture and terror. At the tribunal, "We Indict Imperialism," held annually at the youth college and at the receptions given the delegations, they present shocking evidence for the crimes imperialism is committing against mankind, especially against youth.

The cooperation between the FDJ members and their foreign partners reinforces their sentiment of joint responsibility to the anti-imperialist struggle. That is underlined in all the concluding events in the international courses of study.

The training program for the international courses contains instruction in the basics of Marxism-Leninism and in the experiences with the birth and consolidation of real socialism in the GDR. That also includes an extensive excursion program and the attendance of major FDJ events. Thus our friends are acquainted with values and advantages of socialism and thus, with desirable ideals in their own struggle.

Still in another respect the Wilhelm Pieck Youth College makes an important contribution to the internationalist activities of the FDJ. Since 1964 the youth college has been preparing the "FDJ Interbrigadiers," the "Ambassadors in the Blue Shirt," for their assignments in friendship brigades on four continents. At vocational training sites in the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, Guinea-Bissau, or Mozambique, the blue FDJ banner is waving, as it is at the construction site of the friendship hospital in Hanoi or of a delivery station in Sao Tome and Principe, at repair workshops in Angola or in Ethiopia's harvester-thresher compound, which helped the peasants in their harvest, or in the construction of a cement factory in Nuevitas, Cuba.

Our youth college has helped write the history of the FDJ and has traditions to which it will be committed always. It finds its most important task, in preparation of the 10th SED Congress, in continuing to train and educate such FDJ cadre that will "help the party educate steadfast fighters for establishing the communist society who act in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism."[5] Thereby it stands its test in the spirit of Wilhelm Pieck, whose name it has borne for 30 years.

FOOTNOTES

1. Wilhelm Pieck, "Knowledge is Power!" "An die Jugend" (To Youth), Neues Leben publishing house, Berlin, 1955, p 139.

2. Quoted from Heinz Schirmag, "The First One-year Course at the Wilhelm Pieck Youth College," JUNGE GENERATION, Berlin, No 11, 1950, pp 500-501.

3. Erich Honecker, "To Be a Student at the Youth College Means to Work, Learn, Live and Struggle in the Spirit of Wilhelm Pieck," "Zur Jugendpolitik der SED" (On SED Youth Policy), Neues Leben publishing house, Berlin, 1977, p 242.

4. Ibid., p 244.

5. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den IX. Parteitag der SED" (SED Central Committee Report to the Ninth SED Congress), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, p 134.

5885
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SUMMARIES OF OTHER MAJOR 'EINHEIT' ARTICLES

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 35 No 7/8, Jul-Aug 80 signed to press 13 Jun 80 'Resumes' addendum

[Text] Socialism's Peace Policy

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Stefan Doernberg, director, Institute for International Relations, GDR Academy of Political Science and Jurisprudence; chairman, GDR Scientific Council for Foreign Policy Research; vice president, GDR Committee for European Security and Cooperation; pp 691-698]

[Text] The basic humanistic concern of socialism, seeking the free personality development of man, and thus his liberation from exploitation and oppression, inseparably connects with the struggle for the peoples' life in peace and security, against the imperialist policy of aggression, and against the use and threat of force in interstate relations. Through the implementation of the peaceful coexistence policy, socialism also paves the way to the most favorable conditions for insuring social progress. All peoples, all human civilization, benefit from socialism's peace policy.

Solidarity--Humanism in Action

[Summary of article by Kurt Seibt chairman, SED Central Auditing Commission; president, GDR Solidarity Committee; pp 699-705]

[Text] The history of the organized workers movement also is the history of the struggle and of the solidarity of the working people and the oppressed. Proletarian internationalism is an irreplaceable weapon in the struggle against oppression and exploitation and for peace, democracy and progress. Our republic has always received solidarity and

has from the beginning, and increasingly more so, practiced solidarity. The GDR has stood by the peoples in their struggle for national independence, peace and social progress. The work of the GDR Solidarity Committee is an inseparable component of GDR policy.

Testimony to the Struggle for a Socialist German Fatherland

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Walter Wimmer, deputy department chief, Institute for Marxism-Leninism, SED Central Committee; pp 706-712]

[Text] The program declaration published 50 years ago by the KPD on the national and social liberation of the German people is among the outstanding documents of the struggle of German communists for liberating the German people from capitalist exploitation, imperialist oppression, fascist threat and militarist war policy. It most impressively demonstrates that the KPD, in its implacable struggle against fascism and war, pointed out the true path to a socialist German fatherland, which became a reality in the form of the GDR.

Rationality For or Against Man

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Georg Ebert, economist, director, Department of Political Economy of Socialism, Karl Marx Party College, SED Central Committee; and Dr Uwe Moeller, economist, senior scientific assistant at the party college; pp 722-728]

[Text] Free personality development and the well-being of man, finding their firm foundation in the public ownership in the means of production and the political power of the workers class in socialism, characteristically express real social humanity. Why are economic performance development, rationalization and higher efficiency, and the fundamental humanistic demand raised by socialist society, mutually interdependent? What marks socialist production as humanistic? These questions are answered in confrontation with bourgeois theses.

Rationalization in the Interest of the Workers

[Summary of article by Dr Horst Martens, director, Friedrich Engels SED Bezirk School, Frankfurt/Oder; pp 729-733. A translation of this article is published under the heading, "Petrochemical Combine Expansion, Rationalization Discussed," in a recent JPRS issue of EAST EUROPE REPORT: ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL AFFAIRS]

[Text] Socialist rationalization is carried out with man and for his benefit under socialist production relations. His active participation in it is a decisive criterion. By examples taken from the Schwedt Petrochemical Combine the article demonstrates what tasks have to be solved in this, how the working people are recruited into active participation through our ideological work, and which problems are coped with in the process.

Humanistic, Progress Promoting College Education

[Summary of article by Dr (honorary) Hannes Hoernig, member, SED Central Committee; chief, Science Department, SED CC; pp 734-741]

Text] Science and education become decisive factors in the social reproduction process. That increases the demands, which are laid down in the Politburo resolution, "Tasks of the Universities and Colleges in the Developed Socialist Society." Based on that, the article emphasizes that all measures and deliberations for improving college education have to be based on the well tested principles of unity between training and education, teaching and research, and theory and practice. Many facts are adduced to explain the importance of these principles that must needs be considered as existing in unity.

Scientific-Technical Progress and Humaneness

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Herbert Hoerz, member, GDR Academy of Sciences; program director, Academy's Central Institute for Philosophy; pp 749-756]

[Text] Science and technology in socialism become increasingly more important means for implementing the ambitious socialist-humanistic goals. What prevents imperialism from coping with the scientific-technical revolution for the good of the working people? The article refutes theses of bourgeois ideologists of a "crisis in humanity" and the demands for a "new humanism." The article also deals with the connection between efficiency and humaneness and with ideological problems in the acceleration of scientific-technical progress on behalf of social progress in our society.

From Postulate to Action

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Wilhelm Girnus, director SINN UND FORM, journal of GDR Academy of Arts; member of the academy; pp 780-788]

> [Text] As an ideal postulate humanism has existed for millenia. But only socialist society, based on the abolition of the exploitation of man by man, and on the political and economic power of the workers class, can bring humanism to realization, provide it with new substantive and historic dimensions, and perform the qualitative leap from utopian to real humanism. The strength of socialism as it exists and the struggle by the popular masses are the basis for the worldwide breakthrough of real humanism and for preserving peace.

In the Field of Tension Between the Ideal and Reality

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Hans Koch, candidate member, SED Central Committee; director, Institute for Marxist-Leninist Culture and Art Studies, Academy of Social Sciences, SED CC; pp 789-797. A West German commentary on this EINHEIT article is inserted below this summary]

> [Text] Communist ideals embrace the goal as well as the process. They express tendencies and objectives that are inherent in the penetrating changes during the shaping of the developed socialist society. These ideals have absorbed progressive value concepts of past ages. In the literary and art products by socialist authors, the humanistic ideal appears as a direct artistic expression or as an element in the overall art design. The relation between reality and ideal in art and life is based on the dialectical unity between what has already been achieved and what waits to be achieved still.

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 101, 7 Jul 80 'iwe-kultur' supplement

[Report from Berlin: "SED Against Literature Glossing Over Reality"]

[Text] The theoretical SED organ EINHEIT (No 7/8, 1980) has criticized a literature that presents socialist conditions in the GDR as being free of conflict and glorifies them. Embellishment was uncalled for not only because it gilded the picture of heavy going in development but because it denied the contradictions as the true impulses for real development.

Such embellishment thus could at the most create subjectivist wishful thinking but was unsuitable for the molding of ideals. Many works in GDR literature, EINHEIT continued, spoke of matters unattained, cumbersome, unfinished and even erroneous in the developmental history of socialist reality, without the "adversary" getting the idea he would want to tie their authors into knots. That would not happen when such critical presentations made the "ideational strength of socialist party-mindedness" perceptible. Those relatedness to reality was oriented to the fact that a contradiction did exist between socialist society's ideal and reality which time and time again would have to be resolved. Uncovering such contradictions could be a "form through which socialist party-mindedness expresses itself."

Women's Equal Rights--One of the Greatest Achievements

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Herta Kuhrig, director, Social Policy Program, Institute for Sociology and Social Policy, GDR Academy of Sciences; acting chairperson, Academy's Scientific Advisory Board on 'The Woman in Socialist Society'; pp 806-812]

> [Text] Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels showed the women's issue to be a class issue. Realizing women's equality is an inherent element of the historic mission of the workers class. The differences, of principle, in the social position of woman in the two social systems most vividly confirm both the antiprogressive nature of imperialism and the humanistic character of socialism. Whereas no capitalist country has resolved the women's issue, the implementation of women's equality under socialism is one of its greatest achievements.

International Class Conflict and New Demands on Socialism

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Dieter Klein, economist, social science dean (prorektor), Humboldt University, East Berlin; pp 820-827]

> [Text] Compared with the early 1970's, today socialism is developing under changed conditions. They are: (1) The new dimensions of the goals in the shaping of developed socialist society; (2) the tasks connected with the coping with the scientific-technical revolution; and (3) the deepening of the general crisis of capitalism, the advances of the revolutionary world process, the exacerbation of the international situation and of the struggle for detente and peace. From there, new and higher demands arise which are met by our party strategy and the mass initiatives of the working people.

The Current Crisis of the Capitalist Society in the USA

[Summary of article by Dr Herbert Aptheker, member, CPUSA Central Committee; director, American Institute for Marxist Studies; pp 828-835]

> [Text] Intensified exploitation, racial oppression, unemployment, inflation, and social insecurity mark the situation of the working people in the United States. Monopolist profiteering and rising armament expenditures are the most significant causes for it. The inhuman domestic policy of monopoly capital is in line with a foreign policy which, aggressively, jeopardizes peace, its escalation having been prepared over the long haul, and systematically so. The CPUSA is fighting in the front rank of resistance against reaction, uncovers the causes of the crisis and shows the way for a fundamental solution, which leads across a broad antimonopolist alliance.

Global Problems and Humanism

[Summary of article by I. T. Frolov, chairman, Scientific Council for Philosophical and Social Problems of Science and Technology, Presidium, USSR Academy of Sciences; a slightly abridged reprint of the first article in a series on philosophical, social and methodological aspects of these problems, published in Moscow VOPROSY FILOSOFII in Russian, No 2, February 1980; German version, EINHEIT pp 840-847]

> [Text] The political, social and philosophical aspects of the global problems are subject to scientific research as well as to ideological conflict. The Marxist-Leninist conception proceeds from the proposition that a complete solution of the global problems, being of deeply humanistic concern, is inevitably tied to the development of the socioeconomic form of communist society. While there are states with differing social systems, their requisite international cooperation in solving the global problems is an important contribution to the consolidation of peaceful coexistence.

5885
CSO: 2300

MINISTER SPEAKS ON SIMPLIFICATION OF LAWMAKING

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 13 Jul 80 p 5

[Text] Legislation is one of the fundamental means of society's state and economic leadership and management. Thus it is imperative for socialist development to have an up-to-date, clear-cut and stable legal system which is in harmony with social and economic conditions. A good law or order is capable of adequately serving the demands of society on as long a range as possible. But life is changing, constantly setting new requirements which must be followed by the law. The Ministry of Justice makes a codification plan for the government every 5 years, so that the up-dating of outdated laws can be carried out according to plans. We discussed this planned process with Dr Imre Markoja, Minister of Justice.

[Question] If regulations change too often, one cannot even study them, let alone learning or putting them into practice. And yet, the real value of a law depends on to what extent and how many of the interested parties are able to follow it.

[Answer] Indeed, the frequent change of laws is an existing danger. But this is partly unavoidable in our rapidly changing life. At any rate, the government is always trying to thoroughly examine the necessity of changing the law and to make statutory provisions lasting.

There has been an extensive reform of the law in Hungary in the past 10 years. This work is essentially finished and thus a system of law does exist which is suitable for present social conditions. Since it is hoped that we in the top legislative branch have enough time now to breathe, we can put more effort into putting the so-called "statutes of the lower levels" in order. An abundance of bureaucratic overregulation is to be found in this area, resulting in very dangerous legal red tape. There are about 4,000 statutory provisions today; most of these are not laws, law-decrees or government decrees but ministerial orders and injunctions. This

in itself is not little but if we also include the tens of thousands of directions, which have many names and titles but are all legally binding--such as, for example, "views," "recommendations," "ordinances" and "general orders"--it can be seen without any special survey that this area of our legal system is very complex.

Of course, the trouble is not that there are such directions, interpreting the statutes in the executive sphere, since these can also be valuable means of leadership. The problem is that these possibilities are being used excessively, thereby shackling legislation; the reasons for issuing them are unclear, and they sometimes hide in them orders which should be issued in statutes. The government recognized this some years ago and ordered the Ministry of Justice to examine, with the cooperation of the other portfolios, the lower-level statutes and the system of directions. Last year we were already able to report some results to the government, but the real "breakthrough" will need continued and thorough analyses which are needed to determine which portfolio's laws must be touched up and reframed.

[Question] Incidentally, if there are so many directions in legal guise which can hardly be clear to the parties concerned and which are for this reason difficult to implement, why are computers not being used?

[Answer] The development of a computerized record system was started years ago. In the Ministry of Justice, the organizational prerequisites for it already existed. We have even signed a contract with the Central Bureau of Statistics for the use of its machines. At present, experimental coding is being carried out in one legal branch: family law. The complete legal material on this subject--including the Supreme Court's mandatory views--are fed into the machine. We will computerize the entire Hungarian legal code according to the experience gained. Later we will want to include the practice of the law into this system, too. It is a future objective that even a district court or a district council be able in a few minutes to easily get a clear picture, of the existing statutes in the given matter, including the lowest-level regulations as well, and of the legal interpretations it must consider! Of course, to develop such a system is expensive and it cannot be done from one day to the next. Nevertheless, it will be an accessory indispensable for modern state government and very useful for the implementations of the law. But, of course, it will only be an accessory.

We will survey those areas first where extensive reframing and modernization is most urgent. The related tasks will be included in the government's new 5-year codification plan as well. We already know, for example, that the entire legal material of education must be inspected and reframed, material which is also extremely complex and unclear at present. We made an agreement with the minister of education that we will do this job jointly and as soon as possible. We must work in cooperation with the portfolios for only they can realistically decide on technical matters.

[Question] What other trends will the codification have in the next 5 years?

[Answer] We can answer this unequivocally only if the Council of Ministers will accept this program at the end of the year. At any rate, we will probably have priorities in the areas of economy and public administration. Not to mention others, the contract system plays an important role in the national economy. Experience shows that the contract system is not functioning properly. And the reason for this, aside from economic factors, is that we looked at the economy too idealistically when we did the legal regulations earlier. Of course, we could not foresee certain economic problems which later emerged. Our task now will be to examine how we can bring the legal system closer to life and what kind of--perhaps temporary--means would be possible for us to include in order to make the contract system work better.

[Question] There are those who say that the responsibility system is not working perfectly either, that the legal framework for decisions--and the responsibilities thereof--is not clear enough.

[Answer] In a certain sense, it is not even worked out. This statement was also heard at the party's leading bodies. The legal means--of criminal, civil, labor and other laws--do exist but calling people to account often does not happen nevertheless. In several areas the authority of decision-making is ill defined, with many overlappings and thus too many people can be held responsible--and this leads to the disappearance of the person really responsible. The decisionmaking structure must be thus examined, its legal framework, which must be the basis of responsibility, must be determined. The government ordered the Ministry of Justice to examine, together with the other portfolios and supreme national authorities, our entire system of contracts and responsibility and, on the basis of the results, to work out the conceptions which also indicate the direction which the continued development of the legal system should take.

[Question] There has been for a time a silent change in our public administration. However, there is still no extensive program for the improvement of administration.

[Answer] There will be. In order to further modernize and simplify public administration, the Council of Ministers decided to work out an extensive program, and even asked the Academy of Sciences to submit to the government its own research plan for the improvement of administration. As far as we are concerned, it is almost certain that in the course of the program's implementation a new law of procedures in state administration will have to be made. Its objective will be to make the procedural regulations help in taking simpler and more efficient administrative action on matters of the citizens and the various state organs, in strengthening the discipline of citizenship, and in further developing the democratic character of public administration. And there is a party resolution that requires us to improve the elective franchise in the name of the democratization of the state's functions.

[Question] The extent to which the masses take part in legislation is an excellent indication of the state's democratism. What do you, as Minister

of Justice, want to do to involve society even more than before in planning bills or--and I go even further--law-decrees so that they can this way become refined and assume a shape?

[Answer] It is my conviction that the possibilities at our disposal in this area are not yet exploited. I think the parliamentary committees must take a bigger role in the preparation of bills, for this in itself broadens the democratism of legislation. And they should do it before they have been established in practice when only formal changes can be made in them. I also find it feasible that the plenum of the parliament, in addition to the discussion of concrete bills, should make a periodic and extensive survey of legislation, including its trend in legal rights, questions of content and method of bill preparation, and its democratism.

The other possibility may be exploited by widening social and professional debates. Of course, even up until now, the flaw was not in a lack of social and professional debates concerning important bills but in the fact that these often were formal. We ourselves also contributed to this, for in certain cases we offered the bill for debate so late that everyone felt that there was hardly any time left for changes and for a thorough analysis and application of the observations. If we proclaim--and this is our conviction--that the social debate on the plans of bills and law-decrees is useful, then we must also be more efficient and organized in fostering these.

[Question] Indeed, this effort is very important in legislation, as it is the law that determines what we can and cannot do in our lives, and how the state and the economy should function. But however perfect a statute maybe, only practice will show its effect. Here is a new law. It is said that one of the most important effects of last year's Criminal Code is that the number of "prison dwellers" has decreased. Is this unequovocally good and is this what is expected of the law?

[Answer] This, too. The new criminal code, among other things, reformed our penal system as well and gives the courts more alternatives to prison terms than before. Sentencing can thus be more differentiated and more just, and the number of "prison dwellers" can indeed be decreased. True, it was pretty difficult to change the old practice of sentencing by the courts to the new regulations and possibilities. The change came slowly in applying more differentiated penalties instead of prison terms and in being more consistently strict where this is required by the new criminal laws. Thus I have the feeling that the courts' liberalism, that is manifest here and there, is--true, only in part--responsible for the dwindling numbers of prisoners. Of course, the basic tendency of the new criminal code is to incarcerate only those people whose reeducation can take place only there and where there is no alternative to restrain them further criminal acts. Those who can be restrained from further criminal acts by other means and penalties, must not be punished by inprisonment, the gravest penalty that can be carried out.

[Question] There are those who question the reforming character of prisons and the efficiency of the education there. What is your opinion on this?

[Answer] The new Criminal Code--and the resulting whole series of orders of execution--aims at making our prison system really serve education. It is a worldwide experience that the effect of the penalty is disproportionate to the huge financial and spiritual investment in developing the educational functions of the prisons. We tried in orders of penalty execution to make all activities--economic incentives--help as best as they can in changing the convicts' form of consciousness and views.

[Question] This needs a social background as well, of course.

[Answer] Absolutely. For the former convict can stay on the road of decency only in a suitable social environment. This is also a reason why it is fortunate that the new orders more closely connect the enforcement of penalty with the so-called after-care activity which has taken a favorable direction in the past years. There are more and more signs that society is taking a concrete and active part in reeducating criminals, especially in the period when they come out of prison and must find a place, and when their employers must look after them. There are many enterprises with which we have signed contracts in this regard, most recently with the auto plant of Csepel and the construction enterprise of Zalaegerszeg. I am convinced that these enterprises are doing this work very conscientiously.

[Question] But if there is no adequate differentiation in the prisons between the convicts--if a one-time offender is put together with a hardened criminal--their reeducation can hardly be effective.

[Answer] The new law-decree on penalty enforcement gave many possibilities for separation and differentiation. Thus, in addition to the different kinds of prison classes, there are already so-called temporary groups as well where the long-termers are being thoroughly and carefully prepared for life after release. So-called remedial/educational groups have been created where the newest results of pedagogy and health science are used for the common goal of education and healing. Higher security and disciplinary sections had to be established in order to put hardened criminals who cannot fit in under more intensive control. But many other new measures--such as, for example, the possibility of self-initiative organization--help in developing a much more differentiated system of penalty enforcement. At least we hope so. For life often vitiates even the most beautiful conceptions.

[Question] As, for instance in the new--new? 6-year old--family law that had social repercussions. Six years ago I talked with you about the new family law; as state secretary of the justice portfolio, you said then that this law, while it is extremely family and child centric, does not forcibly keep together families that have been disintegrated; it makes cultured divorce possible, for if the parties to the divorce go to court

with a mutual agreement, they do not have to "throw mud" at each other only to get the divorce. Now, after 6 years, we find that the number of divorces is very high. Does not the family law, which sanctioned the legal institution of the divorce-by-agreement play a role in this?

[Answer] Certainly it plays some role. While 90,000 marriages are made every year, the courts dissolve 28,000 marriages. The number of divorces was will 23,000 in 1974. But I think this is not a legal but a social problem; the law here plays only a secondary, albeit not insignificant, role. As we formulated the orders of the family law, our main goal was to defend the institution of marriage, to increase the responsibility of to-be-married and married couples toward each other and toward society, to help further strengthen the family, and to increasingly defend the interests of children. But it was also our goal not to force by law the continuation of marriages which could not fulfill their human and social role. We examined and analyzed--together with the women's council and other social organizations--the social background of divorces, the negative social consequences of divorces, and the effectiveness of legal regulation several times. With regard to the latter, we drew the conclusion that the legal regulation provided by the new family was basically right.

If there is something wrong in the area of the law, it is usually its application. This probably originates from the fact that some of the divorce judges do not yet have enough experience in life and the good judgment necessary for these matters, and thus a mechanical and schematic "administration" is not uncommon. Although I know that when the litigants for divorce go to court with a mutual agreement, there is no special factor to be examined, and this worries me a little. We are not averse to seeing what could be done--with a little refinement and adherence to the principles of the family law--to decrease the number of divorces. We submit the results of our inquiries and our proposals to the party and state institutions concerned.

[Szabo] Thank you for the discussion which showed that the new statutes, which meet life's requirements, are just as important as the requirement of legal stability. It is not a simple task to bring these two demands into harmony with one another. However, this would be desirable, as both of them happen to be in society's interest.

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CSO: 2500

KOLAKOWSKI COMMENTARY ON DISSIDENTS, SOCIALIST SYSTEM NOTED

Brussels LE SOIR in French 22 Aug 80 pp 1, 3

[White paper by Leszek Kolakowski, Polish philosopher and writer: "Let Them Eat Socialism!"]

[Text] Following is an exceptional "white paper" written by Leszek Kolakowski, the noted Polish philosopher and writer.

Between 1955 and 1957 Kolakowski was one of the promoters of the movement which marked the end of Stalinism in Poland and opened the way to the famous "Polish October" of 1956. In the 1960's, as a professor at Warsaw University, he was one of the leaders of a democratic current which opposed the dogmatic trend which was raising its head in Poland. He was dismissed in 1966 and has been living in the West since 1967.

Formerly a professor in Canada (Montreal) and the United States (Yale University in particular), Leszek Kolakowski is currently a professor at Oxford where he is a fellow of the famous All Soul's College. He is the author of a number of works published in several languages, considered authoritative in the areas of philosophy and the history of philosophical and religious doctrines. His latest work is a monumental history (three volumes) of the main Marxist currents.

Kolakowski, who remains a Polish citizen, is one of the founding members of the KOR, the social self-defense committee, and the main democratic opposition group in Poland. He is the only member of the KOR to live abroad and its only spokesman in the Western countries.

A Polish joke tells of the history of a young man taking an examination at at the School for Communist Party Cadres.

"Tell us, comrades," the examiners ask, "what is the difference between capitalism and socialism?"

"Capitalism is synonymous with tyranny, inequality, injustice, misery, international hatred, war, oppression, corruption, and class struggle. Conversely, socialism gives us freedom, prosperity, equality, fraternity, progress, justice, and peace. . . ."

"Very good, comrade. . . Here is another question: What is today the most important task facing the party and the country?"

"To catch up with and outstrip capitalism."

This is an old joke going back to the happy times of Khrushchev, when the slogan of "Catching up with and outstripping capitalism" was fashionable and when the leaders were trying, still clumsily, to offer to the party, if not to the entire population, a vision of communism as an ideological value. Such attempts have been largely abandoned.

Throughout eastern Europe the question is not to know how to imbue the people with a communist and even Marxist ideology but how to survive. Surviving consists of convincing the populations that all the dreams of freedom and national independence are vain and that they should be satisfied with eating socialism. "If they have no bread let them eat cake" is as old as Marie Antoinette. . . .

However, the dike of despair has broken. The peoples have learned that they can extract concessions from the oppressing state only through active resistance and never by begging.

The fact that the current wave of strikes in Poland is generally considered as symptomatic of the gravest crisis experienced by the country in decades is not because of riots (there have been no riots), massacres, or repressions of workers as in 1970.

The party and the authorities were forced to recognize the elected representatives of the workers, to negotiate with them and to grant concessions virtually everywhere. This is an enormous event within the context of the communist system, its history, and its ideology.

The severity of the crisis, however, should not be measured from the exclusive viewpoint of the economic situation. Naturally, the situation is not bad but catastrophic. The leaders themselves admit this more or less openly. However, despite the terrible difficulties of daily life the virtually general scarcity, very low salaries, and the general chaos prevailing in the management and system of prices, the Poles are not dying of hunger.

Obviously, some reasons for the current decline stem from the structural crisis and the inefficiency afflicting all socialist bureaucracies. Other

reasons are more specific: years of underinvestment, a huge foreign debt, and a heavy burden of military expenditures. However, this is merely the least important feature of the situation.

Actually, not only the organized democratic opposition but intellectuals close to the "establishment" have been pointing out for quite some time that the Polish crisis could not be resolved exclusively through economic measures and that its roots were essentially political.

The Social Self-Defense Committee (a group better known by the initials KOR--Workers' Defense Committee--founded in 1976 to help workers who had been persecuted after the previous strikes) has repeatedly emphasized that the total loss of credibility of the party and the government, years of unkept promises, and the total break of the possibility to communicate between the governing and the governed, make any effective economic reform impossible unless related to political change.

The KOR is the dominant and best-known organ of the antitotalitarian movement in Poland. However, recently a study group known as the DIP (Experience and Future), which includes intellectuals some of whom are party members and work within official institutions, published (unofficially, naturally) studies leading to the same conclusions. They asked themselves what could be achieved within a political system imposed upon the country (Poland being dependent on the USSR and submitted to the one-party system). Their conclusion was that without major political changes which would give the population a minimum of self-rule and the government a minimum of credibility any economic measure would be doomed to failure. Without such changes, the DIP predicts, the entire social structure could crumble.

Unfortunately, truth is a product which the Polish governing class would be the least capable of producing. It is acting in a state of panic and is afraid of everything: of its Soviet masters, and of its own workers, peasants, intellectuals, and the church. . . . The only ideological dish which the system dares to serve and which it serves almost openly is that of frightening the Poles with the ghost of fraternal armor from the East. In other areas, the system reacts according to the situation. Above all, fearing the popular anger, it is ready to raise the salaries. Under the current circumstances, however, this would mean the printing of inflationary money and the inevitable recurrence of the situation which prevailed several months ago. For the time being, a stagnation is developing in Poland which creates as much hope as a grave danger. Naturally, no one wishes a general disorder which would trigger a Soviet invasion and a widespread massacre. As Jacek Kuron, spokesman for the KOR, has noted, the Soviets would invade the country only should they reach the conclusion that the leading team should be replaced on the spot, having proved itself incapable of guaranteeing the status quo.

Acting thus, however, they would have to face a situation which would resemble more that of Afghanistan than of Czechoslovakia.

The KOR which is actively helping the strikers and which has succeeded in developing an effective communications network, is opposed to riots and street demonstrations.

The authorities have two possibilities: There is, for certain, within the party apparatus, a trend to return to repression and to violent police counteraction to the peaceful pressure of the workers. This would be a dangerous choice. The detention of several hundred activists would resolve nothing. The party should face the workers' mass which even the huge police machine would be probably incapable of crushing.

There is, however, another choice: allowing the population to openly express its grievances, tell the unpleasant truth about the situation, allow the workers to set up their own unions (the existing ones are merely a department of the official bureaucracy), abolish censorship, respect legality, stop stifling all forms of cultural expression, put an end to the ubiquitous presence and immunity of the secret police or, in a word, start a procedure which would lead to democracy. Yet, this choice not only conflicts with the dogmas, ideas, traditions and communist habits. For obvious reasons, it is a major threat to the position, the power, and the privileges of the current leadership.

In the short-term, the most likely line to be followed by the party would be to try, yet once again, to make a few vague promises in the hope of a temporary appeasement, after which it would resume control of the situation.

However, a very important change has occurred meanwhile: No longer does anyone seriously consider the party's statements, promises, or appeals. The margin of effectiveness of fraud has dramatically narrowed. This is what makes the current impasse extremely perilous.

The uncensored press is already 4 years old. Police harassment and jail have been unable to intimidate its representatives. The newspaper ROBOTNIK (The Worker), which is only one of the publications of the opposition, has a circulation of 20,000 copies (this is another unprecedented fact in a communist state). Not only does this press provide the population with the necessary information but it makes it intensely aware of the fact that without freedom of expression and information any change would be precarious and easily reversible.

We now note that the Polish workers would like not only to see their claims accepted but made public. The fact that Polish television, this routine tool for lies, was forced, after 6 weeks, even though reluctantly and without mentioning the forbidden word "strike" announced that something had jammed the machinery and that Edward Gierek had been forced personally to appear in front of the nation, proves not only that the authorities are aware of the gravity of the situation but also that the people's pressure, in the search for truth, is deeply resented by the leadership.

Despite a number of discouraging experiences of the socialist system, in which nothing appears to be functioning properly with the exception of the police and the army, the hope remains for a nonviolent change. It is clear, however, that even if granted with an eyedropper freedom could be achieved only through popular pressure.

Now it depends on the attitude of the leadership if the situation is not to degenerate to an uncontrollable level. Should the authorities, facing the workers who are providing admirable examples of calm and a feeling of responsibility, resort to violence, anything could happen. Poland is fed up with the reign of lies and obviously is not letting itself be appeased by meaningless phrases and promises without guarantees.

5157
CSO: 3100

DISSIDENT PUBLICATION REVIEW OF PPN'S FOUR-YEAR RECORD NOTED

London DZIENNIK POLSKI in Polish 19 Jul 80 p 6

[Article by Tadeusz Taski]

[Text] We are reprinting this article from the dissident Polish periodical GLOS, the latest issue of which (no 5-6/1980) came out toward the end of June 1980. GLOS is edited by Antoni Macierewicz, Piotr Naimski and Marek Tarniewski. The address of the editorial office is: c/o Antoni Macierewicz, ul. Klaudyny 34, apt. 126, Warsaw.

We are dedicating this article to the editors of the periodicals MYSL POLSKA in London and NARODOWIEC in Lens who with a crazy stubborness continue to claim that the works published by the PPN [Polskie Porozumienie Niepodlegosciowe; Polish Covenant for Independence] are "the handiwork of Sanacja-era Germanophiles in league with revisionist circles in the FRG."

Since May 1976 publications signed by the Polish Covenant for Independence have been appearing in the Polish emigre press in the West. The authenticity of these publications is disputed by representatives of the PPN, including the well-known emigre Polish intellectuals Gustaw Herling-Grudzinski, a prominent journalist for KULTURA published in Paris and the author of the concentration camp memoirs entitled "Another World," Maria Winowska, a Catholic journalist who before the war founded the journal VERBUM which was associated with Father Wladyslaw Kornilowicz and with Laski, Jerzy Lerski, a history professor at a university in California, and Leszek Kolakowski, a former prominent Polish Marxist. They are vouching only for the authenticity of the articles, and not for their contents, but their names lend considerable prestige to the PPN.

These publications have also appeared in Poland, having been printed by the PPN without the approval of the censors, and some of them were

reprinted in book form without the approval of the PPN by NOWA [Niezalezna Oficyna Wydawnicza-Independent Publishers Printshop].

As is apparent in light of the statements made to date by the PPN, it is not a conspiratorial organization. Perhaps the PPN should be regarded solely as a collective pseudonym for a group of people residing in Poland who, through their writings, would like to lend impetus to a public debate on the current state of the nation and on ways to reform the existing system of government and to regain national independence. This activity is aimed at rebuilding the spirit of public opinion that was destroyed by the communist government. These publications can also be used as topics for debate in young people's self-education groups. Some of them were written expressly for this purpose.

Nearly forty of these papers have been published thus far (study no 41, entitled "Arts Education in the PRL," recently reached the West--editor's note). They are published more or less once a month, and the size and frequency of these publications is gradually increasing. Some of the themes taken up by these papers include the platform of the PPN, several topical discussions of the current social and economic situation in Poland, essays on Polish-German relations, and several important articles on the political history of the interwar period.

In the inaugural publication dealing with the PPN program the authors list the key points that define their outlook, i.e., the sovereignty of the Polish state, the equality of all citizens before the law, the unique role of Catholicism in our country, Poland's tradition of tolerance, and its close ties with the traditions of Western civilization.

The authors of the program declare their goals to be the restoration of national independence, the restitution of civil liberties, the establishment of a multiparty democracy, economic prosperity, the promotion of the arts, and the opening up of Poland to the outside world.

They elaborate on these goals in the next section of the program consisting of 26 points, which can be divided into three parts:
--the reform of political institutions, i.e., the restoration of parliamentary democracy, free elections, freedom of speech and association, freedom for workers organizations and private enterprises, the independence of the judiciary, autonomy for the universities, and the recognition of the legal and political status of the Catholic Church;
--foreign policy reforms, i.e., reconciliation with the Russians, the establishment of friendly relations with the Lithuanians, Byelorussians and Ukrainians, the improvement of relations with Germany, and the establishment of closer ties with the EEC (it is fitting that we should note the distinctions made in terms of the language used to describe relations with these different nations--author's note);
--economic reforms, i.e., drawing lines of demarcation between the political and economic spheres of our national life, the free development of private

economic initiative, the return of trade and commerce to the private sector, the passage of laws guaranteeing the legal status of private-sector agriculture, worker participation in the management of business enterprises, and making it possible to buy stocks in business enterprises.

This program is poorly written, some of its points are unclear, and the authors do not suggest any ways to put it into practice. Some of their proposals are provisional, stopgap measures that are supposed to be carried out at once, while others are intended as long-term goals. In addition, and this is by no means insignificant, their descriptions of the current situation are interspersed with demands for change. Unfortuantely, it also must be noted that the PPN program totally overlooks the problems of health care services, social welfare, pensions and retirement plans and says hardly anything at all about education. And even at a later date it turns out that the PPN did not see fit to take any interest in these issues.

One thing can be said in defense of the PPN. Namely, apart from the less well-known and--so it would seem--discontinued "Program 44," its program is the only one that offers such far-reaching proposals. This is very important. This program serves as a reminder of the maximum goals of the Polish people, i.e., national independence and democracy. The democracy we are talking about here is labeled by the communists as bourgeois democracy. In its subsequent activities the PPN has all but ignored the problems of political and economic reform raised in its original program. It has instead focused its attention on entirely different problems. In this connection we can distinguish two periods in the history of this organization's activity, the first of which ended in the spring of 1978. Up until that time the PPN had published three statements dealing with current political events, and in its publications it concentrated on two issues, i.e., the sovietization of Polish society and the formulation of a mini action program for the average citizen.

During the second period the PPN set utself up as a sort of think-tank, a position which it maintains to this day. Consequently, its main interests were the political history of the interwar period, Polish-German relations, and certain specialized problems of contemporary Polish life, e.g., the economic situation, alcoholism, the role of rank-and-file party members in public affairs, or the site of the massacre of a couple of thousand Polish officers from Starobielsk in 1940 by Soviet authorities.

While during the first period almost all of these publications were signed in the name of the PPN or its Discussion Groups and represented the views of all PPN members, during the latter period these tracts were signed with the pseudonyms of individuals and expressed only their personal views. It was not until recently, i.e., the spring of 1980, that publications reappeared bearing the signatures of Discussion Group members (the only exception being the study on the Germans and the Jews).

The question which asks "what is the PPN" is geared more toward finding out what is unique about this organization than it is toward identifying those

aspects that link it with other currents of contemporary Polish political thought. The differences in the outlooks of individual groups revolve equally around shifts in emphasis (the PPN probably attaches greater importance to the issue of national independence than other groups), answers to specific political questions (e.g., how do we rate the chances for the implementation of political reforms or what should our attitude be toward German reunification), and the discussion of issues that do not receive very much attention in the press of other organizations.

The views expressed during the first period in the history of the PPN are much more indicative of its real character than those espoused in its later works. These views can be summarized as briefly as possible as follows. The political system under which we live is incorrigible. No reforms will make it any better than it already is. It has to be changed in a radical manner. But at the present time such a radical transformation is impossible, since the feasibility of such change is a function of the international political situation. And the Soviet Union does not want any changes in Eastern Europe. As the authors writing on behalf of the PPN point out, the present situation is also unfavorable in view of the fact that all of our current activities should be geared toward making preparations for the future. We must get ready for the day when we will be confronted with a more favorable alignment of political forces.

And we have a lot to do in this regard, because this system has consistently been working toward the corruption and debasement of social life in Poland. The essence of this system is not physical terror, but rather the organized deceitfulness of the state. This system of organized coverups, biased news reporting and outright lies is reshaping our culture, consciousness and standards of personal behavior. This is precisely what is meant by the term "sovietization." The PPN has paid a lot of attention to this, and its studies on this subject are among the most interesting. So, instead of trying to summarize their views in our own words, we will offer a few quotes from its publications.

"The mixture of muddleheadedness and pedantry, the combination of corruption and terror and the duet of noisy patriotism and servility toward our powerful neighbor to the East, these are the innovations of a system which owes its longevity and stability neither to physical coercion nor to the effectiveness of its rule, but rather to the fact that it appeals to the negative traits of human nature, aiding and abetting those traits, weakens the moral fiber of the individual, and rules these so weakened without hinderence or objection. Namely, it appeals to laziness, helplessness, selfishness, and cynicism. It finds a way to work its will with every private citizen by playing on his defects. Less cruel than the despotic systems of days gone by, it is incomparably more demoralizing than they ever were.

"The Balance Sheet of Our Weaknesses"

"The average citizen is or rather is becoming apathetic, docile, forebearing, and, at the same time, bitter, hypocritical, cynical and totally incapable of thinking in political terms . . . . Embittered and dogged, he is being transformed into a model citizen of the Soviet type always chasing after any goods and services that are always in short supply. He learns these habits through the endless routine of everyday life in his place of work and at the countless meetings where he is supposed to be protesting against something or other, and so on. It is after all true that the inculcation of cynicism, hypocrisy and conformity gets under way as soon as children are in kindergarten."

"The Paradoxes of Sovietization"

"For it is true that lies form the foundation of our system of government, that is, as a Soviet-type political system . . . . As long as things stay more or less settled in Poland, this country appears, in the eyes of an outside observer, to be a fairly normal country where things are getting better all the time, the only problem being that it is burdened by bureaucracy, material waste, and so on. If one were to ask people how they felt under these circumstances, they would be hard put to conclude that their country suffered from any lack of independence. But just let some political crisis rear its head and all Poles, from the first to the last secretary of the PZPR, from the professor to the charwoman at the university, will rush to offer the opinion that unless this crisis is solved the Soviets are going to intervene and that blood will be shed in the bargain . . . . We know how things really stand, but we will try to avoid talking about this as long as we can . . . . So, one is bound to conclude that most people would prefer not to be given any detailed knowledge about the restrictions they are really faced with when it comes to the freedom of speech and information. This ignorance is a kind of refuge, sometimes being a face-saving measure and sometimes resulting from the gloomy conviction that a knowledge of the truth leads to desperation, which in turn leads to nothing since the omnipotent evil that is our lot is not going to be eradicated anyway."

"Thoughts About the Fatherland of Today"

The passages about sovietization quoted above were written immediately after the current opposition movement came onto the scene and they served, in my opinion, as a warning against overenthusiasm at that point in time. This of course does not lessen the importance of the views expressed in these passages, namely, the belief that Polish society exists in a state of profound demoralization and degradation.

However, it is possible to reach differing conclusions as to the duration and causes of this demoralization. We would do well to remember that we live in a country in which for almost all of the past 300 years (since the

days of Jan III Sobieski) the national government has been held in low esteem by the general populace. This government was controlled sometimes by foreigners and armies of occupation and sometimes by our own people. But even in the latter case it was a government imposed by outside forces, or its legality and sovereignty were at least open to question. There were only a few shortlived exceptions to this general rule, e.g., the government that held power during the period 1918-1926 which, under extremely difficult conditions compounded by protracted military and economic conflicts with our neighbors, succeeded in rebuilding the administrative infrastructure of the Polish state. We have no way of knowing how the Polish people would have reacted if a government had really existed that was universally accepted, and respected. The capabilities of the Polish people for exercising discipline and self-control under such circumstances were revealed recently during the visit of the Pope, the only leader who enjoys this kind of prestige.

But let's get back to the PPN. The assessment of the current situation outlined above leads it to the conclusion that it is necessary to come forward with a mini action program for our citizenry that will make it possible to start right now waging a struggle against the gradual sovietization of Polish society.

The PPN studies such as those entitled "How to Obtain Information," "The Citizen and the Security Services," "A Program for Polish Families," or "The Limits of Obedience," are attempting to show people how to emancipate themselves against the pressures applied by the security services and how to raise their children and to delineate the morally permissable limits of cooperation with the authorities (e.g., when is a person discredited by joining the party?).

I do not care for any of these commentaries and their conclusions are banal. But one still has to recognize the seriousness of the problem itself.

The PPN is the only organization that is trying to put together what Bohdan Cywinski has called a social code of conduct. This is an extremely cirtical issue, and by the same token it has been totally disregarded by the rest of the opposition movement.

The kinds of actions that have been advocated thus far include the setting up of citizens' committees, the publication of periodicals and books, the dissemination of these publications, giving aid to the victims of repression, the organization of trade unions and so on. These are activities for people who want to and are able to risk a great deal.

The discussion club "Experience and the Future" does nothing more than advise the government on what it ought to be doing, while on the other hand it has nothing to offer in the way of suggested activities for ordinary citizens who are not party members.

Only the Catholic Church has come up with some kind of mass program along these lines. One might mention, for example, that the "oasis movement" of Father Franciszek Blachnicki suggests that people should live without lies and fight against the plague of alcoholism. This is at least something.

So we are still looking for this miniprogram. Such a program ought to comprise precepts dealing with three spheres of human life:
--the world of work, i.e., how should we conduct ourselves at work and to what extent should we take part in trade union activities;
--childrearing in the home, including, inter alia, supplementing their knowledge of history and teaching them to be nonconformists;
--public affairs, e.g., learning how to live without lies, which in practice means that, among other things, we must boycott sham elections to the Sejm and refuse to take part in peace movement activities that are manipulated by the communists.

This program could be supplemented in practice with a broadly construed program of civic self-education for young people. Much of the work now being done by the opposition is dedicated to this purpose, even though these efforts are not talked about very much in the theoretical deliberations on the goals of the opposition movement. This is also the aim of most of the publications put out by the PPN, especially those written during its second period and devoted to topics in political history, e.g., works on Roman Dmowski and on Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia.

During this latter period the political views of the PPN have been much less noticeable. Apart from Jerzy Bartecki's monograph entitled "The Derailed Economy," there is only one political problem that has been talked about in the journalistic publications of the PPN. Here I am thinking about the question of Polish-German relations, which was the subject of three essays. To be sure, one may have doubts about the optimistic vision contained in these essays concerning the possibility of a Polish-German reconciliation. But in my opinion one cannot have any doubts about the validity of the basic premise advanced in these essays, namely, that the attainment of national independence for Poland is tied in many ways to the reunification of Germany. This unwelcome truth ought to be the subject of dispassionate debate, but instead it is greeted with heated, indignant and emotional reactions both at home and in the exile community abroad, both in the government and among the public at large. The current Central Committee secretary in charge of foreign policy affairs went so far as to personally hurl insults at the PPN [for uttering this truth] in an article published in the journal SPRAWY MIEDZYNARODOWE.

It is sad that such an enormous gap exists between reasoned political debate and emotional attitudes concerning Germany. The inherent difficulties associated with conducting a debate on this issue are related to the absence of a political culture in our country. It is rather a pity that

among all of the things that the PPN has accomplished thus far it has never paid the slightest attention to this issue. The PPN has concerned itself exclusively with political goals, without taking any interest at all in how a democracy really works or in the fostering of a democratic political culture which makes it possible for a democracy to work.

In direct contrast to the position of the PPN there is Marcin Krol's book entitled "Style uprawiania polityki,"* [Styles of Political Action] which is concerned solely with the modes of political action and thought, and the author's allusions to specific realities of life in contemporary Poland are so discreet that the uninformed reader might regard this book as being a mere anthology of rightminded generalities. There is a lot more than that could be said to enlarge upon and substantiate this judgement. And so we are left with a political theory viewed as some kind of strategic game that confines the rules and methods of political action to one compartment, Poland's maximum political goals, i.e., independence and democracy, to another compartment, and reserves yet another compartment for such concrete and short-term goals as independent trade unions and a free press which are being realized in practice by an active opposition movement. What we need is a vision that embraces all of these things at once. A vision that unifies thought and action. On this sad note let us end this lament.

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* The actual title is "Style politycznego myslenia," Libella, Paris, 1979, 124 pp (note by the editors of TYDZIEN POLSKI)

11813
CSO: 2600

DEFENSE MINISTER STRESSES CAPABILITY TO REPEL AGGRESSORS

Bucharest ANALE DE ISTORIE in Romanian No 2, Mar-Apr 80 pp 3-19

[Article by Maj Gen Constantin Olteanu, minister of national defense: "The Victory Against Fascism in World War II--A Result of the Struggle of Peoples for Freedom, Independence and Social Progress"]

[Excerpts] Carrying on the work of building a multilaterally developed socialist society, the Romanian Communist Party devotes all its attention to the strengthening of the defense capability of the country, to the proper equipping and training of the armed forces, to the training of the patriotic guards, of the military formations of the youth and of the entire people. In the spirit of the principles of foreign policy of the party and state, our armed forces are strengthening relations with the armed forces of the member states of the Warsaw Pact and with the armed forces of the other socialist countries and of other friendly countries, always ready to fulfill their obligations to their own people and to the allies of Romania.

In accordance with our party's views on the defense of the country, in the case of aggression by a foreign state or any situation which would affect, in any way, the sovereignty and integrity of the Socialist Republic of Romania, national defense would be carried out unceasingly, in all conditions, in forms appropriate to the circumstances, including the form of armed popular resistence, until the invader is driven out. As a result, the war which our country would be obliged to wage in the case of possible aggression would place the invader, from the very beginning, face to face with the entire people who would defend, in an organized manner, their own land, their own property, and their own destinies. It would mean a total response--military, political, ideological and diplomatic--carried out on the national territory, an action in which not only the armed forces but also the entire people risen up in struggle against the invading army, will be involved in a united effort.

The unity of the army and the people is reflected in the passionate activity of the military personnel for the fulfillment, with superior results, of the plan for the combat and political training of units and large units, in accordance with the current level of the technical equipping of the armed forces and with the demands made by the realities of the modern battlefield and our party's views of the defense of the country.

CSO: 2700

WW II PROPAGANDA ACTIVITY OF ROMANIAN COMMUNISTS IN USSR RECALLED

Bucharest ANALE DE ISTORIE in Romanian No 2, Mar-Apr 80, pp 108-125

[Article by Gheorghe Unc and Vladimir Zaharescu: "Romanian Propaganda From the Emigres During World War II"]

[Excerpts] The unitary character of Romanian anti-Hitler propaganda was demonstrated both in the propaganda organized by the internal resistance and in that of the emigres. Indeed, an examination of the documents and materials characteristic of this propaganda prove, without a shadow of a doubt, that the great themes treated, corresponding to the major objectives of the movement for the liberation of the Romanian people--the assurance of the independence and sovereignty of the country, the overthrow of the Antonescu government, the break with Hitler's Germany and the withdrawal of the country from the war against the Allies, the abrogation of the Hitlerite Diktat of Vienna by the liberation of the northern part of Transylvania, the installation of a democratic regime--were common to the propaganda of the Resistance within the country and the propaganda carried out outside the country, by large collectives of anti-fascist emigres or by political personalities, Romanian diplomats, cultural figures, etc. This fact permits us to state that the propaganda from the emigres represented, in essence, an extension of the propaganda in the country, a component part of Romanian anti-Hitler propaganda, in general.

In the framework of this unitary character, propaganda drom the emigres, naturally, had a number of specific characteristics compared to the propaganda within the country, because of the different conditions under which it was carried on, the different methods which it used, and the milieu to which it was addressed. Emigre propaganda had special characteristics because of the country in which it was carried on. It is easy to understand, for example, the difference between conditions in France, where the propaganda of the Resistance was carried on clandestinely, and conditions in the countries of the anti-Hitler coalition, especially the USSR, where this propaganda, along with being legal and encouraged, enjoyed support given by material means of propaganda.

A particularly important distinctive characteristic of Romanian anti-Hitler propaganda in the USSR was the fact that, organized initially by the group

of Romanian Communists who had emigrated there--including such militants as Ana Pauker, Vasile Luca, Dumitru Petrescu, Gheorghe Stoica, Boris Stefanov, Leonte Rautu, Mihai Burca, Petre Borila, Valter Roman, Dumitru Coliu, Vanda Nicolschi and others--it soon took on new dimensions, becoming a form for the manifestation and activity of the broad anti-Hitler movement which was produced in the ranks of imprisoned Romanian soldiers and officers. The propaganda of the Romanian anti-fascists in the USSR had a multifunctional and multidirectional character, addressing itself to public opinion in the country, to Romanian troops at the front, and to the masses of Romanian prisoners of war.

In order to address themselves directly to public opinion in the country and to the Romanian armed forces, Romanian anti-fascist propaganda on the territory of the USSR used: "Romania Libera" [Free Romania] radio station; Romanian-language broadcasts of Radio Moscow, for which a number of Romanian Communists were working; the dissemination in the ranks of the Romanian units at the front--in particular, by means of Soviet aircraft--of manifestors, letters and appeals from imprisoned Romanian soldiers and officers to their comrades in the respective units, brochures, etc, and well as radio broadcasts to the front.

The "Free Romania" radio station made a remarkable effort to expose to public opinion within the country the character of some measures adopted by the Antonescu government and the policy of Hitlerite Germany toward Romania and to inform the public on sabotage actions of the Hitler war machine, on the economic situation, on the actions of the repressive apparatus, of the dictatorship, etc. The maintenance, as much as possible, of contact with the realities in the country was assured by a permanent radio monitoring service organized within the editorial staff of the "Free Romania" station; studying the press of the country, which was received, with inevitable delays, through neutral countries; by means of information received from Romanian prisoners and through other sources of information. Thus, "Free Romania," just like the clandestine patriotic press in the country, was able to inform its listeners about some domestic situations and events which were not revealed by the official organs of information in the country, including: the agitation in the ranks of Romanian military units, the position adopted by some high-ranking Romanian officers who opposed the continuation of the use of the Romanian armed forces on the anti-Soviet front, and attempts, which were taking form even at the level of the higher command, to salvage the Romanian armed forces and to maintain their strength, for a struggle for the liberation of the territory taken from Romania by the Diktat of Vienna.

As we said, a group of Romanian Communist emigres worked on the Romanian-language broadcasts of Radio Moscow. This station was the official spokesman of the Soviet Government and its broadcasts, in contrast to those of "Free Romania," did not belong, directly, to what we call Romanian emigre propaganda. However, the activity of this group and the content of many of its broadcasts, especially when they rebroadcast material from the Romanian

Resistance, directly contributed to the popularization of the great themes of anti-Hitler propaganda within the country and aborad.

An important aspect--which has not been studied sufficient--of the activity of Romanian emigres in different countries was that of informing public opinion and political governmental circles in the countries of the anti-Hitler coalition of the real vital goals of the Romanian people, of the reasons for the unnatural presence of Romania on the German side in the war and winning and developing sympathy for the cause of the Romanian people. In this regard, both the public propaganda action and the actions undertaken directly in leadership circles of the respective countries were important. Of special importance in this regard was the clear and firm formulation by the Romanian Communist emigre community in the USSR, by other anti-fascist Romanians present there, and by a broad movement of Romanian prisoners of the fundamental interests and objectives of the Romanian people. The fundamental interests of Romania were consistently upheld by cadres of the Romanian Communist Party through the contacts which they had with various activists and leadership cadres of the CPSU and the Soviet state. For example, having in mind the venting, by different circles, of some so-called "solutions" for the "Transylvanian problem" contravening the national interests of Romania and the utilization in support of these "solutions" of the argument of the participation of the Antonescu regime in the anti-Soviet war, the militant Communist Valter Roman, who was directly responsible for the "Free Romania" radio station in Moscow, wrote a letter, on 24 July 1944, to M. M. Litvinov, assistant People's Commisar for Foreign Affairs, expressing the viewpoint of the RCP, stressing that it was "the only just one, in accordance with historic truth." Combatting arguments such as the one mentioned above, he said in his letter that "in addition to these 'solutions' which do not resolve the problem, there is, naturally, the viewpoint maintained by the Romanian Communist Party, for which the 'Free Romania' radio station has fought during the entire time of the war--namely, the solution of the problem of Transylvania means the abrogation of the 'arbitration' of Vienna (August 1940) and the reintegration of Northern Transylvania in Romania."

"Many arguments can be invoked in favor of this thesis but the most important one, it seems to me, is the argument of history. Transylvania belongs to Romania since the majority of the population of this historic region has been and is Romania, since the Romanian people have struggled for centuries for the unification of Transylvania with Romania, a unification which was achieved in December 1918. These are realities which, if they are not taken into consideration, can only complicate the evolution of things (including the final phase of the war), and the future establishment of peace in this corner of Europe. The participation of Romania in the aggression against the Soviet Union is an incontestable fact but it would not be rational nor just to make an entire people suffer for this."

CSO: 2700

LAW ON MILITARY SERVICE REQUIREMENT

Belgrade SLUZBENI LIST SFRJ in Serbo-Croatian No 36, 27 Jun 80 pp 1169-1182

[Law adopted by the SFRY Assembly in a session of the Federal Chamber on 26 June 1980]

[Text] I. General Provisions

Article 1

The military service requirement is an integral part of the rights and duties of citizens of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (hereafter referred to as "the SFRY") to defend the country and to preserve its freedom, independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity and the social system of the SFRY as established in the SFRY Constitution.

In fulfillment of their military service requirement SFRY citizens prepare, train and organize for conducting armed combat, for performing other duties in the armed forces of the SFRY (hereafter referred to as "the armed forces") and for participation in other forms of nationwide resistance to an enemy in case of aggression or other danger to the country.

Article 2

The military service requirement shall be fulfilled in peacetime and in wartime by all able-bodied citizens of the SFRY under the conditions prescribed by this law. Organizations of associated labor, local communities, other self-managed organizations and communities, sociopolitical and public organizations, and sociopolitical communities and their bodies and agencies shall be responsible and diligent about fulfillment of the military service requirement.

Article 3

Competent bodies and agencies in the republic or autonomous province, within the limits of their rights and duties as set forth in the constitution and law, shall organize and ensure fulfillment of the military service requirement in the jurisdiction of the respective sociopolitical community, shall

coordinate its performance with the exercise of other rights and fulfillment of other duties in the domain of nationwide defense and social self-protection and shall in that connection take the necessary steps and cooperate with the competent military authorities.

Aside from the functions referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article, the competent opstina agency shall keep military records on persons subject to military service and shall also perform other tasks related to the keeping of the military records prescribed by this law

Article 4

The competent authorities of the military district and other military authorities shall coordinate their plans for recruitment and for manning the armed forces with the competent authorities of the sociopolitical communities and shall collaborate with them in adopting and carrying out plans and measures and also in performing other functions and tasks related to fulfillment of the military service requirement.

The authority of the military district or other military authority designated by the federal secretary for national defense may communicate directly with the opstina agency competent for military service affairs for the sake of direct scrutiny of fulfillment of plans for recruitment and manning of the armed forces and other plans for performance of the military service requirement and also of performance of functions related to those plans.

Article 5

The military service requirement shall consist of the requirement of registration and recruitment, the requirement to serve the prescribed period of military service and the requirement to serve in the reserves.

Under the conditions set forth in this law the military service requirement shall also embrace the military training of women.

Under the conditions prescribed by this law all citizens of the SFRY are subject to the obligation of registration and recruitment, and citizens of the SFRY fit for military service are subject to the requirement of serving the prescribed period of military service and the requirement of serving in the reserves.

Article 6

Women shall not be subject to recruitment nor to the requirement of serving the prescribed period of military service.

In peacetime women who enroll voluntarily may be called up for military training in accordance with the needs of manning the armed forces, and

women who under the provisions of this law are subject to the military service requirement (hereafter referred to as "women subject to military service")--may be called up for military exercises in the armed forces in order to acquire the necessary military knowledge and to train for duties in wartime.

Article 7

An individual subject to the military service requirement shall be referred to as a person subject to military service (voini obveznik). During the life of the military service requirement the person subject to military service shall be one of the following:

1) registrant--during the time of the obligation of registration and recruitment;

2) serviceman--during the period of required military service or servicewoman--during voluntary military training in the armed forces;

3) reservist, reserve noncommissioned officer, reserve commissioned officer, or reserve military employee, and woman reservist, reserve noncommissioned woman officer, reserve commissioned woman officer or reserve woman military employee (hereafter referred to as "person in the reserves") during the life of the requirement to serve in the reserves of the armed forces.

For the purpose of this law the term "serviceman" covers both soldiers and sailors.

Article 8

The military service requirement shall terminate as follows:

1) when the person subject to military service reaches the age set by this law (Article 50);

2) if the person subject to military service is classified as unfit for military service;

3) if the person subject to military service ceases to be a citizen of the SFRY.

Article 9

A citizen of the SFRY whose military service requirement has terminated under the provision of Article 8, Subparagraph 2, of this law shall be subject to a review examination to check his fitness for military service.

The review examination referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article may be conducted if the citizen of the SFRY classified as unfit for military service has not reached age 50.

An individual as referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article who in the review examination is classified as fit for military service or fit for limited military service shall become a person subject to military service and shall be subject to the requirement of serving the prescribed period of military service to the end of the calendar year in which he reaches the age of 27, and if that calendar year has expired, he shall be subject to the obligation of serving in the reserves.

The decision on reserve examinations of all individuals born in one or more years may be taken by the Federal Executive Council, and the decision pertaining to individuals may be made by the federal secretary for national defense or officer whom he authorizes.

Article 10

The requirement to serve the prescribed period of military service shall be fulfilled in the Yugoslav People's Army, and the requirement to serve in the reserves shall be fulfilled in the Yugoslav People's Army and in territorial defense.

Article 11

A person subject to military service becomes a military person upon induction into a unit or institution of the armed forces (hereafter referred to as "military unit or military institution"), and ceases to be a military person upon discharge from the military unit or military institution. While fulfilling his military obligation on the summons of the competent authority the person subject to military service shall have the same status as a military person with respect to rights and duties, specifically as follows:

1) from departure from his residence to return to his residence in the place of his permanent residence or temporary residence if he has reported his temporary residence in the context of Article 74, Paragraph 2, of this law;

2) if he is residing abroad: on arrival--from the SFRY border to the place in which he is to report to the competent authority, and on his departure--from the place in which he has discharged the military obligation for which he was summoned to the border of the SFRY.

II. The Requirement of Registration and Recruitment

Article 12

The requirement of registration and recruitment consists of the duty to respond to a general or individual call and to carry out the enactments and orders of the competent bodies and agencies of sociopolitical communities, authorities of military districts and other military authorities and other government agencies in connection with enrollment in military records, medical and other examinations and tests, recruitment and induction to serve the prescribed military service.

The requirement of registration and recruitment commences at the beginning of the calendar year in which the citizen of the SFRY reaches age 17 and lasts until induction to serve prescribed military service or until the end of the calendar year in which he reaches age 27 or until termination of the military service requirement under the provisions of Article 8, Subparagraphs 2 or 3, of this law.

Article 13

So long as the requirement of registration and recruitment lasts, the registrant is subject to the following:

1) medical and other examinations and psychological tests to ascertain his fitness for military service;

2) recruitment;

3) induction for prescribed military service;

4) other obligations prescribed by this law.

Article 14

The examinations and tests referred to in Article 13, Subparagraph 1, of this law must be performed at the request of the competent agency of the sociopolitical community or authority of the military district by military medical institutions and organizations of associated labor in the health field. Mutual rights and obligations related to the performance of these examinations and tests shall be set forth in a contract.

Article 15

Recruitment shall take place in the calendar year in which the registrant reaches age 18.

At his request the registrant may be recruited in the calendar year in which he reaches age 17.

In case of an immediate danger of war or state of war, the SFRJ State Presidency may order registration and recruitment of persons who have reached age 16.

Article 16

Recruitment shall be done by recruitment commissions.

Recruitment commissions shall be established by the competent authorities of military districts.

The recruitment commission shall be made up of designated military personnel and civilians, one member of which must be a representative of the assembly of the sociopolitical community and another member a physician. Other persons may also be members of the recruitment commission if it is so provided by enactment of the republic or autonomous province.

The chairman of the recruitment commission shall be a member of the military.

Administrative and technical and other preparations related to recruitment and the necessary space for this purpose shall be provided for by the competent agency of the sociopolitical community, and if recruitment is taking place in a military institution--by the authority of the military district as well.

Article 17

During recruitment the registrant's fitness for military service shall be evaluated and the arm or service in which he is to do the prescribed period of military service shall be assigned.

The recruitment commission shall enter its evaluation of the registrant's fitness for military service and the arm or service assigned him in his military book.

Article 18

The recruitment commission shall evaluate the fitness of each registrant for military service on the basis of the findings of medical and other examinations and psychological tests performed previously in military medical institutions or in organizations of associated labor in the health field and on the basis of the medical examination performed at the time of recruitment.

The recruitment commission shall assign one of the following classifications:

1) fit for military service;

2) fit for limited military service;

3) temporarily unfit for military service;

4) unfit for military service.

Article 19

The arm or service assigned at the time of recruitment may in exceptional cases be altered by the recruitment commission on the following grounds: replenishment of the Yugoslav People's Army, a change in the registrant's state of health, specialized training acquired subsequently or a change in his occupation.

Article 20

A registrant found temporarily unfit for military service shall be subject to subsequent recruitment until the end of the calendar year in which he reaches age 26.

In each recruitment temporary unfitness may be assigned to last from 1 to 4 years, provided that the time of temporary unfitness does not extend beyond the end of the calendar year in which the registrant reaches age 26.

The recruitment commission shall fix the duration of the registrant's temporary unfitness and the time of his next recruitment.

A registrant may be classified as temporarily unfit for military service only twice. At the time of the third recruitment, the recruitment commission shall assign a final classification concerning his fitness for military service.

A registrant may not be classified temporarily unfit for military service in the calendar year in which he reaches age 26.

Article 21

The Federal Executive Council shall issue regulations on standards pertaining to evaluation of the medical fitness for military service of persons subject to military service.

The federal secretary for national defense is hereby authorized to issue the following regulations: on medical and other examinations and tests of persons subject to military service in order to ascertain fitness for military service and regulations on establishment and proceedings of recruitment commissions and on conditions for assignment of arms and services in which registrants shall do their prescribed military service.

III. Requirement To Do the Prescribed Period of Military Service

Article 22

The prescribed period of military service shall be 15 months.

As an exception to the provision of Paragraph 1 of this article, the prescribed period of military service for a sole breadwinner of a family shall be 12 months.

Article 23

For the purpose of this law "sole breadwinner of a family" means a registrant or serviceman whose family of which he is a member and with which he lives in the same household or which he is required to maintain has no other member capable of gainful employment and whose income from agriculture or other income does not exceed the amount fixed by the Federal Executive Council.

The following are regarded as members of the family as referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article: spouse, children (legitimate and illegitimate, adopted children, stepchildren, and orphans whose support has been undertaken), parents (father, mother, stepfather, stepmother), adoptive parent, grandfather, grandmother, great-grandfather and great-grandmother and brothers and sisters of the registrant or serviceman.

Members of the registrant's or serviceman's family shall be regarded as unfit for gainful employment if at the time when the application is submitted and the decision made on the application or recognition of the status of sole breadwinner of a family:

1) they had not reached age 18 or had reached age 18 but were attending school regularly, as follows: up to age 20--if they are attending schools for secondary vocational education or up to age 21--if they are attending a secondary maritime school, and up to age 23 if they are attending a junior postsecondary school, or up to age 25 if they are attending a university school or other senior postsecondary school;

2) male members of the family older than age 60, female members of the family older than age 55, and younger members of the family if they have been declared unfit for gainful employment permanently or for more than 2 years;

3) mother--if she has one or more children under age 7, or another member of the family keeping and raising such child if it does not have a mother or if its mother does not live in the same household.

Changes in the household of the family referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article which have occurred through the alienation of property and whereby conditions obtain for recognition of the status of sole breadwinner of the

family shall be taken into account if they took place 1 year before the registrant was called up to serve the prescribed military service.

Article 24

Upon induction to serve in a unit or institution of the Yugoslav People's Army the registrant becomes a serviceman, and he serves the prescribed period of military service from that date.

Article 25

Registrants classified as fit for military service or fit for limited military service shall as a rule be inducted in the year in which they reach age 19. A registrant who in that year does not graduate from a secondary vocational school or other secondary school which he is attending shall be inducted when he completes that school, but no later than the end of the calendar year in which he reaches age 21.

A registrant who is enrolled at the university or another senior or junior postsecondary school in the SFRY shall be inducted in the calendar year in which he finished the secondary vocational school or other secondary school if he has reached age 18.

The registrant referred to in Paragraph 2 of this article shall be inducted to serve his prescribed period of military service in two parts, as follows: the first part of the prescribed period, lasting 12 months, in the month of October after he has graduated from secondary school, and for the second part of the required service, lasting 6 months, after he has graduated from the university or other junior or senior postsecondary school or after he has ceased to be a student, but no later than the end of the calendar year in which he reaches age 26. A postsecondary student who by the end of the calendar year in which he reaches age 23 has not passed all the examinations prescribed for the first 2 years at the university or other junior or senior postsecondary school in which he continued studies after serving the first part of his military service shall also be inducted to serve the second portion of his military service.

A registrant who is enrolled at the university or other junior or senior postsecondary school and who has not been inducted for military service under the provisions of Paragraph 3 of this article because he had not reached age 18 shall be inducted to serve the first part of his prescribed service in the month of October of the next calendar year.

A registrant who himself requests to be inducted to do his military service or to complete his military service shall be inducted within 3 months from the date when he so requests, if in that year he reaches age 18.

A registrant who returns to the country after having been granted permission for temporary residence abroad lasting longer than 1 year and

requesting to be inducted to serve his prescribed military service shall be inducted within 30 days from the date when he files application if he reaches age 18 in that year.

During a state of war or in case of an immediate danger of war the SFRY State Presidency may order that registrants who have reached age 18 also be inducted to do the prescribed period of military service.

Article 26

A registrant may be inducted to serve the prescribed period of military service up until the end of the calendar year in which he reaches age 27.

A registrant who has not been inducted by the end of the calendar year in which he reaches age 27 and who is classified fit for military service or fit for limited military service shall be transferred to the reserves.

Article 27

Registrants who have the appropriate schooling and who meet the other conditions prescribed for selection of cadets for reserve officers' schools may serve their period of prescribed military service in a reserve officers' school of an arm or service if they have been found fit for military service and in a reserve officers' school of a service if they have been classified fit for limited military service.

The nomination of registrants for cadets of reserve officers' schools shall be made by the competent body or agency of the sociopolitical community, and the registrants shall be chosen by a commission established by the competent authority of the military district or other military authority designated by the federal secretary for national defense.

As an exception to the provision of Paragraph 2 of this article, a serviceman may be assigned to serve the remainder of his required military service in a reserve officers' school on recommendation of a regimental commander or equivalent or higher officer, if the serviceman fulfills the conditions stated in Paragraph 1 of this article.

The federal secretary for national defense is hereby authorized to issue regulations on qualifying conditions and procedure for selection of cadets of reserve officers' schools from among registrants.

Article 28

The federal secretary for national defense shall make the decision on acceptance for induction of a citizen of the SFRY who resides abroad permanently and has applied to do his military service.

Article 29

The following shall not be inducted to do military service:

1) a registrant convicted under a final verdict to a reformatory sentence or sentenced without suspension to a prison sentence for a crime--until he has served the sentence or been paroled;

2) a registrant against whom an institutional reformatory measure or preventive measure of psychiatric treatment and commitment in a medical institution has been invoked--so long as the measure invoked shall last;

3) a registrant against whom criminal proceedings have been instituted for a crime automatically prosecuted--until proceedings have been terminated under a final decision.

Registrants who on the grounds enumerated in Paragraph 1 of this article are not inducted to do military service shall be inducted to serve or complete their period of military service after serving their sentence, after parole, after the reformatory measure or preventive measure has been withdrawn, or after criminal proceedings have been finally terminated, but no later than the end of the calendar year in which they reach age 27.

Persons given a reformatory sentence or unsuspended prison sentence for a crime may in time of war or in a case of immediate danger of war be inducted to do military service if the serving of their sentence has been postponed.

Article 30

The following are exempted from the requirement to do military service:

1) a person classified unfit for military service;

2) a person who acquires citizenship in the SFRY by naturalization or on the basis of international treaties if in the country of which he was a citizen he has done his military service or if he has reached age 27;

3) a person who has acquired the status of active military personnel under the service regulations in the armed forces;

4) a person who has graduated from a law enforcement school lasting at least 2 years and has been a policeman for at least 3 years.

Article 31

Military service shall be postponed at the registrant's request as follows:

1) for the sole breadwinner of a family--so long as he is the sole breadwinner, but no later than the end of November of the calendar year in which he reaches age 27;

2) for half, or a bare majority if their number is odd, of registrants who are members of a single household if one or more members of that household are being inducted or are already doing military service--until that member or the other half of the members of that household complete their military service or are discharged for other reasons from the Yugoslav People's Army, but no later than the end of November of the calendar year in which they reach age 27;

3) if because of death or serious illness in the family or because of a natural disaster the registrant's family would suffer hardship because of his induction to do military service--so long as such grounds exist, but no longer than 1 year.

The military service of the registrant referred to in Paragraph 1, Subparagraphs 1 and 2, of this article shall be postponed until the next year if the application for postponement of military service and the necessary evidence are submitted to the competent agency of the sociopolitical community within a period of 8 days from the date of receipt of the notice or summons for induction to do military service.

A registrant who under the provisions of this law exercises the right to postpone his military service must inform the competent agency of the sociopolitical community of a change occurring causing him to lose that right within 8 days from the date when such change occurred.

Article 32

As an exception and at the registrant's request military service may be postponed a maximum of 1 year for warranted family or other reasons in accordance with regulations issued by the federal secretary for national defense.

Article 33

A serviceman's military service shall be interrupted in the following cases:

1) if the serviceman has been inducted to do his military service in two parts (Article 25, Paragraphs 2-4)--when he has served 12 months, unless no later than 30 days before expiration of his period of service he declares his desire to serve his period of military service without interruption;

2) if while doing his military service a serviceman is classified temporarily unfit for military service;

3) if while doing his military service a serviceman has been convicted by a military court and sentenced under a final verdict to a reformatory or unsuspended prison sentence--until he serves the sentence or is paroled;

4) if while doing his military service the serviceman has been convicted by another court and under a final verdict given an unsuspended prison sentence of more than 6 months or a reformatory sentence--until he serves the sentence or is paroled;

5) if criminal proceedings are instituted against a serviceman while doing his military service for a crime automatically prosecuted which was committed before his induction, if the sentence envisaged for that crime is more than 3 years.

As an exception to the provision of Paragraph 1, Subparagraph 4, of this article, military service shall not be interrupted if a serviceman has been convicted under a final verdict to a reformatory sentence of less than 2 years or unsuspended prison sentence of less than 2 years if more than 6 months remain to the end of his period of military service.

Article 34

A serviceman's military service may be interrupted at his request because of death or serious illness in the family or because of a natural disaster if his absence could cause hardship for his family--so long as those grounds exist, but no longer than 1 year.

Article 35

The military service of a serviceman classified as temporarily unfit for military service may be interrupted only once. A serviceman whose period of military service has had to be interrupted a second time because he has been classified temporarily unfit for military service shall be transferred to the reserves regardless of the time he has spent doing military service. Such individuals shall be subject to another medical examination to evaluate his fitness to serve in the reserves.

Article 36

An individual whose period of military service has been interrupted on the grounds enumerated in Article 33, Paragraph 1, Subparagraphs 2-5, or Article 34 of this law, and who has not met his military service requirement in the context of Article 37 of this law, again becomes a registrant and is subject to the obligations prescribed by this law for registrants.

A person whose period of military service has been interrupted on the grounds enumerated in Article 33, Paragraph 1, Subparagraphs 3-5, of this law shall be inducted to serve the remainder of his period of military service during the year in which he was released or paroled from prison or in

which criminal proceedings were terminated by final court decision, but no later than the end of the calendar year in which he reaches age 27.

A person whose period of military service has been interrupted under the provision of Article 33, Paragraph 1, Subparagraph 1, of this law shall bear all the rights and duties of a person in the reserves until the date of his induction to serve the second portion of his period of military service.

Article 37

A person whose period of military service has been interrupted under Article 33, Paragraph 1, Subparagraph 2, or Article 34 of this law shall not be inducted to serve the remainder of his period of military service if less than 60 days of that period remains. This individual shall be transferred to the reserves as of the date when his period of military service is interrupted.

Article 38

A serviceman classified unfit for military service while doing his period of military service shall be discharged from the Yugoslav People's Army. This individual may be called up to serve the remainder of his military service or transferred to the reserves under the conditions prescribed by the provisions of Article 9 of this law.

Article 39

The time which a military school cadet spends in the military school shall be credited against his period of military service.

The first 2 years of schooling in a military school shall not be credited to the period of military service in the case of a military school cadet whose schooling has been interrupted regardless of the reason.

Article 40

The following time shall not be credited to a serviceman's period of military service:

1) time spent serving disciplinary measures in the guardhouse or time spent serving a prison sentence which the competent military officer, under the provisions concerning military discipline, has pronounced for a total length of more than 10 days;

2) time spent being treated or on sick leave for an injury or other disability caused with the intention of avoiding military service or of being assigned to an easier duty, if this has been established by a final verdict of a military court;

3) time spent absent without leave or in flight from the Yugoslav People's Army which has lasted at least 24 hours continuously;

4) time spent in custody when custody is ordered in criminal proceedings if the final verdict credits that time to the sentence pronounced for a crime.

Article 41

When an individual does his period of military service, he is discharged from the Yugoslav People's Army and becomes a reservist or, under the conditions prescribed by the law regulating service in the armed forces, a reserve noncommissioned officer or reserve commissioned officer.

A serviceman who at the end of his period of military service uses leave to which he is entitled or leave granted him shall be discharged as many days earlier from the Yugoslav People's Army as the length of the leave to which he is entitled or which he has been granted.

Article 42

If the interests of national defense and the combat readiness of the Yugoslav People's Army so allow, the period of military service referred to in Article 22 of this law may be shortened as much as 3 months.

The existence of the conditions stated in Paragraph 1 of this article, and also the ages and groups of servicemen to whom the provision of Paragraph 1 of this article shall be applied, shall be set forth by the SFRY State Presidency.

Under the conditions stated in Paragraph 1 of this article the federal secretary for national defense may as an exception order certain groups of servicemen to be discharged from their period of military service before expiration of the period of time stated in Article 22 of this law, but no earlier than 30 days before expiration of that period.

The individuals referred to in Paragraphs 1-3 of this article shall be transferred to the reserves as of the date of discharge from the Yugoslav People's Army.

The enactment shortening the period of military service or discharging certain groups of servicemen as referred to in Paragraphs 1-3 of this article may provide that servicemen who have reported late to do their military service without good cause or who during their period of military service were absent without leave from their unit or from the Yugoslav People's Army, if the lateness or absence without leave lasted at least 24 hours, shall not be discharged at the same time with other servicemen in that group.

Article 43

The federal secretary for national defense is hereby authorized to issue regulations on the following: the time and manner of induction of registrants to do their military service; the procedure for ascertaining the status of sole breadwinner of a family; postponement and interruption of the period of military service and the discharge of servicemen from the Yugoslav People's Army.

IV. Military Training of Women

Article 44

The military training of women who volunteer shall be organized and conducted in the Yugoslav People's Army and in territorial defense. This training may last from 2 months to 6 months, depending on the duties for which they are being trained.

A woman may be called up for the military training referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article in the calendar year in which she reaches age 19 and until the end of the calendar year in which she reaches age 27, if she is fit for military service.

Neither a pregnant woman nor a woman who has a child younger than age 7 shall be called up for military training.

A woman's fitness for military service shall be ascertained by a medical commission established by the competent agency in the republic or autonomous province according to the criteria set forth for evaluation of the fitness for military service of persons subject to military service.

Article 45

The military training of women shall be planned and organized in accordance with the needs of manning the armed forces and the capabilities of conducting that training in military units and military institutions.

The military training of women shall be organized and conducted for the sake of acquiring the necessary military knowledge and skills and to train them for their duties in the armed forces.

Article 46

A woman who has been inducted into a military unit or military institution for military training shall be regarded as a military person from the date of induction in that unit or institution until the date of discharge from the military unit or military institution, and during that time shall wear a military uniform, shall be subject to military discipline, and shall bear all the other rights and obligations prescribed for servicemen.

Article 47

A woman who has been called up for military training and who has been inducted into a military unit or military institution must undergo training and must spend in military training the time envisaged by the military training syllabus and program.

A woman who has begun military training may be released from that training because of illness or for other good cause.

Article 48

The Federal Executive Council shall issue regulations on evaluation of the fitness of women for military service.

The federal secretary for national defense is hereby authorized to issue regulations on the following: planning and organization military training of women; induction of women for military training and other matters important to the actual organization and conduct of this training.

V. Requirement To Serve in the Reserves

Article 49

The following persons subject to military service are subject to the requirement of serving in the reserves of the armed forces:

1) those who have done their military service;

2) those who under the provisions of this law have met the requirement of doing their military service in some other way;

3) women subject to military service.

All women subject to military service shall be subject to the requirement of serving in the reserves of territorial defense under conditions prescribed by this law, and women subject to military service who have training for performing specialized and technical duties in the Yugoslav People's Army and women subject to military service who have been trained in peacetime for wartime duties in the armed forces shall be subject to the requirement of serving in the reserves of the Yugoslav People's Army.

Article 50

For men the requirement of serving in the reserves commences as of the date of discharge from their period of prescribed military service or from the date when the requirement to do military service was met in some other way and shall last until the end of the calendar year in which the man subject to military service reaches age 60.

For women the requirement of serving in the reserves commences at the beginning of the calendar year in which they reach age 19 and lasts until the end of the calendar year in which they reach age 50.

In case of an immediate danger of war or during a state of war the SFRY State Presidency may extend the duration of the requirement of serving in the reserves for reserve officers and reserve military employees even beyond the ages prescribed under the provisions of Paragraphs 1 and 2 of this article.

Article 51

The requirement of serving in the reserves of the armed forces shall be met by the participation of reservists in military exercises, course and other forms of military training and by performance of other duties prescribed by this law, and in wartime or in case of an immediate danger of war or other danger to the country it shall be met by induction into the armed forces or by performance of specified military duties.

Military exercises, courses and other forms of military training which are regarded as military exercises (hereafter referred to as "military exercises") may not total more than the following: up to 6 months for reserve enlisted men, reserve noncommissioned officers and reserve military employees, up to 12 months for reserve commissioned officers, and up to 6 months for all women subject to military service.

Article 52

As a rule military exercises shall be organized and conducted in military units or military institutions.

The time which individuals in the reserves spend in courses and other forms of professional military training conducted in a program of the Federation of Reserve Military Officers and other organizations designated by the federal secretary for national defense shall be credited to performance of military exercises if such training has been planned, organized and overseen by an authority of the Yugoslav People's Army or territorial defense staff and if such training is conducted in response to a summons of the competent agency of the sociopolitical community.

Persons in the reserves must answer a call to attend training referred to in Paragraph 2 of this article.

The time which individuals in the reserves spend as training instructors for defense and protection shall be credited to performance of military exercises if remuneration is not received for that work.

Eight hours spent in a course or training as referred to in Paragraph 2 of this article or 8 hours of work as a training instructor for defense and

protection performed in the manner prescribed in Paragraph 4 of this article shall be counted as 1 day of military exercises.

The exercises of persons in the reserves whose wartime assignment is outside the armed forces shall be regarded as military exercises under the provisions of this law if those persons participate in exercises in the duties given them as a wartime assignment by the competent body of the sociopolitical community.

Article 53

Persons subject to military service who have done their military service and who have a wartime assignment in the police may be called up into police units for military exercises.

The official who heads the federal, republic or provincial agency competent for internal affairs shall call up the persons subject to military service referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article for military exercises in police units, shall rule on their applications for postponement of military exercises and shall decide other matters related to the conduct of such exercises.

Military exercises conducted in police units shall be equivalent under this law with military exercises in military units or military institutions.

Article 54

Male reservists may be called up for military exercises until they reach the age of 55, and women may be called up until they reach the age of 45.

As an exception to the provision of Paragraph 1 of this article, the following shall not be called up for military exercises: pregnant women, a woman whose spouse has been called up for military service; a widow, divorcee or unmarried woman who has a child younger than 15, and a woman whose spouse has not been called up for military service if she has a child younger than 10.

A reservist may be called up for military exercises lasting no more than 2 months during any one year.

When the interests of national defense so require, the SFRY State Presidency may order that the following be called up for military exercises:

1) reservists who have already completed military exercises amounting to the total prescribed by the provisions of Paragraph 3 of this article and Article 51, Paragraph 2, of this law;

2) reservists who have reached the ages prescribed in Paragraph 1 of this article.

When the interests of national defense so require, the SFRY State Presidency may order that reservists be detained for military exercises immediately after they have done their military service.

Article 55

A reservist's participation in military exercises shall be postponed at his request on the following grounds:

1) if he is ill--until the first callup following his recovery;

2) if two or more members of his household are being called up at the same time or if some of them are already on military exercises or doing their military service--until one member or the other half of the members of the household return from military exercises or from doing their military service;

3) if at the time of the callup for military exercises he is attending school and if leaving school for military exercises would prevent him from completing the academic year--until beginning of the school vacation;

4) if because of death or serious illness in the household or because of a natural disaster his departure for military exercises would represent a hardship for the household--so long as that condition prevails in the household, but no longer than 1 year;

5) if immediately before the departure or at the time of departure for military exercises a death has occurred in the household or in the family--until the next callup for military exercises.

Participation in military exercises may be postponed in exceptional cases because of official business which cannot be postponed if this is requested by the competent agency of a sociopolitical community or other government agency, organization of associated labor or other self-managed organization or community in which the reservist is employed--so long as such need exists, but no longer than 1 year.

Participation in a military exercise lasting longer than 3 days may in exceptional cases be postponed in the case of a farmer called up for military exercises because of farm work that cannot be postponed if there is no other member of his household capable of gainful employment--for no longer than 3 months.

An application for postponement of participation in a military exercise shall be filed with the competent body of the sociopolitical community within 8 days from the date of receipt of the summons to the military exercise, and if postponement is being sought on the grounds enumerated in Subparagraphs 1, 4 and 5 of Paragraph 1 of this article, the application may also be submitted upon occurrence of the reason why postponement of participation in the military exercise is being sought.

Article 56

According to the needs of manning the armed forces, reservists shall be given and notified of their wartime assignment in military units or military institutions.

Information concerning wartime assignment constitute a military secret.

Personal military equipment may be issued to a reservist given a particular wartime assignment according to the duty to which he has been assigned.

A person who in the context of the provision of Paragraph 3 of this article has been issued personal military equipment must receive, keep and maintain that equipment, must carry it with him when so ordered by a summons of the competent authority, and must return it in good condition at the request of the competent authority.

Article 57

A reservist whose state of health has changed so as to have an effect on his fitness for military service may at his request or on the summons of the competent agency of the sociopolitical community or authority of the military district or other military authority be sent for a medical examination and evaluation of his fitness for military service.

A military medical commission shall evaluate fitness for military service of the person referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article.

The fitness for military service of a woman subject to military service shall be ascertained at her request by the medical commission designated by the competent body in the republic or autonomous province.

Article 58

The federal secretary for national defense is hereby authorized to issue regulations on the following: the callup of reservists for military exercises and postponement of participation in military exercises; the organization of specialized training of reservists in organizations of the Federation of Reserve Military Officers and in other organizations; the manner in which the wartime assignment of persons subject to military service shall be determined; the issuance of personal military equipment to reservists, and the safekeeping, maintenance and return of such equipment.

VI. Foreign Travel and Residence of Persons Subject to Military Service

Article 59

A registrant who intends to travel abroad for temporary or permanent residence must obtain the permission of the competent agency of the sociopolitical community.

Permission for travel and temporary residence abroad may be issued to a registrant if he is traveling abroad for the following reasons:

1) for medical treatment--so long as such treatment lasts, but no longer than 2 years;

2) for participation in school excursions, for annual vacation, a tourist trip, etc.--up to 40 days;

3) to conduct official business, to participate in athletic competitions or cultural and artistic events, to settle property, family or other relations abroad, or in case of serious illness or death of a member of his immediate family abroad--up to 60 days;

4) to do his training cruise in the curriculum of a secondary maritime training school--until completion of his training time at sea;

5) to perform duties arising out of the employment relation on a vessel or aircraft of the SFRY traveling on international routes--up to 2 years;

6) to go abroad with his parents or spouse if they are going abroad officially or for employment, provided his induction to do military service is not scheduled within 1 year from the date when the application for permission is submitted--up to 4 years;

7) to conduct private or official business if at the time of recruitment he was classified temporarily unfit for military service for a period of 2 years or longer--until expiration of the time for which he was classified temporarily unfit for military service.

The agency referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article may not allow a registrant to travel or reside temporarily abroad for a period of time that would extend beyond the end of the month of June in the year in which the registrant reaches age 27.

Permission to travel for permanent residence abroad shall be issued to a registrant who is going abroad to reside there permanently.

A registrant who is residing abroad may be issued permission for temporary or permanent residence abroad or for extension of residence abroad under the conditions prescribed in Paragraphs 2 and 4 of this article and for other good cause (employment, family and other similar reasons).

A registrant as referred to in Paragraphs 2, 4 and 5 of this article shall not be issued permission to travel abroad if there exists any of the impediments prescribed in Article 61 of this law.

Article 60

Permission for residence or for extension of residence abroad under the provision of Article 59, Paragraph 5, of this law shall be issued to a resident residing abroad by the diplomatic or consular mission of the SFRY (hereafter referred to as the "diplomatic mission") where he is enrolled in military records.

Within 2 months from the date of issuing the permission referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article the diplomatic mission is required to notify the competent agency of the sociopolitical community concerning each registrant to which it has issued permission for residence or extension of residence abroad and the period of residence which it has permitted or extended.

Article 61

A reservist may travel abroad and reside abroad temporarily or permanently provided there are none of the following impediments:

1) if a callup for military service has been delivered to him;

2) if criminal proceedings have been instituted against him for the crime of not responding to a callup and evasion of military service or for the crime of evading military service by making himself unfit or by deception;

3) if he is a military specialist or has a wartime assignment as designated by the federal secretary for national defense.

The Federal Executive Council may prescribe conditions which would temporarily restrict foreign travel of persons subject to military service of particular ages or of a particular professional training which have especial importance to manning the armed forces.

If any of the reasons referred to in Paragraphs 1 and 2 of this article should prevail, it shall be assumed that in the context of regulations governing the issue of travel documents to citizens of the SFRY the interests of national defense require that a travel document not be issued to a reservist or the period of validity of a travel document not be extended or visa not be issued or that the travel document shall be withdrawn or visa canceled.

Article 62

A registrant or reservist who has traveled abroad for permanent residence or temporary residence longer than 1 year must report to the diplomatic mission for enrollment in the military records within the period specified in regulations on travel documents of citizens of the SFRY.

A resident residing abroad permanent or temporarily in the calendar year in which he reaches age 17 must during that calendar year report to the diplomatic mission to be enrolled in the military records.

Article 63

A registrant residing abroad temporarily must return to the SFRY before expiration of the period for which temporary foreign residence has been granted him, and within a period of 8 days from arrival in the SFRY he is required to report to the competent agency of the sociopolitical community for recruitment or induction to do military service.

Article 64

A registrant returning from approved temporary residence abroad to the SFRY for a visit lasting longer than 3 months shall be inducted to do military service if in recruitment he has been classified fit for military service or fit for limited military service.

A registrant who following approved permanent residence abroad returns to the SFRY for a visit lasting longer than 1 year shall be inducted to do military service if in recruitment he is classified fit for military service or fit for limited military service.

As an exception to Paragraph 2 of this article a registrant returning after approved permanent residence abroad to reside in the SFRY to go to school shall not be inducted to do his military service so long as his schooling lasts.

Article 65

Foreign travel and foreign residence of servicemen and reservists while serving in the armed forces shall be regulated by regulations governing service in the armed forces.

Article 66

A reservist may not enter into the service of foreign armed forces or establish any relationship whatsoever with those forces without prior permission of the competent agency in the republic or autonomous province.

VII. Callup of Persons Subject to Military Service and the Keeping of Records on Such Persons

Article 67

A person subject to military service which the competent agency calls up to fulfill a military requirement must report to the respective agency at the place and time indicated in the individual or general callup and bring with him the things and documents specified in the callup notice.

The individual callup notice, except callup notices for mobilization or trial mobilization, shall be delivered to the person subject to military service no later than 30 days before the day fixed for commencement of fulfillment of the requirement specified in the notice.

If the person subject to military service does not respond to the notice and does not justify his absence, the authority which summoned him may issue an order for him to be brought in by force. The order to bring him in by force shall be carried out by the authorized law enforcement agencies or authorized military agencies.

Article 68

The person responsible in an agency of a sociopolitical community or other government agency, organization of associated labor or other self-managed organization or community in which the person subject to military service is employed is required to immediately report his evasion of fulfillment of his military service requirement to the competent agency of the sociopolitical community.

A workingman who is self-employed (independently performs an activity by his own work with privately owned assets) must immediately report evasion of fulfillment of the military service requirement by a person subject to military service who is employed by him to the competent agency of the sociopolitical community.

Article 69

An individual who has been called up to fulfill a military obligation is entitled to be reimbursed for his traveling expenses by public transport, to be housed and to be fed.

The reimbursement referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article shall be paid to individuals called up to fulfill a military service requirement in the Yugoslav People's Army under the financial plan of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense, and to persons called up to fulfill a military obligation in territorial defense--from the resources of the authority which called him up.

The conditions for payment of the reimbursement referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article to persons called up to fulfill a military obligation in the Yugoslav People's Army and the amount of that reimbursement shall be set forth in a regulation of the federal secretary for national defense, and with respect to persons called up to fulfill a military obligation in territorial defense--by a regulation of the competent authority in the republic or autonomous province.

Article 70

A registrant or reservist who is employed and who has been called up to fulfill a military obligation shall be entitled to compensation for the time of fulfillment of that obligation in the amount of the average monthly personal income which he earned over the 3 months prior to being called up.

A registrant or reservist who is a delegate in the assembly of a sociopolitical community or the assembly of a self-managed special-interest community, who holds a permanent position or has been delegated or appointed to a permanent position in a sociopolitical or public organization, if he earns personal income on that basis, shall be afforded the same status as a registrant or reservist who is employed with respect to the right to compensation of personal income for the time of performance of the military obligation for which he was called up.

A registrant or reservist who independently performs an activity by his own labor and with privately owned assets or is self-employed in another profession shall be entitled to money compensation for the time spent fulfilling the military obligation in the amount of the base on which he pays the contribution for old-age and disability insurance.

A registrant or reservist who qualifies for a pension or is receiving money compensation because of temporary unemployment shall be entitled to the pension or money compensation during the time he is fulfilling the military obligation for which he was called up.

A registrant or reservist who is not employed, who does not independently perform an activity with his own labor and privately owned assets, and does not practice another profession, and a registrant and reservist who does not qualify for a pension or money compensation because of temporary employment, shall be entitled to money compensation in the amount prescribed by the Federal Executive Council for the time spent fulfilling the military obligation for which he was called up.

The registrant and reservist referred to in Paragraphs 1, 2 and 4 of this article whose reimbursement of personal income or whose pension or money compensation for temporary unemployment is less than the compensation referred to in Paragraph 5 of this article, shall be entitled to the difference between the amount of the reimbursement of personal income, the pension or the money compensation for temporary unemployment and the amount of the compensation referred to in Paragraph 5 of this article.

A reservist shall also be entitled to pay and supplements according to his rank or class during the time of military service. If that person's personal income, pension or the like is greater than the pay for the rank or class, he shall be entitled to the difference between the amount of pay and the amount of the personal income, pension or the like.

The compensation envisaged by the provisions of this article shall be paid to persons called up to fulfill a military obligation in the Yugoslav People's Army under the financial plan of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense, and to persons called up to fulfill a military obligation in territorial defense, it shall be paid from the resources of the authority which called him up.

A reservist called up for a military exercise conducted during his daily or weekly period of rest or on days when that individual does not work shall not be entitled to the compensation envisaged by the provisions of this article. If the military exercise lasts longer than 8 hours, he shall be entitled to free meals for that time.

A reservist may not be called up for military exercises conducted under the conditions referred to in Paragraph 9 of this article for more than 60 hours in any one year.

The manner of payment of compensation to reservists for time spent fulfilling a military obligation for which they were called up in territorial defense shall be defined by a regulation of the competent authority in the republic or autonomous province.

Article 71

Military records shall be kept on persons subject to military service.

Military records on all persons subject to military service shall be kept by the agency referred to in Article 3, Paragraph 2, of this law, and military records on reserve officers and reserve military employees shall be kept by the competent authority of the military district. Persons subject to military service shall be kept in military records according to their domicile, and persons subject to military service who are employed for an indefinite period in another republic or autonomous province where they do not have domicile--according to the place where they are employed.

Military records on persons subject to military service residing abroad more than 1 year shall also be kept by the competent diplomatic missions.

Persons subject to military service shall be entered in military records at the beginning of the year in which the obligation of registration and recruitment comes about.

Women subject to military service assigned to the reserves of the Yugoslav People's Army and women who have volunteered for military training shall be kept in the military records according to regulations issued by the federal secretary for national defense, and other women subject to military service shall be kept in the military records according to the regulations of the competent authority in the republic or autonomous province.

Organizations of associated labor and other self-managed organizations and communities, agencies of sociopolitical communities and other government agencies shall keep certain data on persons subject to military service employed in those organizations or agencies according to the regulations of the competent authority in the republic or autonomous province.

Article 72

Agencies of sociopolitical communities, other government agencies, organizations of associated labor and other self-managed organizations and communities are required to furnish the agency referred to in Article 3, Paragraph 2, of this law, at its request, the necessary data concerning persons subject to military service for purposes of evaluation of fitness for military service and for assignment of arm, service or individual duties in the armed forces.

Article 73

A military book shall be issued to persons subject to military service who are kept in military records.

The military book shall be a personal public document whereby a person subject to military service proves that he has fulfilled his military service requirement and proves his identity while in military service.

The military book shall be issued by the competent agency of the sociopolitical community where the person subject to military service is registered.

As an exception to the provision of Paragraph 3 of this article, the military book shall be issued by the following:

1) by the military school--to cadets who previously have not been issued a military book and to cadets who have lost their military book or in some other manner have been left without it;

2) by the unit or institution of the Yugoslav People's Army at the rank of an independent battalion, regiment or higher--to persons whose active military service is terminating and to servicemen who while doing their military service lose their military book or in some other manner are left without it.

Persons subject to military service are responsible for the safekeeping of their military book. If their wartime assignment has been entered in the military book, it constitutes a military secret.

It is prohibited to carry a military book out of the SFRY.

A person subject to military service who is traveling abroad for a stay longer than 1 year is required before his departure abroad to turn his

military book in to the competent agency of the sociopolitical community where he is registered in military records.

Article 74

A registrant or reservist is required to report any of the following changes to the competent agency of the sociopolitical community where he is registered in military records within 8 days of the date when the change occurred: an obvious change in state of health that has a bearing on fitness for military service; educational and professional qualifications acquired; establishment and termination of the employment relations; the type and place of performance of an independent activity by their personal labor with privately owned assets or practice of other profession; change of address; change of domicile; return from doing military service and loss of military book.

The persons referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article are required to report a stay abroad longer than 40 days and a temporary absence from the domicile longer than 40 days--within a period of 8 days before departure, and return from abroad or to his domicile--within a period of 8 days from the date of arrival at the domicile.

In addition to the changes set forth in Paragraphs 1 and 2 of this article, women subject to military service who are registered in military records are required to report changes in family life which have a bearing on performance of their military obligation (marriage, pregnancy, birth of a child, divorce, death in the family).

The changes set forth in Paragraphs 1-3 of this article must be reported by registrants and reservists or women subject to military service who are employed in agencies of sociopolitical communities or in other government agencies, organizations of associated labor or other self-managed organizations and communities in which there is a service or person handling the affairs of national defense to that service or person. That service or person shall within 8 days of the date of the notified change so inform the competent agency of the sociopolitical community with which the registrant or reservist is registered in military records.

Article 75

Changes affecting a person subject to military service which occur by decision of a competent body or agency must be reported by that body or agency to the competent agency of the sociopolitical community with which the person subject to military service is registered in military records within 15 days from the date when the change occurred, as follows:

1) a change of the person's name or termination of citizenship of the SFRY--by the body or agency which issued the final decision;

2) the institution, stay or suspension of criminal proceedings for a crime automatically prosecuted, a reformatory sentence or unsuspended prison sentence for a crime under a final verdict, an institutional reformatory measure under a final pronouncement or precautionary measures of mandatory psychiatric treatment and commitment in a health organization and mandatory treatment of alcoholics and drug addicts in a health or other specialized organization, and commitment to serve a reformatory or prison sentence--by the competent court;

3) a prison sentence pronounced on a registrant for a misdemeanor--by the agency which pronounced the sentence;

4) release from serving a prison sentence or reformatory sentence--by the agency or institution which released the person subject to military service following service of the sentence.

Notice that a person subject to military service has gone abroad for employment must be delivered in the context of Paragraph 1 of this article by the self-managed special-interest community for employment security which acted as intermediary in obtaining foreign employment for the person subject to military service.

The death of a person subject to military service or proclamation of the death of a missing person subject to military service must be reported in the context of Paragraph 1 of this article by the registrar who made the entry to that effect in the death records.

The absence of a registrant or reservist from his domicile or residence for unknown causes and lasting more than 15 days shall be reported by a member of the family with which he lived in the same household, and if he lived separately from his family, but was employed--by the responsible person in the agency of the sociopolitical community or other government agency, organization of associated labor or other self-managed organization or community who keeps records on employed persons, or by a workingman who independently performs an activity by his own labor and with privately owned assets by whom the absent person subject to military service was employed. The notice of the absence of a person subject to military service for unknown causes must be filed by such persons within 8 days following passage of the 15th day from the date of his absence.

Article 76

The federal secretary for national defense is hereby authorized to issue regulations on the following: the callup of persons subject to military service to perform military obligations; the manner in which compensation shall be paid to persons subject to military service called up to perform a military obligation in the Yugoslav People's Army and the keeping of military records on persons subject to military service.

VIII. Procedure

Article 77

The decisions related to fulfillment of a military obligation shall be made by the competent agency of the sociopolitical community unless this law provides otherwise.

The commanding officer of an independent battalion, a regimental commander, or officer occupying equivalent or higher position shall pronounce decisions related to fulfillment of the requirement to do prescribed military service of a serviceman in a military unit or military institution under his command or administration, except decisions which apply to establishing the status of sole breadwinner of a family.

An appeal of a decision pronounced in connection with performance of a military obligation shall not stay execution of that decision.

An appeal against a decision of a recruiting commission shall be ruled on by the commanding officer of the authority of the military district which established that commission.

Article 78

Fees may not be introduced nor collected for rulings and other decisions, confirmations and other documents, for applications, appeals and other petitions nor appendices to such documents or petitions related to fulfillment of a military obligation or pertaining to such obligation.

IX. Punitive Provisions

Article 79

A registrant or reservist shall be liable to a fine of no less than 1,500 and no more than 5,000 dinars or a prison sentence not to exceed 30 days for a misdemeanor if without good cause he does not answer the summons of a competent authority at the time and place indicated in the individual or general callup notice--for registration in military records, recruitment, medical and other examinations and tests prescribed by the Federal Secretariat for National Defense and for induction, military exercises or professional military training conducted in organizations of the Federation of Reserve Military Officers and other organizations and certified as performance of military exercises in the context of Article 52 of this law, or for issuance or return of personal military equipment or for other military service.

A person subject to military service shall also be liable to the punishment stated in Paragraph 1 of this article for a misdemeanor if after responding to a callup, he leaves without authorization a military exercise or professional military training which is certified in the context of Article 52 of

this law as performance of military exercises or other military service, or if he does not receive or does not return in good condition or does not keep and maintain in the prescribed manner personal military equipment as referred to in Article 56, Paragraphs 3 and 4, of this law or does not carry such equipment with him when ordered by the callup of the competent authority.

Article 80

A registrant or reservist shall be liable to a fine of no less than 800 and no more than 3,000 dinars or a prison sentence not to exceed 15 days for a misdemeanor in the following cases:

1) if within the prescribed period he does not notify the competent authority of the sociopolitical community where he is registered in military records of changes occurring as referred to in Article 31, Paragraph 3, and Article 74, Paragraphs 1-3, of this law;

2) if within the period prescribed in Articles 62 and 63 of this law he does not report to the diplomatic mission or competent agency of the sociopolitical community;

3) if he carries his military book from the SFRY (Article 73, Paragraph 6) or does not turn it over to the competent agency of the sociopolitical community before departing abroad for a stay longer than 1 year (Article 73, Paragraph 7).

A registrant or reservist who has committed a misdemeanor as referred to in Paragraph 1, Subparagraphs 1 or 2, of this article shall be liable to a prison sentence not to exceed 30 days if because of the failure to report in the context of Article 31, Paragraph 3, Articles 62 and 63, and Article 74, Paragraphs 1-3, of this law it was not possible to deliver to him in good time a callup for military service or if for that reason he was unable to report on time for military service.

Article 81

A self-managed special-interest community for employment security which acted as intermediary in obtaining foreign employment for a person subject to military service shall be subject to a fine of no less than 15,000 and no more than 30,000 dinars if it does not inform or is late in informing the competent agency of the sociopolitical community concerning departure of a person subject to military service to work abroad (Article 75, Paragraph 2).

The person responsible in the agency of a sociopolitical community or other government agency or in a self-managed special-interest community for employment security shall be subject to a fine of no less than 1,500 and no more than 3,000 dinars for a misdemeanor if that agency or community does

not inform or is late in informing the competent agency of the sociopolitical community concerning changes concerning a person subject to military service as referred to in Article 75, Paragraphs 1-3, of this law.

Article 82

An organization of associated labor or other self-managed organization or community shall be subject to a fine of no less than 15,000 and no more than 30,000 dinars for a misdemeanor in the following cases:

1) if it does not inform the competent agency of the sociopolitical community that a worker it employs is evading recruitment, induction or performance of other military service--as soon as it learns of the evasion (Article 68, Paragraph 1);

2) if within the prescribed period it does not notify the competent agency of the sociopolitical community of the absence for unknown causes of a person subject to military service who was employed by it (Article 75, Paragraph 4).

The person responsible in the agency of the sociopolitical community or other government agency, the organization of associated labor or other self-managed organization or community or other organization shall also be subject to a fine of no less than 1,500 and no more than 3,000 dinars for the misdemeanor referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article.

Article 83

A workingman who independently performs an activity with his own labor and privately owned assets shall be subject to a fine of no less than 5,000 and no more than 20,000 dinars for a misdemeanor in the following cases:

1) if he does not inform the competent agency of the sociopolitical community that a person subject to military service who is employed by him is evading performance of a military obligation (Article 68, Paragraph 2);

2) if within the prescribed period he does not notify the competent agency of the sociopolitical community of the absence for unknown causes of a person subject to military service who is employed by him (Article 75, Paragraph 4).

Article 84

The member of a family of a person subject to military service with whom he lives in the same household shall be subject to a fine of no less than 1,500 dinars for a misdemeanor if within the prescribed period he does not report to the competent agency of the sociopolitical community the absence of the person subject to military service for unknown causes (Article 75, Paragraph 4).

X. Transitional and Final Provisions

Article 85

A person subject to military service who before the date when this law takes effect was classified unfit for military service in peacetime or permanently unfit for military service shall be regarded as classified unfit for military service under the provisions of this law.

Article 86

A registrant who by the date when this law takes effect has graduated from a university school or other senior postsecondary or junior postsecondary school or who as of the date when this law takes effect is attending a university school or other senior postsecondary or junior postsecondary school and has reached the third level (postgraduate study) shall do his military service under the conditions prescribed by the provisions of Article 32, Paragraph 2, Subparagraph 1, and Article 36, Paragraph 1, Subparagraph 3, and Paragraphs 2 and 3, of the Law on the Military Service Requirement (SLUZBENI LIST SFRJ, No 22, 1974).

Article 87

A person who by the date when this law takes effect has graduated from a nationwide defense college or completed a nationwide defense program of study and in accordance with the curriculum and program of that college has served 4 months and 15 days as a military officer (training period) in the Yugoslav People's Army shall be regarded as having done his military service under the provisions of this law.

A person who as of the date when this law takes effect is a student of a nationwide defense college or course of study or of a security and social self-protection college shall be regarded as having done his military service under the provisions of this law if in accordance with the curriculum and program of the college in which he is studying he has spent 4 months and 15 days on duty (training) in the Yugoslav People's Army and if he has graduated from that college by the end of the calendar year in which he reaches age 26.

Article 88

Servicemen, except servicemen serving an 18-month period of military service, who as of the date when this law takes effect are doing their military service shall serve out their period of military service in accordance with the duration fixed under the provisions of Article 32, Paragraphs 1-2, of the Law on the Military Service Requirement (SLUZBENI LIST SFRJ, No 22, 1974).

Servicemen who as of the date when this law takes effect are doing an 18-month period of military service shall serve out a period of 15 months.

The servicemen referred to in Paragraph 2 of this article who as of the date when this law takes effect have done 15 or more months of military service shall be discharged from the Yugoslav People's Army within 8 days from the date when this law takes effect.

Article 89

A person whose military service has been interrupted in the sense of Articles 38-40 of the Law on the Military Service Requirement (SLUZBENI LIST SFRJ, No 22, 1974) before the date when this law takes effect and who has not fulfilled his obligation to do military service under Article 41 of that law shall be inducted to complete his period of military service under the provisions of this law (Articles 36-37) if that is more favorable to him.

Article 90

A person subject to military service who before the day when this law takes effect has not done his military service under the statutes in effect until that date shall be transferred to the reserves if the calendar year has expired in which he reached age 27 even though he is classified fit for military service or fit for limited military service.

A serviceman who under the statutes in effect up until the date when this law takes effect has been inducted to do military service after expiration of the calendar year in which he reached age 27 shall be discharged from the Yugoslav People's Army within 8 days from the date when this law takes effect.

Article 91

On the day when this law takes effect, the Law on the Military Service Requirement (SLUZBENI LIST SFRJ, No 22, 1974) shall cease to be valid.

Regulations issued on the basis of authorization contained in the Law on the Military Service Requirement (SLUZBENI LIST SFRJ, No 22, 1974) shall remain in effect until issuance of the regulations of the Federal Executive Council and federal secretary for national defense authorized by this law, but no later than 31 December 1981, except for provisions of those regulations which are not in conformity with this law.

Article 92

This law shall take effect on the eighth day after publication in SLUZBENI LIST SFRJ.

7045
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END

JPRS 76514

29 September 1980

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1816

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29 September 1980

EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1816

CONTENTS

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Romania Reports Gierek Illness
(Editorial Report) 1

ALBANIA

French Journalist's Impressions of Country Published
(ZERI I POPULLIT, 28 Aug 80) 2

Briefs
Death of Academician 4

BULGARIA

Role of Good Organization, Communications in Civil Defense Operations
(GRAZHDANSKA OTBRANA, No 7, 1980) 5

Improving Management, by Delcho Delchev
Methods for Transmitting Information, by Nikola Nikolov
Organizational Work in Formations, by Todor Nenchev
SNAVR On-Site Management, by Stavri Antonov
Disaster, Accident Information, by Kamen Komarski

Profiles of Local Civil Defense Leaders
(GRAZHDANSKA OTBRANA, No 7, 1980) 27

HUNGARY

Cardinal Lekai Gives Press Briefing at Chapel Ceremony
(UJ EMBER, 10 Aug 80) 33

Churchmen, Officials Celebrate 30th Anniversary of Peace Priest Movement
(UJ EMBER, 10 Aug 80) 35

POLAND

Paris 'KULTURA' Editor Interviewed on Strike Crisis
(Jerzy Giedroyc Interview; LE POINT, 25 Aug 80).... 41

ROMANIA

Worker Participation in Enterprise Management
(Honorina Cazacu; ERA SOCIALISTA, 20 Aug 80)..... 45

Continuing Need for Atheistic Education Stressed
(Vasile Sporici; ERA SOCIALISTA, 20 Aug 80)..... 51

Polish Book on Romanian Art Criticized by Iasi Paper
(Veniamin Ciobanu; CRONICA, 15 Aug 80) 57

Foreign Historians' Views of Romania Examined
(L. Boicu; CRONICA, 8 Aug 80) 61

YUGOSLAVIA

Law on 1981 Census Adopted by SFRY Assembly
(SLUZBENI LIST SFRJ, 25 Jul 80) 65

Federal Chamber Issues Conclusions on Delegate System
(SLUZBENI LIST SFRJ, 25 Jul 80) 72

ROMANIA REPORTS GIEREK ILLNESS

AU061345

[Editorial Report] Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian at 1900 GMT on 5 September carries a 6-minute report on Polish Premier Josef Pinkowski's speech to the SEJM session in Warsaw, as presented by PAP Newsagency. According to the report, Pinkowski said the current SEJM session "takes place in an atmosphere of complete lack of tension. The understanding reached with the strike committees was received in the country with a feeling of relief and with the hope that a solution can be found to the current socioeconomic situation." He then reported on current socio-economic concerns in Poland and dealt with wage increases for various categories of working people, with strict price controls to be applied by the government, improved supplies of consumer goods for the people, the need to increase efficiency in agriculture and industry and with the expansion of the housing construction program.

"Of key importance for our country's development, the head of the Polish Government said, devolves on expanding economic and scientific-technological cooperation with CEMA countries, particularly with the USSR. Life has again proved that we can always count on fraternal understanding and assistance. From these countries, primarily from the USSR, we import, under advantageous conditions, an important part of the fuel, raw and other materials used in the country." Premier Pinkowski also referred to the "important role devolving on trade unions within the socialist system" and stressed that "the government is ready to broadly cooperate with the trade unions. The conclusion drawn will contribute to creating conditions for developing workers self-management."

According to the report, the Polish premier then said: "We will develop, deepen and defend the alliance with the USSR and with other socialist countries as well as Poland's cooperation within CEMA and the Warsaw Pact as they are a priceless asset." He also dealt with tasks and organizational matters of the council of ministers.

"According to a medical communique issued by PAP, Edward Guerek, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, today suffered a serious heart malfunction. At the recommendation of a council of doctors, Edward Gierek was admitted to hospital, where he is under the careful observation of experts."

CSO: 2700

FRENCH JOURNALIST'S IMPRESSIONS OF COUNTRY PUBLISHED

AU071804 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 28 Aug 80 p 4

[Ata Article: "Man at the Center of Everything"]

[Text] Prof Robert Escarpit, the renowned French writer and journalist who recently visited our country, has published an article on Albania in the form of a dialogue with journalist Jacques Ellul (Zhak Elyl) in the paper SUD-OUEST, in which, among other things, he says:

I remembered you, Jacques Ellul, I thought about both of us and our discussions at the moment when that man with the strong neck scorched face and black moustache said to me: "Here we put man at the center of everything."

"Here" was a deep valley in the highland region of Tropoje at the northern most tip of Albania where I was last week. The peasants who were sitting cross-legged on the carpet around the room where they meet, shook their heads, or to put it better, nodded them in an affirmative manner. Many of them were aged and had known the old times of the savage struggles against a harsh nature and against rapacious exploiters. All who were there remembered the arrival of electricity and the motorway a few years ago. The man who spoke, Jacques Ellul, was a militant communist who had once emphasized Marx's readings with the sound of the partisan's gun, and who marked them today with the continuous work of harvesting, irrigation and the construction of schools.

His statement did not amaze me. But you, Jacques? During these last months we have often had the same opinion concerning our biblical readings. I am curious to know whether or not we will again have the same opinion concerning our Marxist readings. I don't believe so, because there is a great difference between religion and revolution: One is a word, the other is a deed. It brought to mind Faust, who crossed out the phrase "in the beginning was the word" to write in its place "in the beginning was the deed."

When that Albanian peasant said that man is at the center of everything, he meant physically, with all his power, desires, body and soul, so that it would allow him to open a place there for the time of his life, and not to secure for himself, with a few metaphysical speeches, the useless eternity of an inalienable spirit. At the moment that I am writing these lines very few hours separate me from the moment when I departed from Albania, from the quiet roads of its cities where the lack of cars allows one to listen to the songs of birds and the rustling of the trees, from the majestic mountain scenery where each workable square meter is sown, and where fortifications are built. I don't know that there is a socialist paradise. The Albanians are for socialism, but I do not hink that they pretend to be in paradise. Yet, I know a few places where the faces are so calm, where the looks are so sure, where the gestures are so conscious as in Albania.

It is true that in Albania reality is not hidden. There is the dictatorship of the proletariat, there is communist leadership at all levels, but in contrast to what is happening in other countries, the apparatus never cancels the individual, the state power never eclipses him. Whether he is a worker at the base, a technical director or party cadre, the individual is really at the center of everything; he is there available to everyone, with a face and a name, with his own willpower, weaknesses, contradictions and especially his own personal responsibility. He speaks and others listen, just as he listens when others speak.

CSO: 2100

BRIEFS

DEATH OF ACADEMICIAN--Professor Kole Paparisto, Teacher of the People, a brilliant representative of Albanian education and science, died on 27 August 1980. He was a member of the Academy of Sciences, the chief of the flora sector in the Biological Research Center and the head of the department of botany in the Faculty of Natural Sciences in Tirana University. He became a member of the Albanian Communist Party in March 1943. He held important positions in the Ministry of Education and was chairman of the Institute of Sciences, assistant rector and professor of the University, and deputy from Elbasan District to a number of legislatures of the People's Assembly. [Excerpts] [Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 28 Aug 80 p 4]

CSO: 2100

ROLE OF GOOD ORGANIZATION, COMMUNICATIONS IN CIVIL DEFENSE OPERATIONS

Improving Management

Sofia GRAZHDANSKA OTBRANA in Bulgarian No 7, 1980 pp 2-6

[Article by Col Delcho Delchev]

[Text] The role of management in the building of a socialist society is rising steadily. That is why the party pays great attention to improving management in all the areas of the country's sociopolitical and national economic activities. This fully applies to management in the defense areas.

The capabilities of most modern armaments (operative-strategic missiles, nuclear missile submarines, nuclear airplanes, and others) enable them to inflict within a short time strikes of tremendous destructive power both in the theater of military operations as well as on targets in other continents. Hence the conclusion that the number and size of problems to be resolved by the Civil Defense under the conditions of an eventual nuclear missile war increase drastically. This, as well as the dynamic and fast nature of modern combat operations, determine the need to find ways and means for raising Civil Defense management to the level of modern requirements.

The essence of management of the Civil Defense system is expressed in the steady guidance provided by chiefs, staffs, and services to their subordinate units and forces in organizing their actions and directing their efforts toward the successful implementation of their assignments in both peace and wartime.

Most generally, management within the Civil Defense system includes the following:

- Maintaining the personnel of staffs, services, and formations in a high moral-political condition and promoting profound ideological convictions and constant readiness to carry out all measures and assignments;

- Advance planning of action by staffs, services, and formations going through various stages of readiness;

- Organizing the prompt availability of necessary data on the circumstances;

- Studying (analyzing) received data and making substantiated decisions without delay;

- Promptly formulating the tasks of subordinate organs and formations;

- Organizing and maintaining the uninterrupted interaction between one's own forces and facilities and those of the neighbors and the higher levels;

- Training the organs and formations to carry out the full range of assignments related to civil defense and rescue and emergency accident repair operations under complex circumstances; and

- Organizing and providing effective control and giving aid to subordinates in order to insure the timely, complete and qualitative implementation of assignments.

The specific nature of the organizational structures of the GO [Civil Defense] and its assignments in peace and wartime require knowledge and consideration of the characteristics of Civil Defense management. The management of GO organs and formations is an inseparable part of the overall command-organizational work related to the management of administrative-production activities in okrugs, sectors, obshtinas and national economy projects. The successful implementation of rescue and emergency accident repair operations is a basic prerequisite for the prompt resumption of production-economic activities in the stricken targets, needed for supporting the armed struggle and life of the population. That is why, starting with peacetime, the chiefs of GO and their staffs must train themselves for the simultaneous and interrelated solution of problems of national economic and defense importance. Engineer Yordan Rangelov, Civil Defense chief of the Vidin Obshtina, may be taken as an example of proper consideration and successful implementation of such tasks. Even though he is relatively new in this position, he has proved to be an authoritative and competent Civil Defense chief in the obshtina.

One of the characteristics of the command-management activities of Civil Defense chiefs and their staffs and services is the comprehensiveness of the required groups in charge of rescue and emergency accident repair operations. According to Ukase No 265, most Civil Defense formations must be created on the basis of work shifts in national economic projects. Hence the requirement of the multivariant nature of the groups which must operate under different circumstances. It would be difficult to predict the characteristics of such variations and to model them in peacetime. In the course of the operations, the GO chiefs and staffs must closely

follow and be always familiar with the situation and condition of their subordinate formations. They must display flexibility and high skills in maneuvering and in setting up the necessary groups for SNAVR [Rescue and Emergency Damage Repair Work] in accordance with the specific circumstances.

Another characteristic feature of Civil Defense management is the determination of the beginning of SNAVR. This problem neither could nor should be resolved automatically. According to the foreign press a concentrated nuclear strike from the air could last several hours. Under such circumstances should one wait for the end of the strike before determining the circumstances? Would it be risky to direct prematurely the formations to the stricken areas to help the victims? The adoption of a proper decision considering these two opposites is of exceptionally important moral-psychological significance.

The requirements facing Civil Defense management acquire new dimensions under the conditions of contemporary scientific and technical progress. According to a number of authors, in addition to the "classical" requirements of continuity, firmness, flexibility, resistance, reliability, and secrecy, today management must be even more operative and of higher quality.

Continuity of Civil Defense management is achieved mainly through prompt decision making and rapid information of subordinate organs and formations concerning their tasks; existence of stable and permanent contacts with subordinates and with neighbors and superiors; skillful deployment of management centers and insuring their reliable protection.

A particularly topical question under modern conditions is that of passing on (receiving) control from one center to another. From the viewpoint of management continuity, the practical solution of this problem calls for the formulation of an efficient system of views on management technology at the different Civil Defense units and levels.

The time has also come to set up mobile control centers for the various units within the Civil Defense system.

Management firmness in the Civil Defense system is achieved through decisive and persistent efforts to insure the implementation of decisions.

Management flexibility would be inconceivable without the fast and expedient reaction to changes in circumstances, without the prompt amendment of decisions, if necessary, and the further specification of the tasks facing subordinates, without maneuvering with the forces and facilities and maintaining a system of steady interaction, and so on.

Management stability and reliability are limited by the abilities of GO chiefs and staffs to control the implementation of measures and tasks

whatever the circumstances and, particularly, in the concentrated use of nuclear weapons. In our view, the Civil Defense system as well should adopt the line of target training, leading to the acquisition of skills and practical abilities for stable and reliable management under conditions of active disturbances.

The requirement of management secrecy has acquired a qualitatively new meaning.

The ever-growing importance of the "time" factor faces management operativeness as well with new requirements. In order to upgrade management operativeness within the Civil Defense system at the present stage, decisive improvements are needed in the style and method of work of chiefs, staffs, and services in decision making and execution. Experience shows that conditions are ripe for abandoning the practice of listening to long and mostly self-serving reports. Such reports should be replaced by a higher form of conducting a purposeful and concrete dialogue among the main officials in order to clarify the circumstances and systematically refine the decision of the Civil Defense chief in its various elements.

Also on the agenda is the questions of controlling the information flow from top to bottom and back. It is a question mainly of regulating the times and stages (the sequence) for submission of various reports and developing the necessary practical habits for the processing and "sifting" acquired data with a view to preventing unnecessary duplication. We see in the solution of this problem a great reserve of possibilities for the "unloading" of technical communications facilities and for upgrading management operativeness.

The high quality of Civil Defense management is expressed in the ability to make fullest possible use of the possibilities of available forces and facilities in carrying out assignments under the concrete conditions and according to the requirements of the circumstances. For example, the quality of management is hardly helped by the fact that our staffs are still extensively applying the practice of using trained and highly skilled officials in carrying out labor-intensive technical assignments. For the time being efforts in the field of mechanization and automation of basic processes in the command-management activities of the Civil Defense system are also failing to yield tangible results.

Improving Civil Defense management is a topical need and a primary task facing chiefs, staffs, and services of all units and at all levels.

The commander's decision is the basis of Civil Defense management as well. The implementation of assignments, particularly under complex circumstances, depends mainly on the extent to which the decision is consistent with specific requirements. More than ever before today the implementation of Civil Defense tasks depends on the condition (level) of the

general theoretical and specialized professional training of the main officials. That is why one of the most important trends in the improvement of management under contemporary conditions is upgrading the training and command-organizational abilities of Civil Defense chiefs.

Studies have indicated that one of the weak aspects in the training of chiefs and of a considerable percentage of other officials within the Civil Defense system is unfamiliarity with the nature of modern warfare and, particularly, with modern concepts governing the use and possibilities of nuclear weapons and of the modification of the so-called "classical systems."

Some of the weaknesses in command-management activities also stem from unfamiliarity with the extent of the possibilities of internal forces and formations. The absence of such knowledge makes it impossible to formulate uniform normative requirements on the utilization of formations. The occasional underestimating of organizational work directly with the formations, allowed by some chiefs, staffs, services, and specialists within the Civil Defense system, is also entirely unjustified.

Upgrading the training and coordination of staffs is another contributing factor in improving Civil Defense management. The organizational ability of staffs to gather and process data largely determines the formulation of substantiated decisions by Civil Defense chiefs. The staffs must perform the administrative functions of issuing assignments to their subordinates and organizing the implementation of the entire set of measures insuring the comprehensive implementation of decisions.

Today the staffs face new and far stricter requirements also related to the organization and maintenance of uninterrupted interaction among the various formations in the conduct of SNAVR operations and with neighboring formations and units of the armed forces. It is no secret that wherever no interaction exists among formations or coordination in the activities of the equipment and the personnel the effectiveness of the SNAVR in a stricken area is reduced.

Practical experience indicates that something better remains to be desired in improving the control functions of Civil Defense staffs and in their personal participation in managing rescue and emergency accident repair work in stricken areas. Noteworthy in this respect is the positive experience acquired by the operative group of the obshtina where Engineer Rangelov is Civil Defense chief.

Management means the purposeful creative activities of a wide circle of officials. In this connection we face the task of enhancing the role of services and specialists in the overall organizational-management process of the Civil Defense system.

Effectiveness in Civil Defense management is also related to the further development and improvement of the system of management centers. These centers should be kept in a state of constant high readiness, for use in all circumstances.

Improvements in Civil Defense management largely depend on the full utilization of all available technical communications facilities. Studies have indicated that different departmental communications systems exist and are operational in virtually all settlements throughout the country.

The task now is to conduct a profound study in the local areas to determine available communications and develop a streamlined concept for their utilization for Civil Defense requirements as well. This would resolve important problems such as controlling dispersal and evacuation itineraries; controlling formations moving toward the stricken areas; managing forces and facilities in SNAVR operations, and so on. The Civil Defense system has the advantage of being able to use for its needs the relatively extensive communications facilities of various departments (including those of the armed forces). The problem here is not the lack of communications but the lack of knowledge of the organization, technical condition, and operational possibilities of factually existing local technical communications facilities.

Management within the Civil Defense system could also be improved through decisive automation and mechanization of labor-intensive management processes. In [illegible] view, the principle of plotting the situation could be boldly adopted by the Civil Defense system. This saves efforts and time and achieves greater speed and clarity in entering data on the circumstances and the decisions of Civil Defense chiefs. On the other hand, as technical operations in drafting operational charts are reduced, greater possibilities develop for analytical-thinking activities, for computations, and for substantiating suggestions (decisions), as well as for carrying out a number of other command-management activities.

It is extremely imperative to engage in specific purposeful activities within the Civil Defense system for the automation of a number of other management processes as well such as the formulation and solution of problems with computers; formulation and utilization of stylized documents (tables, diagrams, aids, and so on); decisively simplifying and reducing the number and amount of current documents; developing models and methods for making different computations on a semiautomated basis, and so on.

Civil Defense management cannot be improved without the daring and decisive application of a scientific approach in all areas and realms of command-management activities. Such an approach should be used as a starting point in the efforts to improve the work style of chiefs (staffs) and methods for managing organs, forces, and formations.

The successful management of Civil Defense organs and formations under contemporary conditions requires a profound knowledge of the laws and principles governing management activities and the acquiring of necessary skills for their practical application. The time has come to formulate a management theory for the Civil Defense system. In the course of their activities chiefs, staffs, services and officials must rely on modern management methods, the scientific organization of labor, latest scientific achievements, and the experience of the other fraternal countries of the socialist comity.

As in all other areas of Civil Defense, party-political work must play a leading role in activities aimed at improving management. The party committees and party, trade union and Komsomol organizations are the agencies which could and should have a decisive influence on realizing the need for decisive improvements in the management of the Civil Defense system and in developing the creative initiative of party and Komsomol members and nonparty people in order to raise the system to the level of modern requirements.

Methods for Transmitting Information

Sofia GRAZHDANSKA OTBRANA in Bulgarian No 7, 1980 pp 7-8

[Article by Major Nikola Nikolov: "Ways and Means for Reducing the Time for the Gathering, Transmission, and Processing of Information in Command-Management Activities"]

[Text] From the cybernetic viewpoint management is related to gathering, transmitting, and processing data. Such data consists, on the one hand, of information sent by the projects to the management organ and, on the other, of orders (signals, instructions) going the other way. Ignoring either flow of information makes management impossible. This fully applies to Civil Defense staffs which manage the implementation of a number of measures related to protecting the lives of many people and safeguarding material values.

As the means for waging the armed struggle change, the time needed for gathering, transmitting, and processing data on the circumstances becomes exceptionally important. In previous wars such activities accounted for about two-thirds of the working time of main staff personnel. Under contemporary conditions the quality of management depends to an exceptional extent on reducing the time needed for the information flow. This is one of the indicators of superiority over the enemy, manifested in the faster drawing of conclusions based on the developed circumstances and their effective utilization in practical activities. In terms of GO staffs this means the accurate and prompt clarification and assessment of the situation in the stricken area and, on this basis, the making of decisions regarding SNAVR. Any delay in receiving and processing

information delays the making of decisions on the introduction of GO forces and on promptly undertaking rescue operations. It leads to higher losses and lowers the effectiveness of GO measures. That is why GO chiefs, staffs, and services must seek ways and means for drastically curtailing the time needed for the gathering of data and promptly informing their subordinates.

The best possibilities in this connection are offered by the automation of information processes. In this case we also take into consideration the circumstance that at the present stage in the development of science a great deal of data on the circumstances cannot be subjected to precise quantitative measurements, formalizing, or mathematical modeling. Such data include the moral and mental condition of the personnel, the level of training and practical experience, the personal qualities of commanders, and so on. That is why, along with resolving problems on the automation of information processes the operativeness of staff work must be upgraded as well.

Many of the measures aimed at reducing the time needed for data gathering and assessing the circumstances, following enemy strikes, could and should be foreseen and implemented in peacetime. Multivariant models of possible circumstances must be formulated on the basis of forecasts of possibilities and likely nature of enemy activities, followed by the formulation of decision models. Should the enemy really strike the work must be based on the model closest to the situation, using forms and preliminary estimates in assessing the circumstances and making decisions.

An important prerequisite for the timely gathering and transmission of data is the availability of adequate well organized and properly functioning communications facilities and the availability of personnel trained to operate them.

The expedient assignment of obligations among management organs and officials within them is an important factor in shortening data transmission and receival time. Clarity of obligations and specialization help to upgrade the quality and operativeness of the work. Naturally, narrow specialization should be combined with high-level training in the implementation of functional obligations. In factual circumstances, unquestionably, additional problems and critical situations will arise, some of which will require that individual management functions be performed by people who are not specifically assigned to do so. That is why coordination in activities and interchangeability become particularly important in staff work. In order to insure high-level organization in the work, starting with peacetime an effective and simplified organization must be developed in which data would be transmitted in the shortest possible way. This saves the time needed for the delivery of information and creates prerequisites for effective management. That is why one must consider in advance the drafting of convenient formalized accountability-information documents and the application of a variety of technical

facilities for the fast, convenient, and clear presentation, duplication, and description of circumstances to all performers, who must become familiar with them in peacetime.

Practical experience indicates the existence of extensive possibilities for reducing the time needed for gathering, transmitting and processing data on circumstances following enemy strikes. This requires, above all, a classification of data according to importance and determining which must be sent directly to superior staffs, and which are of lesser value and could be transmitted with greater delays. Every minute of delay in transmitting urgent data lowers their value. For this reason they must be classified according to importance and unnecessary data sifted out. This lowers the overall volume of information and reduces its handling time. Naturally, it is not easy to draw the line between urgent and less urgent information. This question is related to the training, experience, and skill of commanders, chiefs, and performers. Some ofo them could draw important conclusions on the circumstances on the basis of a small number of data and include them skillfully in decision making. That is why the active and immediate participation of the command personnel in the management of information processes is of prime importance. The other performers as well must become thoroughly familiar with and continually improve the fulfillment of their functional obligations.

After the enemy's strikes, once a certain circumstance has been developed, the work of the chiefs (commanders) and the staffs must assume an even more purposeful and specific nature. At that point it is very important for the chiefs to be aware of the assignments of their subordinate staffs, with the conditions and deadlines, and the people with whom they will interact. This will make the efforts of the entire personnel purposeful and organized. They shall seek and acquire the data considered most necessary for that moment.

Individuals assigned the gathering of data must be supplied with reliable and fast communications facilities. The information must be summarized and transmitted along the shortest possible route to the respective performers. The organization of the work must be such as to exclude the need for various officials to demand the same data from their subordinate staffs.

Personal contacts between commanders in charge with subordinate officials by telephone and radio or through messengers is of great importance in the quick and accurate gathering of data on the circumstances.

In the most important projects (sectors) the chief may personally reconnoiter the circumstances in order to make a decision more specific. Some of the data could be obtained quickly by tuning in on the radio frequencies of the senior authority or the interacting organs.

Short and precise statements and standard reports must be used in data transmission. The precise timing for the submission of reports and information on the circumstances by subordinate staffs is of great importance.

While using the received data it is important to note the time for which they were made and the changes which could have occurred in the circumstances since their transmission. Should it become necessary to check on their accuracy, this could be achieved through additional requests. In no case, however, should commanders allow the use of doubtful or erroneous data.

These are merely a few of the ways and means for reducing the time needed for the gathering, transmission, and processing of information. All chiefs, staffs, and services have the permanent obligation of seeking new means for improving information support of management.

Organizational Work in Formations

Sofia GRAZHDANSKA OTBRANA in Bulgarian No 7, 1980 pp 9-11

[Article by Lt Col (Reserve) Todor Nenchev]

[Text] Organizational work in Civil Defense formations is a comprehensive and uninterrupted process carried out by commanders, staffs, and specialists of the okrug services with a view to establishing and maintaining their combat capability for the implementation of assignments. Assuming that the formations are the main and basic force of the Civil Defense system in carrying out its basic task of SNAVR in various stricken areas, in natural disasters, and major industrial accidents, we see that the organizational work of the commander is a very important and essential element of command-management activities in Civil Defense. The basic aspects and nature of such activities are manifested in the following: the organizational and streamlined assembling of various types of information; availability of the necessary equipment, property, and instruments based on inventory tables; maintaining the high political-moral condition of the personnel and a constant readiness to carry out assignments; training formations for action based on GO signals and for SNAVR in a stricken area and in natural disasters and major industrial accidents; training the command personnel at all levels for skillful management of activities in various stricken areas and eliminating the consequences of natural disasters and major industrial accidents.

Practical experience has taught us that such measures are complex and important. They must be carried out within specific deadlines and involve great stress and need for accuracy. The broad scope of such activities enhances the role of the staffs, the specialists of the okrug services, and the party and Komsomol organizations which could contribute an exceptional amount to the successful solution of numerous problems.

We shall consider only two aspects of such activities: the organizational work of commanders in SNAVR preparations, and management in the course of SNAVR.

The organizational work of the commander in preparations for SNAVR involves two basic stages: The first is a peacetime period when problems of staffing the formation with suitable personnel, equipment, property, and installations is resolved. At that point, in the course of the training process, the knowledge and skills of the command and rank and file personnel are enhanced for acting under most difficult and complex circumstances in the current stricken areas and the political and moral condition of the personnel is strengthened. The second stage covers raising the formations to a state of readiness, organizing the march to the stricken area, receiving the SNAVR assignment, organizing reconnaissance, making a decision, informing the subordinates of the decision, organizing interaction, and others. The substantial amount of assignments demands of the commander to possess comprehensive general and specialized training on GO problems, have good organizing qualities, and display firmness and flexibility.

An important aspect of the organizational work of the commander is his ability to properly organize reconnaissance--engineering, chemical, radiation, fire, medical, and so on. Such complex activities must be focused in such a way as to insure the uninterrupted and prompt receival of data on the circumstances: the nature of destructions and fires, the radiation circumstances, road conditions, and others. Prompt and accurate information will help the commander to make a proper decision.

The making of a decision, which is the basis for controlling the formation, is one of the most important aspects in the commander's organizational activities. In all cases he must see to it that the work in the formation is so organized that decisions may be made and subordinates informed within a minimum amount of time. Bearing in mind that in most cases the formation commander will receive the assignment directly in the stricken area the great organizational skill required on his part in his management activities becomes clear.

Usually the formation commander organizes his reconnaissance from one, or, rarely, two centers. After refining the necessary data from the reconnaissance, clarifying the assignment, and assessing the circumstances, he specifies the work targets of the crews (sections), determines where the main forces and facilities will be focused and the reinforcements which individual crews may need. The tasks of the subunits are assigned through verbal orders and instructions at the place of departure or directly at the work site. Orders and instructions must be clear and short.

The organization of interaction is an important aspect of the commander's management activities. Interaction is organized both among individual subunits within the formation as well as with the added formations and the neighbors. The stricken area must be demarcated in terms of target, time, and place. It has always been considered that this is one of the most important and responsible aspects of the commander's activities in SNAVR. Even though the commander is the direct organizer, the staff of the combined detachment must prepare ahead of time everything that the commander may need in organizing the interaction. Taking into consideration the variety of forces used to resolve the SNAVR task, the commander pays particular attention to interaction between engineering and fire-fighting formations, between engineering and medical formations, and others.

The art of organizing such interaction consists of the ability of the commander to properly define the decisive role of the various specialized formations in the different work sites at any given time of the SNAVR. He must direct the efforts of all other formations on the successful solution of the problem. The formation commander must never consider that the organization of interaction in the course of reconnaissance covers the entire matter. Interaction activities are continuous throughout the work of the formation in the stricken area, for during the SNAVR a number of questions arise requiring the fast intervention of the commander. Any disturbance of interaction must be corrected rapidly.

The method and sequence of work of the formation's commander on the spot (at the work site) in organizing SNAVR depend, above all, on the time at his disposal. In addition to the organization of his work the formation commander must always try to provide the necessary time for subordinate commanders so that they too may organize the implementation of their assignments in the SNAVR sites.

The method for managing the SNAVR within the Civil Defense system has been practiced frequently in exercises with the formations and, particularly, in the course of comprehensive exercises. Available practical experience indicates that still many formation commanders allow some weaknesses in the organization of their work in managing SNAVR. The most typical among them are as follows:

After organizing SNAVR work--assessing the circumstances, making a decision, informing the subordinates of the decision, carrying out reconnaissance, and organizing interaction--some commanders believe that their role has been fulfilled. In their view, control and assistance to their subordinates in the course of SNAVR is their secondary obligation in command-management activities. This view is erroneous. The circumstances prevailing in SNAVR are complex and change rapidly. The commander must follow them closely and, through his orders, direct the forces and

facilities along the basic direction and use his deputies in secondary sites.

Practical experience has shown that a commander who fails to check on the implementation of assignments, who is not entirely familiar with the circumstances and has not followed their changes would find it difficult to influence such changes. A commander who waits for reports in his control center and relies mainly on communications facilities loses personal contact with the sites, the formations, and the men. He is unable to assume overall control of SNAVR. Consequently, such a commander cannot successfully fulfill his assignment. In order to be expedient, control must be total and comprehensive. It must involve the use of individual specialists from the okrug services and staffs so that the successful implementation of the task may be insured on the spot, concretely, and on time.

An important aspect in the activities of the commander in the course of SNAVR is to organize the various types of support.

The political work which must be done among the personnel working in the stricken area is not the duty exclusively of the deputy commander for political affairs of the formation. It is also one of the basic tasks in the organizational work of the commander in the course of SNAVR. Bearing in mind the great mental and physical stress of the personnel the importance of the work done by party and Komsomol organizations increases exceptionally. It is very important for the commander skillfully to direct their activities in mobilizing the manpower. A variety of methods may be used--leaflets, flash news, slogans, citing the best workers, or popularization of heroic actions. Personal contacts between troops and commanders assume great importance.

The complexity of SNAVR demands that the commander pay particular attention to supplying the formation with everything necessary for the successful implementation of assignments. Hence the great role of material-technical, medical, and other types of support, security, observation, delivery of material facilities, directing victims and casualties to the proper areas, and restoring the readiness of the formations. These are all tasks whose implementation depends on the organizational work of the commander and on his managerial activities in SNAVR.

Organizational work in the formations is a complex process within the command-managerial activities of the commander and the Civil Defense staff. In this case knowledge, ability, and comprehensive training in matters of Civil Defense are important prerequisites for the successful solution of the difficult and responsible tasks which the party and the government have set for protecting the population and the national economy.

SNAVR On-Site Management

Sofia GRAZHDANSKA OTBRANA in Bulgarian No 7, 1980 pp 12-14

[Article by Engineer Stavri Antonov, Civil Defense chief of staff at the Lead and Zinc Plant in Kurdzhali]

[Text] Rescue and emergency damage repair work (SNAVR) in a stricken area, carried out by GO site formations, remains one of the most complex, difficult, and responsible activities which cannot be carried out in one or two hours as is usually the case in formation training and even during comprehensive exercises. A stricken area would require much longer work. Furthermore, several days, a week, or even a month may be needed for the repairs.

SNAVR require extreme stress and will inevitably involve fear, panic, and disorganization. For this reason the forces and facilities must be skillfully managed. This is an element to which we have not paid the necessary attention so far in the course of our training activities. We have not fully covered the problems of management and control of SNAVR at the project, either in the course of staff exercises or practical Civil Defense training and exercises. This is a major shortcoming in the work of the staff and the services, adversely affecting the training of the formations.

What have the practical results been? In accordance with established procedure we engaged in the systematic reconnaissance of the stricken area. We summarized the obtained data, clarified and assessed the circumstances, issued preliminary orders, heard short reports, information and suggestions submitted by some service commanders and, finally, heard the suggestion of the chief of staff on making a decision and on the order to be issued by the project's Civil Defense chief for engaging in SNAVR in the stricken area.

After the order was issued, we usually took the formations to the stricken area to carry out SNAVR. In practical terms, this concluded the activities of the command, the staff and the services. The formations operated in accordance with a concept and a plan drafted in advance. The real circumstances, however, would never be so easy as to enable the GO formations to be able to eliminate the consequences all at once, in one or two hours.

The moment the formations enter the area the real circumstances which an overall reconnaissance would have been unable to determine in detail would become inevitably apparent. Furthermore, in the course of SNAVR usually changes and complications arise in the circumstances, requiring a quick reaction with new decisions by the command, the staff, and the formation commanders. Additional orders will have to be issued on the organization of interaction, regrouping GO forces and facilities,

insuring material and technical support, and a number of other activities the need for which arises in the course of the work. It is precisely this that calls for uninterrupted control of the development of SNAVR. Yet, this was precisely our weak point.

That is why we concentrated precisely on such activities in preparing for a model exercise with the formations of one of the work shifts at the project: managing Civil Defense forces and facilities in the course of SNAVR in a stricken area. We took into consideration that in a real development of events the problem of management would assume priority, for troops and commanders operating in the stricken area under exceptionally difficult circumstances would be steadily reporting, requesting, and insisting, while the command, the staff, and the services and specialists will have to react promptly and rapidly, decide, order, and guide SNAVR. Under such complex circumstances there is no time for delays or theorizing.

For this reason, starting with peacetime, along with upgrading the combat training of the command and rank and file personnel, the system of staff training, exercises, and classes must include practicing and mastering the management of GO forces and facilities. How is this to be accomplished?

The concept and plan for the model exercise at the Lead and Zink Plant in Kurdzhali called for the existence of more complex conditions in the stricken area, requiring the extensive work of the formations, leading to inevitable difficulties and demands formulated by the commanders, on the one hand, and additional decisions and orders issued by the GO command and staff in the course of SNAVR, on the other. We indicated "destructions" in communal-power grids, production units, installations and mechanical equipment.

Complications in the stricken area were indicated sequentially and approximately the way we assumed they would develop in a factual situation. In turn, this greatly hindered the work of the formations, created heavy physical stress and mentally affected the mobilization of the personnel in carrying out the formation's assignment. The physical stress was achieved by carrying out a substantial amount of additional production-economic activities; the psychological effect was achieved through simulations and, particularly, a special sound recording. We established in advance with specialists from the okrug GO staff the factual way in which, on the basis of our requests, and in the course of SNAVR, they will supply ambulances, fire engines, and other motor vehicles and engineering equipment. We noted the areas and ways of manifestation of interaction in terms of time and place among the formations within the stricken area. To this effect we established radiotelephone and other communications between the GO staff and the commanders of the basic formations. We conducted four exercises with the participation of the communications section, the radiotelephone operators of the

rescue detachments, and the reconnaissance detachment; finally, we conducted two comprehensive exercises in managing the manpower and facilities in the course of SNAVR.

The sequence in management operations was the following: The moment the formations entered the stricken area all commanders reported the circumstances through their portable radios and by telephone to the GO chief of the project. In the course of the rescue operations they requested additional reinforcements with men, equipment, materials, and others. The GO chief discussed with his deputies, the staff, and the services and specialists the changes in the circumstances and made quick decisions and issued the necessary orders to the respective officials. Immediately after that the formation commanders and service chiefs conducting the SNAVR reported again and submitted new requests. Meanwhile, the GO chief with officials from the staff and the services and other specialists had already entered the stricken area and were guiding SNAVR on the spot. The chiefs of services personally assumed control over SNAVR while the operative group remained at the control center.

Reports and orders followed each other.

The commander of the second rescue detachment reported: "The buried entrance to the shelter in the administrative building has been found. We have supplied fresh air to those inside. Six of the casualties at the Lead Production are in very bad shape. I request immediately two cars to take them out."

The plant's director immediately ordered the chief of the transportation service to request from the okrug GO staff two cars. He ordered the chief of the medical service to assign a medical team from the first rescue detachment to help the casualties in Lead Production.

The chiefs of the transportation and medical services carried out their assignments. The vehicles carried out the "severe casualties," returned to their base and were released.

The commander of the project's fire fighting team reported: "The fire in the area of the Electrolytic Shop is spreading and is threatening the fuel oil area. I request immediately two fire engines to put out the fire."

The GO chief ordered the chief of staff: "Immediately request two fire engines from the okrug GO staff. The fire fighting service chief will direct the efforts of the fire fighting team to the fuel oil area by transferring there the fire fighting section putting out the fire of the wooden huts and preventing the spreading of the fire to the fuel oil area before the arrival of the fire engines.

"The commander of the first rescue detachment shall assign to the fire fighting team two rescue sections from the first rescue team."

The officials involved carried out the order of the GO chief. The fire engines were factually sent to the site (the fuel oil area) after which they were released and returned to their base.

The commander of the power restoration team reported as follows: "The damage at substation No 6 has been repaired and electricity has been supplied to the shelter of the administrative building. I am trying to provide temporary electric power for SNAVR in the basic production facilities. Here is a request for the necessary materials."

The GO chief ordered the material and technical supply service to immediately provide the requested materials. He ordered the energy supply service to assume personal control over electric power supplies to basic production facilities.

The commander of the accident-chemical crew reported the following: "We are concluding the rescue operations. As a result of a break in one of the tanks the entire area around the acid shop is flooded with sulfuric acid, 10 to 15 centimeters deep. This has necessitated a stop in the emergency accident repair operations in this production facility. A great deal of gas (sulfur dioxide) is draining out as a result of the destroyed external heat exchange of contact apparatus No 2, spreading low on the entire plant site."

The GO chief issued the following order: "The GO formations in the stricken area of the plant's site will put on their gas masks and continue with the SNAVR. The commander of the accident-chemical crew will take measures immediately to repair the breakdown of the external heat exchange of contact apparatus No 2. Two sections of the accident-technical crew shall be assigned to his aid.

"Two sections of the decontamination crew with the automatic machine (the tank), together with the accident-chemical crew will undertake the cleaning, neutralizing, and washing of the area around the acid shop. . ."

Such dynamic circumstances enable formation commanders to be in constant touch with the GO commander and staff in the course of the SNAVR and report changes in the cirucmstances. Steadily receiving information on SNAVR and on the basis of personal observations (since they are personally within the stricken area), the command, staff, services and other specialists determine and react to the change in circumstances, issuing additional orders on interaction among formations, material and technical support, supporting SNAVR with transportation, engineering and other equipment, providing fuels and lubricants, supplying requested parts, equipment and materials, and so on. Requests are sent to the superior

GO staff as well and to the department under whose jurisdiction the project is to provide material and technica' support for emergency accident repair operations.

Naturally, at this point we cannot state precisely how and in what order and sequence will the forces operating in the stricken area be managed, for it is impossible to precisely predict the development of the circumstances. However, one thing is clear: The command, staff, services and formation commanders in the stricken area cannot manage SNAVR without rapidly reacting to the circumstances and skillfully controlling the forces, for they would be pressured by the circumstances themselves. The troops will call upon them for decisions, aid, assistance, interaction, and so on. The successful implementation of all such tasks requires the extensive advance training of GO command personnel.

Experience has indicated that it would be inconceivable to hope for readiness in SNAVR unless the command personnel has been properly prepared to manage and guide the forces and facilities operating in the stricken area. That is why our urgent task now is to extensively forecast and determine in advance the possible basic variants for actions at the site which might be required by changes in the complex circumstances in the course of SNAVR in a stricken area. Such problems must be practiced systematically within the system of staff trainings, command-staff exercises, and comprehensive exercises, starting with the command, the staff, the services and the specialists, followed by practical training with the formations with a view to steadily upgrading the skill and experience of the command personnel in managing and controlling forces and facilities in the course of SNAVR in a stricken area.

Disaster, Accident Information

Sofia GRAZHDANSKA OTBRANA in Bulgarian No 7, 1980 pp 15-17

[Article by Major Engineer Kamen Komarski]

[Text] The availability of rapid and accurate information in the case of an outbreak of a natural disaster or major industrial accident is an important prerequisite for making the necessary decisions and taking preventive measures to limit the consequences and reduce the size of casualties and material losses. One of the primary tasks in accidents and natural disasters is the rescuing of the people in the stricken areas (buried under wreckage, drowning, trapped in burning buildings, and others), and the restoration of destroyed engineering facilities and cables and communications lines, and the resumption of the disturbed production process.

Despite the tremendous efforts, at this stage of development mankind is unable to prevent the outbreak of natural disasters. However, prompt

information from the affected area is of decisive importance in reducing the consequences of such phenomena. Information on disasters or accidents and on their consequences could be most varied. That is why it must be controllable, i.e., we must be able to determine the time, extent, content, and sequence of receiving (transmitting) data needed by the various organs and agencies, according to their significance and content.

According to the time needed for its gathering, the information may be arbitrarily classified into primary, subsequent (intermediary) and final (complete). In natural disasters and major industrial accidents primary information is exceptionally important. If offers the possibility for a most general orientation on the event.

It is on the basis of such information that the necessary decision may be made. A major requirement regarding primary information is the speed of its delivery. We can easily imagine the importance to an area which has had an earthquake, for example, if the news of the earthquake is received several hours later. The same would apply to delayed information on a threat of flooding as a result of a swollen river, or the cracking of a dike or dam. A delayed communication would be catastrophic in terms of rescue operations or the evacuation of endangered people, animals and material values.

The fast gathering of primary information is both a condition and a prerequisite for the prompt issuing of specific instructions. It is precisely this that determines the type of forces to be brought into a state of readiness and the facilities to be procured for rescue and emergency and accident repair work. This information is also important for the prompt organization of interaction with neighboring unaffected areas.

The primary information may be directed to the superior organization and to the people facing an immediate threat. In the former case the purpose is the adoption of fast measures for the organization of rescue operations; in the latter, it is the prevention of human casualties or reducing them to a minimum. A characteristic case was the huge landslide in Orsoya Village, Mikhaylovgrad Okrug. The initial characteristics of the slide became visible on a Saturday, when most of the people in the okrug were resting. Thanks to the fast and effective intervention of the official on duty at the okrug people's council, who was able quickly to inform the corresponding agencies, no human casualties occurred and most of the property of the affected population was saved.

The subsequent (intermediary) information must be richer and more specific. It must contain more factual data and information which would make it possible to identify in greater detail the areas affected by the disaster (accident) and the approximate number of casualties. This

directly influences the making of decisions on rescue operations. The determination of the areas most severely affected by the disaster or the accident makes it possible to focus on them the main efforts. Unquestionably, this gains valuable time in organizing effective aid in rescuing human and animal victims and material values. The intermediary information could indicate the neighboring areas with which interaction could be established, the type of forces and facilities to be prepared and the direction they must follow in contributing to the overall organization of rescue operations.

The final (complete) information provides the most detailed picture of the disaster or the accident. It should be able to provide the reasons for the accident or the natural disaster, the precise number of casualties, the extent of damages caused to the different areas, and so on. The decisions based on such information would be based mainly on restoration activities.

We have already emphasized that the stages of information cover not only the time covered but the various points it must cross. It is a question of the path which must be covered by an information flow before rescue and emergency accident repair work may be most precisely consistent with the requirements of effective management activities. The nature of the information should determine the agencies which must become involved in the organization of the respective rescue measures.

One of the basic requirements concerning information is its value. This value is determined on the basis of a variety of factors the most important of which are the method of communication and the time of communication. Information on sudden or unexpected disasters or accidents (earthquakes, collapsing bridges or dikes, accidents in chemical combines, and others) is more valuable and more meaningful.

Meaningfulness is another essential requirement of information. It is determined not by the size of the communication but by its essence. Unnecessary details hinder the finding of useful information. The sifting out and the search for common patterns makes such informatin significant.

Reliability is another information requirement. Indeed, should an item of information be delayed it may lose some of its topical value. However, should it be hasty and inaccurate or unreliable, it becomes meaningless. In such a case its meaning would not indicate the most accurate way to act, hence the impossibility to properly focus efforts on the decisive sector. In general, all information should be objective. Characteristics such as exhaustiveness, accessibility and uniformity of meaning as well should not be underestimated.

Another quite essential problem is that of receiving, processing, and passing on the information flow. The wish to gather (transmit) timely

information in order to check on its quality and content should in no case be self-seeking. The accumulation of rich factual data makes it possible to establish certain patterns in the appearance or outbreak of natural disasters or industrial accidents and to provide an assessment of rescue operations, management activities, preventive measures, and so on. Furthermore, the information flow must be accompanied by a specific study and evaluation of the event in order for management and rescue operations to be fully effective.

Some natural disasters may cover a considerable area of one or several okrugs. In such cases the information must be gathered, processed, and analyzed by the agency which is able to receive it and draw proper conclusions. Such activities considerably contribute to the accurate assessment of factual circumstances. At the time of the natural disasters in Vidin Okrug (icing of most of the roads and freezing of conduits) in the winter of 1979, and in the hailstorms, torrential rains and floods in the summer of 1979 in Stara Zagora, Burgas, Turgovishte and Shumen okrugs, the fast, prompt, and accurate information alone helped the prompt organization of rescue operations. This helped promptly to understand what areas and settlements had suffered most severely, and where the main forces and facilities should be concentrated.

We already mentioned that information on a given set of circumstances is vitally needed not only by the command personnel but by the population, victim or not of natural disasters or industrial accidents. It is a question of the critical time which triggers mental stress, panic, or groundless rumors. For example, earthquakes usually affect a large area and trigger in people unusual feelings, concern, and excitement. Prompt, systematic and objective information provided by the mass information media may, in most cases, prove to be decisive in establishing the necessary order and calm. Bearing in mind the current possibilities of our seismic equipment and communications facilities, the stages in reporting an earthquake, for example, could be the following: The advance notification (toward the 10th minute) should announce a recorded earthquake on the territory of our country; the subsequent (intermediary) communication should contain data on the epicenter, and the power and intensity of the earthquake. The final announcement should contain information on the extent of the destruction in the epicenter and in other affected areas.

As the experience acquired from the 18 May 1980 earthquake indicates, the observance of this sequence (stages) in supplying information is of major importance in preventing stress, panic, or rumors. Such stages could be followed also in providing data for broadcasting by mass information media in the case of floods, heavy snowfall, landslides, and others.

The nature and severity of natural catastrophes and major industrial accidents differ. Each specific case has its characteristics, for which reason it must be specifically determined what requirement or characteristic of the supplied information will be of the greatest importance at a specific time. In all cases, however, its role remains decisive.

The experience acquired in eliminating the consequences of natural disasters and major industrial accidents indicates that at the present stage information receiving and processing is still a weak link which affects the organization of SNAVR. It is precisely this experience that indicates the importance of meeting the basic requirements concerning information whose nature and role we discussed.

5003
CSO: 2200

PROFILES OF LOCAL CIVIL DEFENSE LEADERS

Sofia GRAZHDANSKA OTBRANA in Bulgarian No 7, 1980 pp 24-25

[Individuals awarded for services to Bulgarian Civil Defense]

[Text]

Engineer Ivan Khristov began his labor career at the Georgi Genev Woolen Textiles Combine in Gabrovo as a simple worker. Later he became chief of shop and, subsequently, close to 14 years ago, combine director. He has been chief of GO [Civil Defense] of the enterprise since that time.

A number of problems related to preparations for the protection of the enterprise were awaiting their solution: underestimation of the need for protective activities, poorly organized training process, and unsatisfactory results. Engineer Khristov properly understood that his first task was to acquire the necessary training himself. He then directed propaganda activities in the combine in such a way as to encourage the people to become involved with GO.

"Today I find it considerably easier to head protective operations at the project," Engineer Khristov said. "For the past six years Stoyan Nedyalkov

has been GO chief of staff at the combine. He has adequate military-engineering training and is thoroughly familiar with GO problems. He is persistent and resourceful. Whenever he presents me with a problem, he has always considered in detail and extensively the suggestion he would make. That is why he defends his ideas stubbornly."

For quite some time there has been order and discipline in training at the combine. The problem of finding the time for training the formations has been resolved properly. In most cases training takes place after work or during the day of rest. There is adequate material and technical support. It is not easy to be the chief of GO in such a big combine consisting of several shops dispersed throughout the city. This requires skill, experience, and a feeling for organization in the steady efforts to carry out the production plan and resolve GO problems.

Engineer Khristov is experienced in GO matters. This helps him properly to direct the efforts of the service chiefs and the command personnel. On his initiative, in 1976 the combine undertook an intensive study of the stability of the project under a critical situation. The planned measures are already being carried out: A separate water reservoir was built. A pumping station is under construction to meet the combine's requirements. The warehouse for emergency raw materials is ready. Radio telephones have been acquired to insure communications among all shops and sheltering installations have been planned. . . . All these acquisitions were demonstrated at a model class on resistance organized during a rally of chiefs of staff of okrug GO staffs. A number of visual aids, posters, and diagrams were used at the exercise. The high rating received by the combine personally from the chief of GO of the Bulgarian People's Republic is an indicator of high achievements as well. Unquestionably, Engineer Ivan Khristov should also take credit for this.

The combine's GO chief has the reputation of a strict, exacting, and efficient manager. He is fair in the assessment of people for which reason they respect and honor him. Engineer Ivan Khristov has been repeatedly presented with awards for his thorough and active efforts. He is the bearer of the "People's Order of Labor--Golden," Red Labor Banner, and others. He has been awarded the three classes of the badge For Services to the GO of the Bulgarian People's Republic. These awards stimulate him to engage in even more meaningful activities and achieve new successes in protecting the population and the national economy.

In 1979 Stoimen N. Mirchev was awarded the badge "For Services to the GO of the Bulgarian People's Republic" for high successes in training the accident-rescue detachment of the construction and installation combine in Pazardzhik for impeccable activities in complex circumstances.

Initially he found the work hard. However, the knowledge he acquired in the GO school in the capital, and his persistence and ambition helped him quickly to master his obligations as commander. Mirchev pays particular attention to practical training, seeing to it that they take place under the most realistic conditions maximally possible.

The extent of training of the detachment is checked in the course of training classes and exercises. However, he also successfully uses the opportunities presented by unexpected investigations conducted in the presence of representatives of the okrug and city staffs. That is how every fighter and commander is kept in a state of constant training and readiness and everyone knows and excellently fulfills his functional duties. The commanders of teams and sections participate in command staff training, in addition to staff specialists. It is thus that they expand and enrich their knowledge of managing and organizing interaction in rescue operations and on the fast gathering, processing, and transmission of information within their range of action.

Currently the detachment operates separately as a combined detachment for mechanized operations. It has been supplied with more equipment. This calls for skill in handling such equipment. Mirchev skillfully used the comprehensive exercise conducted in the obshtina last year to test the

level of readiness and practical skills of troops and commanders and the extent to which the time for building antiradiation shelters could be shortened. The results were more than encouraging. They also gave him the idea to use in the course of the practical exercises with the detachment construction sites, thus creating a more influential and truthful environment and possibility for promoting GO competition. It is no accident that competition here is both among teams, sections, and individual members as between the Water Supply and Sewers and Low Construction Services. The successes achieved in the competition deservedly placed the detachment in second position in the okrug last year while the staff of the Accident Rescue Service has been first for a number of years within the system of the Ministry of Construction and Construction Materials in the preparation of documents, improving the announcement system, and perfecting work methods and the practical training of troops and commanders.

Stoimen Mirchev clearly realizes that all this requires a steady search for new solutions and the use of a variety of technical achievement in setting up and training the detachment. However, he is not the kind of a person to yield to difficulties. He always seeks the help of the okrug staff and his colleagues, and tries to organize and conduct the training so that better results may be achieved compared with the previous year. He frequently hikes during days of rest. These are times when, once again, peacefully, he thinks about further improvements so that the combined detachment for mechanized operations may become a powerful nucleus of the okrug's GO.

Boris Tsv. Borisov has worked as bookkeeper and specialist at the Pazardzhik Okrug Civil Defense staff for only 2 years. Within that time he was able to win the love and respect of his colleagues because of the great zeal he displays in carrying out his duties, his thorough knowledge of the work and his informal relations with the people.

Thoroughly familiar with the requirements regarding the filing and storage of documents, from the very beginning Borisov assumed the obligation of classifying the various documents and work publications in such a way as to reduce to a minimum the time needed for their processing, thus considerably helping his colleagues as well. He began with a thorough study of all documents and titles and undertook to improve and organize the documentation of the entire staff in accordance with norm stipulations. He worked hard to introduce special catalogues which included the list of materials needed by the staff specialists. The classifying of publications in an ascending order and by title helps him to save time in issuing and receiving materials. He has also provided an efficient and convenient method for storing the work cards and the various blueprints and charts kept in special holders. His attentive attitude and love for the work are visible everywhere--in the beautifully drawn signs, his orderly workplace, and the speed with which he can locate the required materials, lectures, or charts.

Boris Borisov shares with his colleagues in the okrug projects his rich experience in improving the organization of the work with documents, acquired in various training courses in Bulgaria and the Soviet Union. He actively helps the chiefs of staff in developing conditions for the proper and reliable storage of and work with documents and closely follows the observance of requirements. He is uncompromising when it comes to omissions. His current task is to make projects under his jurisdiction model in this respect. Implementing this task and in his daily work he relies on the help of the staff specialists and the support of the party organization.

In 1979, when his staff colleagues warmly congratulated him for receiving the badge "For Services to the GO of the Bulgarian People's Republic, Second Class," Boris Borisov pledged to work even better, as should a real Civil Defense fighter and party member whose tireless and fruitfull work has been duly acknowledged.

Engineer Sasho L. Andreev is a graduate of the Higher Engineering-Construction Institute in Sofia. He is deputy chief of staff in charge of engineering protection in the Vidin Okrug Civil Defense staff.

This young specialist particularly values organization in everything. When he joined the Civil Defense system 9 years ago his knowledge did not exceed the one acquired at the institute. Naturally, this was insufficient. With his typical persistence he undertook to study in detail the nature and the tasks of civil defense.

"At that difficult time," he says, "I was greatly helped by Officer Elenkov, the GO okrug chief of staff. It was then that another major event happened in my life--I became a party member."

Engineer Andreev is aware of the great importance of precisely observing the stipulations of civil defense norms in construction, not only industrial but administrative, civilian, residential, and so on. In his first years of work Engineer Andreev established that the normative documents were almost unknown in some services, as a result of which their stipulations were rarely met. Being young and energetic he undertook to clarify the responsible nature of such requirements and to apply them. He met with the full understanding of Comrade Dzhumerkov, the chief architect of the okrug people's council. At the very first organized meeting with okrug specialists on this subject a practical demonstration was given of what must be done to upgrade the stability of national economic projects and settlements. After that meeting there has been no violation of normative documents in any construction project.

Engineer Andreev clearly realizes that without proper training and material facilities achieving great successes would be difficult. He undertook to plan the building of training grounds. With the support of the party and administrative managers in Vidin, in only 10 months he completed the training facility. Currently the command personnel and the formations are acquiring excellent training in proper classrooms and adequately prepared training areas.

Sasho Andreev will never forget the March 1976 earthquake which affected Vidin as well. He was attending a GO training class and was able to see both the consequences of the panic and the activities of GO personnel, with whom he worked, who were trained and accustomed to act in critical situations. They established contact with the proper services and made ready the available motor vehicles, tractors, and engineering equipment. A team was sent to the dike--the most vulnerable area of the city. Even though no destruction was reported, the disaster tested the skill of chiefs and commanders in heading the operations of services and formations under complex circumstances.

Engineer Sasho Lozanov Andreev has been awarded twice the badge "For Services to the GO of the Bulgarian People's Republic" for his dedicated efforts.

5003
CSO: 2200

CARDINAL LEKAI GIVES PRESS BRIEFING AT CHAPEL CEREMONY

Budapest UJ EMBER in Hungarian 10 Aug 80 p 2

[Article: "Cardinal Lekai's Press Briefing"]

[Text] On the morning of 25 July, Cardinal Laszlo Lekai, primate and archbishop of Esztergom, held a press briefing at the Central Seminary about the artifacts destined for the Chapel of Our Lady of Hungary in Rome, which is scheduled to be consecrated this autumn. The press briefing was attended in great numbers by the representatives of the Hungarian press, television and radio. The finished reliefs slated for delivery to Rome were shown by Ilona Brestyanszky in an impromptu exhibit in the corridor. Several members of the Assembly of Hungarian Bishops were there, and the representatives of the non-Catholic religious press were also present. The State Office for Religious Affairs was represented by Chief Section Head Laszlo Bai.

In his introductory statement the cardinal primate has pointed out that by sending a royal crown to St. Stephen, Pope Sylvester had fulfilled only one of the king's two requests. His second request was fulfilled when the pope awarded the king a chapel and a pilgrim-hostel right adjacent to the old St. Peter's Church, which were to be used by Hungarian pilgrims. These two Hungarian edifices stood there until 1776. In that year the construction of the sacristy of St. Peter's Basilica was begun. This resulted in the dismantlement of all of the buildings standing in its way. These buildings also included the Hungarian chapel and the pilgrim-hostel. The price of this expropriation, however, was amply repaid by the Holy See. In 1977, at the time of the Cardinal's Consistory, Cardinal Lekai presented two requests to Pope Paul VI: that it be permitted for the dimensions of the Basilica of Esztergom be inscribed in the pavement of St. Peter's Basilica among those of the largest cathedrals of the world; and that the Holy Father grant the Hungarians a chamber in the subterranean level of St. Peter's Basilica in honor of Our Lady of Hungary, in place of the dismantled Hungarian chapel. Both requests were granted.

The purpose of the Our Lady of Hungary Chapel is threefold: To continue St. Stephen's spiritual heritage; to enable Hungarians from both home and abroad to meet as brothers in the Roman residence of Our Lady of Hungary, even though they are often at odds with one another both in approach and in their emotional attitudes; and finally, to point the way toward Pax Europaea, i.e., toward the development of European peace, through the portrayal of incidents taken from the lives of Hungarian saints that decorate the walls of the chapel.

The cardinal archbishop emphasized that the Chapel of Our Lady of Hungary in Rome is in the process of being made a reality. It had received the prior approval of the State Office for Religious Affairs, which office has generally aided this undertaking. For this he expressed his deep gratitude. The task of acting as conscientious judges was performed by the Lectureship of Fine Arts, with the inclusion of church specialists.

Following this, the cardinal thanked everyone who was involved in the preparation of the chapel, and then listed the names of the artists. Professor Laszlo Gero performed the engineering work. Robert Csikszentmihalyi, Gyula Kiss Kovacs, Andras Kiss Nagy, Sandor Kiss, Pal Ko and Laszlo Marton were responsible for preparing the stone reliefs depicting some of those incidents in the lives of Hungarian saints that were exhibited at this press briefing. Imre Varga had cast the figures of Our Lady of Hungary, as well as of St. Stephen in bronze, while Amerigo Tot had prepared memorials to those four popes who had some connections with this chapel.

After examining the exhibited art works, the representatives of the press asked several questions of the cardinal primate.

The exhibited art works may be seen between 8 a.m. and 6 p.m. every day until the middle of August at the Central Seminary (Budapest V, Eotvos Lorand utca 7).

9271
CSO: 2500

CHURCHMEN, OFFICIALS CELEBRATE 30TH ANNIVERSARY OF PEACE PRIEST MOVEMENT

Budapest UJ EMBER in Hungarian 10 Aug 80 p 3

[Article: "In the Spirit of Fraternal Unity"]

[Text] The national and county leaders of the Opus Pacis and of the Catholic Committee of the National Peace Council, as well the chief representatives of Hungarian religious and social life have all participated in the commemoration of the 30th anniversary of the foundation of the Hungarian Catholic Peace Priests' Movement. This was done by means of cordial festivities at the movement's Dezso Street headquarters on 30 July. The presidency of this festive conference has been entrusted to Jozsef Ijjas, papal chamberlain, archbishop of Kalocsa, and president both of the Opus Pacis, and of the National Peace Council's Catholic Committee.

The guests included several members of the Hungarian Council of Bishops, as well as many leading social and political leaders, among them State Secretary Imre Miklos, president of the State Office for Religious Affairs; Mrs Nandor Sebestyen, president of the National Peace Council; and Bela Kovacs, secretary of the National Council of the Patriotic People's Front. The members of the Presidium also included Canon Imre Biro, secretary general of the National Peace Council's Central Committee [OBKB], and Abbot Vicar Bela Mag, its executive director.

Opening Statement by Archbishop Ijjas

Following the singing of the Hungarian National Hymn and the recital of Geza Szabo's poem, the official session was opened by Archbishop Ijjas. He emphasized, among other things, the following: "We are celebrating today an anniversary. If I may say so, we are celebrating the birthday of the Hungarian Catholic Peace Priests' Movement. It is part and parcel of our finite earthly existence that we are keeping track of time. The date of this birthdate is 1 August 1950. Its official name in those days was the National Peace Committee of Catholic Priests. Its viability, the hopes for its development, and the worthiness of its activity can be substantiated by documents, and our nation's Catholic prelates are among

some of the worthy witnesses. These include Archbishops Gyula Czapik, Jozsef Grosz, and Endre Hamvas. They have sworn to its authenticity in the house of our constitution, as did about 300 priests and nuns, the initial supporters of the Peace Priests' Movement. The memory of these veterans lives on among the members of this movement. Their names are preserved with reverence, and their achievements are esteemed even after their death, or during their respected old age.

"The memory of the front-line fighters of the movement is especially vivid in our minds. We speak their names with reverence. But, instead of bemoaning their passing, we look upon their deeds as shining lights, comparable to lighted candles that are there for our encouragement. It is in this spirit that we recall on this festive occasion the memories of our past secretary generals, Miklos Beresztoczy and Richard Horvath. Let their memory be blessed.

"In opening our festive meeting, let me start immediately with a proposal to fill the vacant secretary general's post in the OBKB. Upon the advice of the Central Secretariat, let this legacy of Miklos Beresztoczy and Richard Horvath pass on to the Prothonotary Canon and Vicar Imre Biro, who is also a member of the National Assembly, as well as of the Presidential Council."

Cardinal Lekai's Letter

Following this, Archbishop Ijjas requested that Canon Vicar Ferenc Weisz read Cardinal Archbishop Laszlo Lekai's letter to Archbishop Ijjas:

"Most Reverend Papal Chamberlain, Archbishop, and President:

"I am sending my warm greetings to the Catholic Peace Priests' Movement, which is celebrating its 30th anniversary. The members of this movement have been most useful participants of the constructive dialog that has been going on between the church and the state for a whole generation now. It is my ardent wish that they should continue to advance the cause of our Catholic Church and the well-being of our Hungarian nation with their services of religious spirituality.

"It is of permanent importance that--in line with the Holy Father's guidance and examples--we priests should also let our views be known in defense of a just peace. In the spirit of human brotherhood and of the common human fate, we must continue to search for paths upon which we are able to cooperate even with persons of different ideological persuasions.

"It is my fervent desire that the Catholic Peace Priests' Movement should serve effectively, and without exception, the cause of increasing human dignity, both in our country, and throughout the world. This is the firmest foundation of all fruitful cooperation.

"I am praying for the recently deceased leader of the movement, and I am sending to you, Most Reverend presiding Archbishop, as well as to the other participants of that festive conference, my fervent good wishes."

[Signed] Cardinal Laszlo Lekai, primate, archbishop, and president of the Hungarian Bishops' Council

Imre Varkonyi's Address

This was followed by an address by Provost Canon Imre Varkonyi, national director of Actio Catolica, and member of the Central Secretariat, who, among others, spoke as follows:

"On the occasion of this most festive, and even intimate occasion, let me be permitted to express my gratitude to the National Peace Council, and to those of its esteemed members who are present today. Thirty years ago the leaders of this organization had the good sense to recognize the significance of establishing a Catholic Committee within the National Peace Council. The existence of this Catholic Committee meant, among other things, that within the National Peace Council every decent human being had the chance to work usefully and effectively in his own area of competence. But beyond this, this deed also made it clear to everyone that the Catholic clergy, or at least the largest portion of that group, did not wish to segregate themselves from the ranks of the average Hungarians, or from the drive toward peace. But above all, it meant that these priests were willing to sacrifice everything in the interest of their country, even if this meant a lack of understanding on the part of many others. We are thankful for this opportunity, and--as demonstrated by our deeds of the past 30 years--we have lived with this opportunity. We are taking advantage of it now, and we intend to do so in the future.

"What are the foundations of our current goals? They are not different today from what they were earlier. These include Pope John XXII's encyclical Pacem in Terris; Pope Paul VI's encyclical Populorum Progressio; Pope Paul VI's speech before the United Nations; his speeches on many other occasions, among them those that were addressed to Hungarian pilgrims in 1972 and in 1975; as well as those historic words that he spoke to Janos Kadar on the occasion of the latter's visit to Rome, and to which the MSZMP's first secretary responded with equal openness, honesty and good will. We think equally highly of Pope John Paul II's speeches made on the occasion of his frequent travels, all of which serve the cause of peace, truth, justice and the progress of humanity.

"Of course, there is no priest, nor can there be one, whose basic ideas in his work toward peace would not have originated from the Holy Scriptures. It is divine revelation that guides even the most exalted of the church leaders. How could we work for peace if we were unaware of what revelation had to say about this fateful question? We are familiar with

the many and often very complex problems of everyday life. But we also know that while holding the questions of everyday life in one of our hands, we have to hold the Holy Scriptures in the other hand. Those are the Holy Scriptures in which God called Cain to account for the spilling of the blood of his brother Abel; those Holy Scriptures in which God is calling every man to account for the life of his fellow man; those Holy Scriptures in which God proclaimed the eternal law: "Don't kill!" (Moses, 20, 1-17)

"Nowadays we are hearing a great deal about the balance of armaments. We, men of peace, have constantly asserted from the very beginning: Let there be an unshakable balance of peace. No weapon, not even the most modern one, can offer full security to even a single man. But the purity of the heart, honesty, belief in the other person, and good will do offer unmistakable and unshakable security to all human beings. When 5 years ago the highly esteemed Helsinki Agreement was signed, everyone believed that this was only the beginning. It was assumed that those human hands that on that occasion had clutched one another would guarantee even more security and strength in the future--not for armaments, but for peace, toward a peace which consists of more than simply the absence of war, toward a peace wherein only those have anything to fear whose goal is to terrorize their fellow human beings, and who dislike peace.

"Another basic foundation of our current efforts toward peace is the constitution of the Second Vatican Synod entitled 'Gandium et Spes.' But what are we going to do in the future?

"There will be a need for the National Peace Council's Catholic Committee for a long time to come. At the time of its quarter centennial--as defined so aptly by State Secretary Imre Miklos--a whole epoch had come to an end, but at the same time another had begun. In this new epoch, the members of the Council of Hungarian Bishops, who are observing the events of the world together with the members of the clergy, do not wish to be simply passive bystanders. They want to participate in the shaping of events in a positive direction. Our hope is that the next 30 years will bring fewer problems for our church and for our country. Our hope is that, under the leadership of our bishops we will always do what is best, most essential, and most expedient. Cardinal Laszlo Lekai often makes reference to various small measures, it is true. But these small measures should always advance the good cause. This is very important. To stop, or to turn back is always dangerous."

This was followed by the appearance of Mrs Nandor Sebestyen, a member of the World Peace Council Presidium and president of the National Peace Council, who greeted the anniversary meeting in the name of the World Peace Council Presidium and in the name of the National Council of the Patriotic People's Front. She emphasized, among other things, that "the Catholic Peace Priests' Movement had done much for the development of a

harmonious cooperation between the state and the Catholic Church, and it had also become a good platform for the dialog between the state and the church."

Following this, Mrs Nandor Sebestyen presented, in the name of the Presidium of the National Peace Council, the Hungarian Peace Movement's Memorial Plaque to the movement for its effective work in the cause of peace. Thanks for this honor was given by General Secretary Canon Imre Biro.

The Address of State Secretary Imre Miklos

After this, it was the turn of the president of the State Office for Religious Affairs to speak. Following introductory greetings he declared:

"A whole generation's time has passed since this patriotic movement of the Catholic priests unfurled its banners in our country. Many of those who have sought the alliance of men and movements of good will that were working toward our country's prosperity--so as to aid this development with a united effort during the pioneering epoch of a new Hungarian social order--are no longer with us. I recall with esteem the memory of our deceased friends. The unselfish work and struggles of the past three decades--which were waged not against something, but rather for something--have produced results. We can rightfully assert that the Catholic Peace Priests' Movement has fulfilled its historic mission. While influencing the social and public attitudes of most of the priests, it has contributed actively to the strengthening of the desire for peace on the part of people of religious convictions, to the continued development of good relations between the state and the Catholic Church, as well as to many positive results of political cooperation.

"In the course of the past three decades, the movement was always capable of self-renewal. The most significant sign of its worthiness is that it can also fulfill its functions today. It not only has a past, but also a present and a future. The defense of peace, and the struggle to enhance the cause of international relaxation have not come to an end. The danger that threatens all of humanity is still here today, 35 years after the most destructive of all world wars. For this very reason, the cooperation and activities of the Peace Priests' Movement is still most valuable today. It should continue to support our nation's struggle in the defense of peace, and for the advancement of its material and intellectual culture.

"The precondition and foundation of all of this is unity and the consolidation of the achievements of the politics of alliance. These are honorable duties and respectful obligations for all of those priests who have remained faithful to our people and to our country. It is this twofold faithfulness that is primarily responsible for having created and for deepening the respect of the nonreligious masses of our society.

"An anniversary affords a chance to look into the future. A respectable and glorious past, and a steadfast and untiringly demanding present also hold promises for the future.

"It is our conviction that the Peace Priests' Movement will be able to continue to fulfill its obligations in the future. We must continue to work so that the conditions of peace and relaxation within the international environment of the continued building of our society should further improve. We will continue to develop the dialog that produces constructive cooperation not only in words, but also in the reality of deeds. The world is being changed and transformed today partially as a result of our labors. Under new conditions, new goals arise. To reach them, we have to find new approaches, in addition to the proven methods. In order to preserve the content of traditional values, we have come up with solutions that are different, but suitable for the changing circumstances and new situations.

"Continued self-renewal is as essential today as it was earlier. And this is impossible without attracting members of the new generations toward the solution of our problems; generations that will take the place of their predecessors. The future belongs to the young--in words as well as in deeds. This future includes within it all that was created by our predecessors, and all that is being produced now by our contemporaries. It is impossible to do without close cooperation between the various generations that follow one another. Only in this manner can we insure the continuation of the fruits of our successful labors, and only thus can we achieve new results.

"The approaching 30th anniversary of the agreement between the state and the Catholic Church, and the upcoming visit to Hungary of the Vatican's secretary of state, Cardinal Agostino Casaroli, as a guest of the Hungarian Catholic Bishops' Council, are both signs of the recognition and of the promising future of that common path that was marked out by the 1977 meeting between Pope Paul VI and Janos Kadar, the MSZMP's first secretary. We wish to continue to follow this path in the future.

"In conclusion, let me greet every participant of this festive conference on this occasion when the National Peace Council's Catholic Committee has been awarded the Memorial Plaque of the Hungarian Peace Movement. Let me also greet separately the new general secretary of the Catholic Priests' National Peace Committee, Canon Imre Biro, who enjoys the trust not only of the church, and of his fellow priests, but also of our state."

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PARIS 'KULTURA' EDITOR INTERVIEWED ON STRIKE CRISIS

Paris LE POINT in French 25 Aug 80 pp 50-51

[Interview with Jerzy Giedroyc, editor in chief of the review KULTURA--date and place unknown, interviewer not identified]

> [Text] Jerzy Giedroyc, a Pole, political exile in France, is editor in chief of the Polish review KULTURA, a monthly publication which has been appearing for 33 years in Paris and is disseminated around the world (secretly in Poland). It is one of the most important Polish opposition publications. At the same time, Jerzy Giedroyc is head of a Polish publishing house in Paris.

[Question] What do you see as unique about the present crisis?

[Answer] Basically two things. Remember first of all that this is not the first test of strength. Before 1980, there was 1956, 1970, 1976. Now how were things resolved in 1956? By the return of Gomulka. Remember that he had formidable popularity going for him. At once the strikes stopped, and Poland experienced a wave of hope of which you have no idea. This phenomenon will not recur. Today, no one incarnates hope. The Poles know they are alone. So, they are going to try to obtain the maximum of assurances for the future.

The other novel thing is the incredible political maturity of the strikers. No shouting, no violence, for the time being, not the least attack against party headquarters such as during the last great demonstrations at Gdansk. At that time [1970], the communist regime was confronted by peasants transformed into angry workers. Today, it is a real working class. It calculates and weighs its effort.

[Question] To your knowledge, does there exist a central leadership for the strikers?

[Answer] No. This movement is both spontaneous and coordinated.

[Question] Coordinated by whom?

[Answer] I think that you call that the "Arab telephone." You must understand that the present events are unfolding in a climate of economic crisis and of dramatic food shortages. But this is not all. Do you have an idea of the number of clandestine publications presently appearing in Poland?

[Question] Not the least.

[Answer] Forty-seven. Here, for example, is a copy of ROBOTNIK ["The Worker"]. Circulation: around 50,000. So the present test of strength is rooted in a conflict that is both economic and political.

[Question] What can Gierek do?

[Answer] His freedom to maneuver is very limited. First, there is much debate within the party. As always, there are people who covet his position. Next, the regime is vulnerable to an unsuspected disorder. When the price increases were decided, they were not announced in all of Poland. It was the counterparts of your prefects, the voivodes, who decided whether or not to announce the increases according to the temperature of the local populations. A situation quite incredible in a communist country.

[Question] All the same he has the army and the militia.

[Answer] He has the militia. But, on the one hand, it is not of sufficient size to put down a true insurrection, and, on the other hand, it is hated by the entire populace. As to the army, that is another story. It has only a few days worth of ammunition and fuel in stock (for the Soviets are mistrustful). It is therefore practically useless against the workers. Besides, it would refuse to fire on them. I will point out to you that Polish communist governments have not utilized the army [in the past]. In my opinion, Gierek will not do it.

[Question] Do you think the Soviets will intervene?

[Answer] It seems to me unlikely, now as I speak to you. For several reasons. First, the Soviets have the Afghan affair on their hands. That is already a lot. Then, they do not desire to aggravate tension with the Western countries. Now fighting in Poland--for there would be a true national uprising--would precipitate a global crisis.

[Question] Why? They certainly did it in Hungary and in Czechoslovakia....

[Answer] I am going to tell you a story. During the Prague Spring, Tito went to see Dubcek. He warned him that the Soviets were probably going to intervene. The other replied that he didn't believe it. Tito pressed: [Begin italics] "What will the Czechs do if the Russians send the tanks? What orders will you give?" [End italics] And the first secretary of the communist party, Dubcek, answered that he would give no order, that his country would not fight. That is all. Tito took to his heels.

[Question] And you think the Poles would fight?

[Answer] Yes.

[Question] Do you believe that the Polish army would set itself against the Soviet army?

[Answer] Yes, without a doubt.

[Question] But it doesn't have the wherewithal!

[Answer] We are accustomed to fighting alone and without the means. The important thing is that the Soviet leaders know very well [the truth of] what I am telling you here.

[Question] What is the Church doing?

[Answer] It restrains the opposition and at the same time defends it. Cardinal Wyszynski is as much afraid of Soviet intervention as Edwar Gierek. Both of them think it unlikely, but not impossible. Thus, the bishops are urging moderation to the limit. But the young priests are another story. Everywhere they are committed to the movement. And they are aware of being supported by several bishops, the most popular in Poland, like Monsignor Gulbinovicz or Monsignor Tokarczuk.

[Question] The Pope?

[Answer] I don't know any more than you about that. But it seems to me that the Church, as a whole, can do nothing but sit and watch. It will not get involved except to promote a compromise, if such should see the light of day.

[Question] What sort of compromise?

[Answer] One has to realize that in the end there is a limit to Soviet willingness to abstain from intervention: that, purely and simply, would be the collapse of the Communist Party. That, Moscow could not tolerate. That is to say that the elimination of censorship, freedom of the press, freedom for radio and television, remain abstract goals. The entire system would snap. On the other hand, as long as Poland continues to belong to the Warsaw Pact, as long as the military system of the East remains intact, it seems to me that accommodations are conceivable.

[Question] On what points?

[Answer] The right to strike, and some freedom of candidacy and voting within the official trade unions.

[Question] But if such a system began to function, would that be the birth of a legal opposition in a communist country?

[Answer] Not completely. There could be a temporary equilibrium. But at the same time it would be necessary for people to be able to find food in the stores.

[Question] Are there links between the worker movements and the intellectuals?

[Answer] Yes, in Gdansk, which is the crucible of this novel and significant alliance. Elsewhere, contacts are still fragile.

[Question] In any case the Polish government of tomorrow--Gierek or his successor--is going to need money, meat, wheat, etc.

[Answer] Of course. But it is not the Soviets who are going to supply them to us, since they don't have them. Thus the financial aid and the food are going to come from the Western countries. France, Germany, etc. Why should not a few deputies from the Strasbourg Assembly propose to the Poles, the Hungarians, the Czechs, to come confer with them on the possibilities--however distant, even theoretical--of their countries associating with the Common Market? Financial Assistance from the Western countries, a sort of Marshall Plan, is desirable. But on condition that you strictly control the use of the money. If not, there would simply be several more villas for high officials of the party. It's hard for you to imagine the level of despair and corruption.

[Question] Do you think the Soviets would accept a plan of economic support controlled by the Western countries?

[Answer] Today, in light of the situation, that is not completely impossible. Once again, two conditions: the survival of the party, and Poland's continued membership in the Warsaw Pact.

[Question] There are people who think that the strikes in Poland--"dialog," as L'HUMANITE joyously calls it--are one of the positive consequences of detente....

[Answer] Detente? I do not know what this word means. What is happening in Poland is the product of the courage of the Polish people.

Photo Captions

1. Jerzy Giedroyc
2. The clandestine publication ROBOTNIK ["The Worker"]
3. Detachment of the Polish army

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WORKER PARTICIPATION IN ENTERPRISE MANAGEMENT

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 16, 20 Aug 80 pp 19-21

/Article by Honorina Cazacu, Bucharest Sociology Center: "Development of Workers Democracy"/

/Text/ Public activity has not yet received sufficient attention from researchers in the social sciences. Study of it can not only inform us about one of the essential and original directions of the evolution of socialist democracy in Romania but also enable us to develop new concepts and a more comprehensive theory of the evolution of the social and class structure.

If we are to understand some of the implications of public activity from the standpoint of worker participation in enterprise management, we must first know its extent and the forms it takes at the present time. For this purpose we shall use some data from a sociological study now in progress, referring particularly to three industrial enterprises in Bucharest, one very large enterprise (Clothing and Knitwear Enterprise), one large enterprise (Heavy Machinery Enterprise), and one of average size (Automatica Enterprise). (1)

The figures obtained in the course of the study indicate that over 750 party members at the Clothing and Knitwear Enterprise, almost 600 at the Heavy Machinery Enterprise) and over 160 at the Automatica Enterprise are active as members of the RCP bureaus for primary organizations and the party committees for the enterprise and its sections, or as propagandists in political-ideological education. Over 600 UTC /Union of Communist Youth/ youths at the Clothing and Knitwear Enterprise, about 500 at the Heavy Machinery Enterprise and nearly 200 at the Automatica Enterprise are performing their public activity in the elected organs and on the commissions formed by the UTC organizations. The public activists in the economic units to which we are referring are supplemented by about 4,000 members of the trade-union committees and the various commissions, worker control teams, trial boards etc. Between 20 and 30 percent of the personnel of the said enterprises are performing some political-economic, social-professional or ideological-educational work (2). This is a great potential and one of the dynamic forces in the development of the industrial enterprises and consequently of Romanian society in general. It may

be said that alongside such factors as the technical-material base and its development and the organization and competence of personnel, the force represented by public activity and the daily contribution of the public activists in enterprises constitute a factor of great importance to the qualitative changes being made in the Romanian national economy and to the transformation of people themselves.

Structures, Types and Levels of Participation in Collective Management

In practice public activity in enterprises enters into various fields, economic, political, cultural, legal, educational etc., gives rise to many interdependences among people and among organizations, creates new social roles and changes the old ones.

Two main main forms of participation can be distinguished, namely direct participation, including the representatives of public organizations who by their activity take part in preparation of decisions and organize and control their application (for example the members of the party, trade union and youth committees for the enterprise and its sections, the members of the bureaus of these organizations, the workers council, the executive bureau of the workers council etc.), and indirect participation, in which we include those who are active in an organ, commission or collective that does not prepare decisions but provides the collective decision-making organs with results of analyses, recommends measures, controls implementation of decisions, etc.

Of course this distinction somewhat simplifies the actual situations in practical activity. For example, the decisions made by an enterprise's trade union organs qualify both as a form of direct participation in management in the social-professional field and as indirect participation, since they are the trade union's contribution to the application of broader measures adopted, for example, within the party organization.

According to the level of participation in collective management and the field of application of the decisions, we have distinguished three groups in the sociological study we have undertaken, namely the enterprise level, the production section level, and the basic level (production shops).

The organization with the broadest mass base, the trade union, also provides the most public activists. In this stage the fact is also important that according to the findings of the above-mentioned study the direct type of participation in collective management involves about 3 times more persons than the number involved in the category of "indirect participation." As regards the levels of participation, the number of persons increases from the general level of the enterprise down to the intermediate level of the production sections and the basic level of the shops and work groups. The phenomenon is more striking in the category of "direct participation in management" and brings out the hierarchical nature of management along public lines. Indirect participation does not clearly display this characteristic.

To be sure the structures, types and levels of participation in management along public lines also display some qualitative aspects in their

quantitative representation. But the characteristics of public activity are not confined to these and they cannot be correlated without also considering other criteria that cannot be represented quantitatively. It is a matter of the content of the activity and the way it is organized as well as one of the approach, the kind of management, the nature of the relations inherent in this kind of management, the human traits of those active in the public organizations, etc.

As for the content of the public organizations' activity, it is found that the scope of direct participation in management is being expanded primarily by including in the functions the problems of the key sector in the enterprise (production) as well as the social and cultural problems of the working personnel. Law No 5 of 1978 as well as other provisions and instructions specify the forms of organization through which the party, trade union and youth organizations are entitled to participate jointly with the representatives of the technical-administrative management in adopting the decisions and necessary measures in these fields in order to provide for expanded reproduction, improve the professional qualifications of the personnel and to meet their growing social and cultural needs.

Public activity is organized hierarchically: Decisions of the higher organ (the enterprise committee for example) are binding upon those under it (section committees, shop organizations). In its turn the enterprise committee is subordinate to the organs above it, which ensures unity of action and implementation of the principle of democratic centralism. But the hierarchy of the organizations within the enterprise is not a rigid one of the administrative type but a flexible one with many provisions for flexibility and participation of more persons in preparation of decisions, regardless of their position in the hierarchical administrative structure. For example the secretary of a primary party organization or of a primary UTC one or the head of a trade union group can serve on the committee of a production section or on the enterprise committee (In the technical-administrative hierarchy a foreman in a shop cannot be a technical services chief at the same time). Moreover a mere member of an organization can be a member of the enterprise committee etc. The hierarchical structures in this kind of organization are based upon social-political and professional criteria.

Characteristics of Public Organizations and Activists in Enterprises

The public organizations' activity is managed by setting immediate and long-range objectives. The long-range view in judging present situations is an increasingly urgent requirement today because the future is made of the present to a great extent in a national economy whose goals are determined on a long-term basis as they are in Romania.

The approach and the nature of the relations among the members who belong to the managements of the higher and the primary organs are not like those of a chief to a subordinate. Since the decisions are made by consultation and agreement, their implementation is not the prerogative of the "executives" but of all, whether they belong to a higher administrative organ or to an intermediate or primary one. Since the discipline is freely agreed upon in

accordance with the organization's regulations, it is ordinarily secured by informal means (critical analysis, self-criticism) and only in extreme cases by sanctions which, however, are political and not administrative in nature.

Because of the type of organization, the type of management, the approach and the nature of the relations among the members who make up the public organizations, the latter are flexible, their initiative in decision-making is growing, and more persons are participating in preparation of decisions regardless of their function in the respective organ or hierarchy.

The correlation of state management with the public kind of management, as practiced in the industrial enterprises, makes it possible in the long run to improve both types of management, especially as regards the working methods and approach. For example such qualities as flexibility, innovation, freedom from bureaucracy etc. that are generally characteristic of the public organizations, as well as such qualities as organization, precision, tight control of task fulfillment etc. characteristic of the technical-administrative kind of organization, can be blended in a new synthesis contributing to the greater effectiveness of management operations on both the economic and the political, social and cultural levels. But at some points there can also be a risk of transferring negative characteristics like red tape, irresponsibility, bureaucracy, lack of control, lax implementation of tasks or internal decisions etc.

The roles of the public activists in the industrial enterprises have several main characteristics. Public activity involves a particular kind of role, namely those assigned by society to certain of its members according to their professional-human and political-ideological capabilities. As distinguished from other roles assigned by people themselves (professional role, family role etc.), the roles of the public kind of management are assigned by others, especially the labor collective, by election or appointment to a given public body. Sometimes the two methods are combined, when the appointment is subject to the approval of the community. This stage is characterized by a decreasing proportion of appointments and a growing proportion of elections of persons for a given role in the public organizations. Nevertheless the community sometimes errs in assigning roles because of some disturbing factors (pressure groups, diverging interests, inability to know etc.).

The increased proportion of elections in a community's assignments of public management roles involves a certain type of interdependence among the members of the organization, namely the right of the voters to control the person they have entrusted with a given role and the obligation of the holder of a management role to be primarily responsible to the colleagues who elected him to that role. The intensified mutual interest in fulfillment of the assumed obligations enhances the solidarity of the respective community.

Assignment of this kind of role for a limited time is another characteristic of the operation of the public bodies. In an organized fashion and at given time intervals, starting at the bottom and continuing through the sections in the big enterprises and on up to the enterprise level, the activity of those who have performed public management roles is analyzed and rated by reassignment of the respective role, by promotion to a more responsible role, or by

withdrawing the previously assigned role and entrusting it to another person. This periodicity not only eliminates the opportunity for bureaucratic habits to become entrenched but generally humanizes relations between those with management roles and those without them and makes management roles accessible to more persons.

All the public roles are without pay, except for one or two persons in the big enterprises who are withdrawn from production, namely the secretary of the party committee and sometimes also the chairman of the enterprise trade union committee. Working directly in production, in shops and sections where they have the same tasks (and consequently the same wages) as others with their qualifications, the members of the various public bodies have direct knowledge of the actual problems, situations and states of mind. They can consult directly with those who elected them and make proposals knowledgeably. The decisions they make in the collective management organs to which they belong are equally binding on themselves.

Expansion of public activity in enterprises and the growth of its functions also make structural changes in the roles: One and the same person performs a composite role, that is he performs subroles of different kinds at the same time. A worker who is also the secretary of an RCP primary organization in a factory performs both the role of a producer and that of a political manager. He performs a certain kind of activity and has, essentially, one kind of responsibility in the first position and another kind of activity and responsibility in the second one. The first role is relatively permanent and the second one is for a limited time. An engineer who has the same political role as the worker in the foregoing example also performs a composite role. These structural changes in some traditional roles result, among other things, in some new contradictions and require many changes in the system of interdependences in the industrial enterprises and, on a broader scale, in the social structure.

On the basis of the studies made we can formulate some of the main characteristics of the personality of the public activist in the industrial enterprises (also insufficiently studied in the previous technical literature). It can be said that personalities characterized by a creative spirit and optimism are appointed to and play an active part in these roles, those who are determined and forceful, enthusiastic and demanding, those who can dedicate their time, thought and inventiveness and are capable of personal sacrifices, and those who are resolved to act in disciplined fashion to achieve immediate and long-range general objectives.

As to the structure of these public management roles, as well as the interdependences brought about by their existence (problems still inadequately studied in our technical literature), we can say that they are highly complex and have many implications for the personality of the individual.

Under self-administration and workers self-management there has been a greater interdependence between the general interests and each worker's personal ones. At the same time, the relations between the two kinds of interests are more

direct. In the institutionalized forms of participation in management that are now operative in the industrial enterprises, the right to make decisions and to organize and provide for their implementation ultimately means a greater ability on the part of the persons integrated in these bodies to knowledgeably determine a certain way of life for macrocommunities and microcommunities.

Organization of the most comprehensive system of functional structures of collective management and discovery of new and efficient methods of worker participation in the management and administration of the units (extensive processes to which research in the social sciences is expected to make a greater contribution) conform in their content and social implications to the firm directive handed down by the RCP to intensify and perfect socialist democracy.

FOOTNOTES

1. The data presented in this article are from a sociological study made in industrial units in Bucharest on the developmental process of workers democracy. The study is by the signer of the article jointly with Ion Glodeanu, researcher at the Bucharest Sociology Center.

2. Subtracting from the total a certain percentage represented by those performing several public activities.

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CONTINUING NEED FOR ATHEISTIC EDUCATION STRESSED

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 16, 20 Aug 80 pp 29-31

/Article by Dr Vasile Sporici: "Scientific-Materialist Education of the Masses as a Major Aspect of Culture"/

/Text/ Throughout all history there has been a constant effort to free man from the tyranny of superstitions and sacralizing prejudices. His modern culture is a sublimation of the continuous flow of refinement of the humanist values and the relentless struggle with the subjective and objective factors of obscurantism.

As a form of social consciousness, religion is the product of specific conditions of social existence. The idea of supernatural power is not innate but caused like any idea by a series of objective external factors, and religion has not always existed but appears at a certain lower (but not very early) stage of development and will disappear at a higher stage. Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu said, "Of course religion appeared in a certain historical stage of social development, when men could not understand a number of phenomena and raised their eyes to the sky expecting the answer. They received the answer in one way or another, according as the ruling classes of the time thought it should be given. We, the communists, know that the world was not created by any higher divine power and that no one stands anywhere and directs how society is developed and how man's life is organized."

In general the religious consciousness is formed under the influence of living conditions. This Marxist principle has been confirmed by modern studies in genetics, from which we briefly cite some significant findings. For example the theory of the American geneticist Ernst Mayr explains the sacralizing attitudes (not only religious but also lay) by natural selection in the small groups of primeval hominids, exploiting the innate capacity to retain and include in chromosomes (and consequently to make them transmissible by heredity) various standards of conduct, including some moral and religious ones, capable of fixing and perpetuating information advantageous in the struggle for existence. Although it biologizes the social aspect of human evolution, this view nevertheless has the merit of unmasking and eradicating the sacred aura of

religious feeling which, so far from being innate, unique and irreducible as the theologians claim, has proved to be an attitude and a form of behavior acquired under the duress of living conditions, that is in a quite natural way.

With certain inconsistencies, the problem is taken up in similar terms by Jacques Monod, laureate of the Nobel Prize for Medicine, in his well known and much discussed book "Le Hasard et la Necesssite." He finds that through the evolution of the higher nervous system the pressure of selection, which had dominated the first stages of human development, began to decline, so that man could expand his domination of the nonhuman world and gradually free himself of the reign of terror inspired in him by the dangers of everyday existence. No kind of religious feeling developed in the first stages of the hominids' evolution, which are also the longest ones.

Neither the need nor the power of the laws intended to organize the indispensable cohesion of the tribe, which became a factor in selection and survival, made itself felt until later, when human destiny began to be identified with that of the tribe. Monod states, "In view of the immense selective significance assumed by certain social structures over such vast periods of time, it is hard to believe that they did not affect the genetic evolution of the innate categories of the human brain. This evolution must have not only facilitated acceptance of the tribal law but also created the need of the mythical explanation that substantiated it and lent it sovereignty. Unquestionably we inherited from them... the terror... that creates myths and religions." (1)

Unfortunately these scientific suppositions, which place the sacralizing phenomenon in a definitive natural-historical context, are accompanied by speculative considerations with no scientific basis that even contradict previous points of the author's. For example, the French scholar rightly states only a few lines above that the "need" (in fact the specific "social" necessity) of mythical explanations appears at the end of a long human evolution, in the framework of the tribal communities and as a result of a complex determinism as the natural factors merge with the incipiently social ones, yet he paradoxically concludes, "Personally I do not have the slightest doubt that this imperious need is innate, inscribed somewhere in the language of the genetic code, and that spontaneously developed." (2)

The generalizations like Monod's are preceded by the findings, based on investigations, of some American geneticists interested in the relationship between "cultural determinism and natural selection. (3) They proceed from the fact that very little is known about the limitations of genetic flexibility when confronted with environmental changes. But it is known that man compensates for lack of genetic specialization in this area by his skill in learning to change his behavior, so that this trait will itself become a factor in selection through a complex feedback. The authors conclude that two kinds of heredity, genetic and cultural, develop in man's evolution and that their interaction accompanied by man's ability to learn can be regarded as the main cause of his evolution.

This is similar to the theory of the Soviet geneticist N. P. Dubinin (4), who takes up the problem of interaction between the genetic and social factors in

determining human attitudes and ideas and describes it as the interaction between the genetic and social programs. In this way, without overlooking the distinctions between the two kinds of programs, he also includes in the discussion the concepts of new "exact sciences" like cybernetics, the information theory, bioengineering etc. that can attract further attention to the informational and thereby integrating determination of the human consciousness.

The great gains of science constantly confirm the Marxist ideas about the rise of religious belief against the background of men's distorted representations of the surrounding world and their own nature. The evolution of thought and the modern disciplines concerning nature and society created what is called the paradigmatic antidogmatism of modern culture. Hence the old Augustinian adage which, in an attempt to reverse matters, maintains that any knowledge is based upon a belief appears as an unsuccessful witticism from the present point of view.

The need of all-around socialist education is more urgent than ever today, and it is accomplished by forming a personality open to all the factors that make for man's awareness through more and more emphatic assertion of the values of militant socialist culture. It should be said that scientific-materialist education in Romania would be far richer in content and achievements and would prove far more effective if due attention were given to the formative values of art by bringing out its great antireligious resources and its disalienating capacity. Moreover it has been noted in our technical literature that the secular and atheist phenomenon is treated hardly or not at all at times as an aspect of literary-artistic culture and the militant potentials of a more direct approach to human behavior and awareness are underrated.

Of course in working with myths, with misleading emotional halos and with ineffable conditions that reason can take no account of, art and the "miracle" of artistic creation are in the vicinity of feelings open to sacralization. Hence the involuntary tendency of some experimentalist exaggerations to conform to a trend of nonsacralization of human relations and of mystification of life, the daily manifestations of which are excluded from the field of interest of artistic transfiguration.

But are we all that helpless before the crisis phenomena of modern art? The process of restoring humanist legitimacy in artistic creation can and must be expedited where the need is felt by a united initiative of recommending reconsideration of the tools and of refining or rediscovering the creeds. But let us note that in Romania too such fields of analysis and orientation of artistic creation as aesthetics and literary criticism sometimes prove insufficiently interested in the educational function and the civic values of art. They seem too concerned with "initiatic" personalization instead of integration of the artistic act, probably considering "integration" a depersonalization instead of what it actually is, namely commitment to high revolutionary ideals. Such effective means as art and humanist culture in general have of helping to promote our advanced conception of the world are sometimes underrated. And do we not recognize a reflection of this attitude when we explicitly attribute the quality of "scientific" alone to the atheism of today and to atheistic

materialism in general? The educational function is present in all components of our socialist ideology, whether they are of scientific or sultural-artistic origin. The complementary quality of the scientific-technical and humanistic components of the consciousness of the new type of man is essential to formation of sound atheistic convictions, and their effectiveness can make the atheistic propaganda media more flexible. When we add experience to these two aspects of the personality our socialist order is forming (the scientific-cognitive and the value ones), we have the essence of the consciousness that is being purposefully formed and which we can firmly commit to the demystifying effort of self-rediscovery.

The RCP's official stand against religious obscurantism and mysticism is well known. In the first years after its founding the party adopted a principled attitude toward religion, avoiding both conciliatory opportunism and leftist excesses. The RCP's attitude acquired a clear formulation in the Program for Building the Fully Developed Socialist Society and for Romania's Advance Toward Socialism. Avoiding administrative methods as well as ideological passiveness, the party pointed out that materialist education (scientific and cultural alike) cannot deceive itself to the effect that as a remnant of the old religion will automatically disappear, that as a result of scientific-technical progress religious indifference will inevitably follow, or that because of the social, revolutionary commitment of the builder of the fully developed socialist society his consciousness will readily assimilate all principles of the dialectical-materialist conception of the world and life. Journalism often still treats commitment, militancy and human responsibility abstractly, sometimes forgetting that they all involve the specific human individual and the life of the microgroup that includes him and in which not only historical problems but also everyday questions arise, which he must wish or be able to resolve on his own responsibility. In this connection it can be stated that proper functioning of democracy in the life of a commune, enterprise or collective or a real assertion of the workers' capacity as owners, producers and beneficiaries is also an act of scientific-materialist education by virtue of its profound political implications.

It is not only the individual's civic commitment that is important, but also his effective participation in the decisions that directly concern him, which will strengthen his self-awareness and invigorate his personality. Formation of an atheistic-materialist conception of the world involves people's conviction that it is in their power (both as members of a collective and as separate individuals) to solve not only new problems but also those they encounter at every step. Marx mentioned that religious alienation, the "social negative" as such, contains much more complex determinations than the mere membership of the individuals (or nonmembership, we add) in the oppressed class.

Under social changes of such proportions as those going on in Romania (because of the revolutionized socioeconomic and demographic structures and the rapid urbanization of the nation), the "uprooted" attitude appears at points of a man who is no longer what he was and has not yet succeeded in becoming what society demands of him nor what he himself intended. There are still quite a few who prefer to seclude themselves and to transform what is usually only an

ordinary administrative case of everyday experience into an overwhelming tragedy. And it is only a step from here to the obscure belief in an "inherent justice" in the solution of the problem and the sanctioning (miraculous) of the guilty party. To be sure our society ultimately resolves such cases, but it should not be regarded as a force whose powers are to be implored or awaited with resignation.

Education has a decisive role in this regard on many levels. Including the major requirement of forming a revolutionary, scientific-materialist awareness among the aims of socialist cultural development has proved a salutary measure, and crystallization of the civic consciousness in keeping with the requirements of everyday life, in our society so demanding upon every member of it, can only be encouraged. This requires a more consistent effort toward civic education and elimination of the deficiencies in involving people in actions that will integrate them naturally in current existence and cultivate in them a clear, specific and efficient approach to life. The inevitability of some shocks from the impact with truly or falsely complicated circumstances of life because of the bureaucratic or merely incompetent attitudes of some elements can lead to divisions of the consciousness and to sensitizing less stable natures to the temptation to consume the religious "opium," called upon to create the illusion of banishment, as a deus ex machina, of the inherent or artificially created difficulties.

I think we should note that among the cultural-educational and artistic genres taken up at the National Cintarea Romaniei Festival those devoted to the scientific-materialist education of the masses are often unconvincing and still contribute too little to formation of the civic consciousness capable of resisting the above-mentioned temptations. Too rarely do we see on the stages of the cultural clubs artistic propaganda brigades with subjects "borrowed" from the intellectual life of the contemporary village in which the manifestations of so-called respect for the "customs" (as a rule actually meaning practice of the theist cult in various forms and aspects most often at variance with the aims of formation of a socialist consciousness) are satirized or simply rejected as anachronistic.

It is desirable for professional art to take up the subjects with a scientific-materialist purpose on a higher artistic level and with power of conviction. The performances produced on some stages with dramatic works intended to combat mysticism or irrational beliefs are usually considered "service" performances and their exclusive scheduling on the stages of the cultural clubs (generally for tours) sometimes leads to deterioration of the artistic quality, which can only impair the quality of the message and its power of conviction. Artistic exploitation of certain secular myths is an act of desacralization and legitimate restitution of some spiritual goods to those who conceived them at their source, and from this viewpoint the artistic measure can only be encouraged. But it should also be channeled toward demystification of the hypocracy on which some styles (of unquestionable and no less reprehensible snobbery) border, consisting of disregard of the fact that "secretely" or not one form of cult or another is practiced alongside us. The writers have a great role in forming a mass attitude against the various manifestations of

theist irrationalism, helping to cultivate a humanist ideal older than any "custom" or any mystic "tradition," and it depends on them alone to make this a style that is as convincing as possible.

The truth is that the fully developed personality is both an ideal and a process and that man is infinitely perfectible, while the temporary defects should not lead to acceptance of his present weaknesses. There are cases where psychomoral processes that appeared irreversible have undergone distortions that the general principles and abstract truths could hardly explain. The directions of individual development are not always irreversible, and the most hidden moral defects can show surprising relapses. Therefore constructive social action must be accompanied by tireless cultivation of the formative-educational effort, which will strengthen interhuman solidarity and the individual's assurance that the things around him are meant for him, that he dominates them and that he is not dominated by the structures in which they are constituted. All the other spiritual forces that will help to crystallize the new type of human personality, with sound materialist-atheistic convictions, should be rallied in support of the material and political values that activate the inner resources of man and society.

FOOTNOTES

1. Jacques Monod, "Le Hasard et la Necessite," Ed. du Seuil, 1970, p 204.

2. Ibidem, p 210.

3. See Frank B. Livingstone, James N. Spuhler in "Evolutionary Anthropology," Boston, 1969, pp 288-291.

4. See I. Peatnitki, "Determinism in Genetics and Contemporary Fideism," Political Publishing House, 1975, Chapter 7.

5186
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POLISH BOOK ON ROMANIAN ART CRITICIZED BY IASI PAPER

Iasi CRONICA in Romanian 15 Aug 80 p 8

[Article by Veniamin Ciobanu: "Art and Historical Truth"]

[Text] The intensification of international relations, including tourism, calls with ever greater urgency for the appearance of certain works capable of offering a quick and efficient means of providing information about the most important aspects and moments in the history of a people, as seen in their centuries-long correlations. Such a necessity is even clearer when we are speaking of a country and a people whose historical evolution has numerous common traits imprinted with their direct contacts on multiple levels throughout the centuries. This is the case of the Romanian and Polish peoples. In such a situation, the mutual interest in the history of art and culture also bears the imprint of the natural desire to understand the purest reflex of their spirituality. The work to which we will refer was also directed to this end.*

The authors dealt with the theme they had proposed, Romanian art from the 13th century to the beginning of the 20th century, in the framework of five major chapters, with each one being divided into sub-chapters according to chronological and thematic criteria, as follows: The Art of the Romanian Countries; The Art of Moldavia; The Art of Transylvania; The Art of the 19th Century and the Beginning of This Century; Wooden Architecture, Village Structures and Popular Art. The first and last chapters were written by Ryszard Brykowski; the second and fourth by Tadeusz Chranowski; and the third by Marian Kornecki. The work also contains a Forward from the Authors and an Introduction, constituting a short review of the evolution of art beginning with the primitive commune

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*Ryszard Brykowski, Tadeusz Chranowksi, Marian Kornecki, "Sztuka Rumunii" (The Art of Romania), Wroclaw-Warszawa-Krakow-Gdansk, Publishing House of the "Ossolinski" National Institute, 1979, 207 pages plus illustrations and the map of Romania.

up through the end of the transition period to feudalism, written by Tadeusz Chranowski. The work also has Bibliographic References, a Small Dictionary of Terms that are used in the work, an Index of Personalities, an Index of Locations and Monuments and a List of Illustrations in and outside the text, as well as an impressive number of black-and-white illustrations and a map of Romania.

With the work, first of all, being especially designed to familiarize certain broader circles of Polish readers with the history of Romanian art and the historico-artistic Romanian problem, at the beginning of each major chapter there is a brief look into the history of the province under study during the particular chronological period, accompanied by a succinct geographic description. That such a presentation was absolutely necessary no longer has to be demonstrated since it is a well known fact that the correct understanding of the historical evolution of a people also depends upon the just understanding of its spiritual evolution, given the close interdependence between these two factors. But, precisely some of these short paragraphs contain a series of inadvertent elements that can lead the people for which it was designed to make erroneous conclusions regarding the history of the Romanian people and, implicitly, the significance of its art.

Thus, great bewilderment is stirred up the the authors' statement that "the few archeological discoveries from the era of the migrations of various peoples, which in this territory [Romania] extended until the 12th century and which are not tied together in an evolutionary course, do not succeed in illustrating and, even less, justifying the unusual phenomenon that the Romanians, despite the invasions of different populations and their isolation within the Slavic and Hungarian territories, preserved until our time a language directly derived from Latin" (p 9). The conclusion that springs from this sentence is that the authors did not have appropriate scientific documentation available. Numerous archeological discoveries from the age of migrations, the result of certain broad and systematic reserach undertaken by Romanian archeologists throughout the country that have been validated in numerous monographs, collections of archeological discoveries, studies and articles published in specialized Romanian and foreign periodicals, categorically refute such a statement.

The undifferentiated approach to the particular factors of the historical evolution of the Romanian people and the coinhabitating nationalities led to another unsubstantiated finding, in the sense that "all these monuments that were built on Romanian territory as a result of the activities of non-Romanian social groups, and first of all the monuments in Transylvania, belong to a branch of the Latin culture" (pp 9-10). The fact that not all of the monuments in Transylvania are the creation of certain "non-Romanian social groups," as the quoted sentence wants to suggest, is demonstrated by the presentation of Transylvanian art in this book. Along these lines, we should remember for its significance

the statement made by Marian Kornecki that the art of Transylvania must be regarded in its entirety since it does not exclusively belong to "any one of the principal sources that created it" (p 99). Let us merely add that some, and not some of the lesser important, Transylvanian monuments were also built by the master craftsmen from Wallachia and Moldavia.

Especially serious reservations stem, however, from the historical considerations found in the fourth chapter. Thus, the "basic" territories inhabited by Romanians are not just Wallachia and Moldavia, whose complete unification occurred in the 19th century, but all three Romanian provinces, in other words including Transylvania. Later, in Romanian history, the principal connection of 1821 must be made with 1848, with the connection made by the author with 1828-1829 (the Russian-Turkish War) being of lesser importance. It is true, from the point of view of state membership, that Transylvania had a separate path in relation to the other two Romanian provinces. What is important, however, is the unity of national awareness of the Romanians on both sides of the Carpathians, a fact ignored by the author of this chapter. In Transylvania, there was the revolt led by Horea, Closca and Crisan, one of the most powerful social revolts in Europe and one which also had a clearly national character. Also in Transylvania, the "Transylvanian School" was born and the two "Supplexes Libellus Valachoram" (1791 and 1804) were drawn up. In other words, the basis for the Romanian national ideology were laid there, with the program for the struggle for national emancipation remaining valid until the Unification in 1918 (with some of the principal reasons being the revolutionary year of 1848, the creation of the National Romanian Party in Transylvania, the memorandist movement in 1892-1894 and so forth). Throughout this period, the contacts between Transylvania and Romania (considered as such after the 1859 unification) were permanent and profound since the supreme goal was a common one: the completion of state unification. Also especially grave is the error of considering the unification of Transylvania with Romania merely as an act resulting from the Peace Conference of Versailles. As a result, they avoided the well known fact that the Unification was a product of the free expression of the desire of the Romanian Transylvanians, finalized in a formal act that bears the date 1 December 1918, completed by the equally free expression of the desire of the coinhabitating nationalities. As a result, the Peace Conference of Versailles and the international documents that were concluded in the spirit of its decisions did nothing more than to sanction a completed act, the result of a long historical process.

It is not, therefore, surprising that such an approach to the political history of the Romanian people in the 19th century would also have repercussions upon the manner of interpretation of Romanian art during that period. An insufficient look into the problems that troubled Romanian society during that time prevented the authors from uncovering the profound patriotic significance in many of the works of art (created both by

Romanian and foreign artists, as far as their ethnic origin is concerned, but who fully identified with the desires and aspirations of the people that had adopted them) and sometimes even slighting them. It is in itself understood that such a distorted view only partially serves the principal objective of the book: the understanding of a long and complex historical and esthetic process by the Polish reader.

Naturally, we did not lose sight at any time of the fact that this volume that we have presented is not a work of historical research. We understood very well the authors' purpose. To a large degree, the purpose was fulfilled, since, first of all and a very important fact, the work serves the secular desire that is today of great interest in giving a better, mutual understanding between the Romanian and Polish people. Precisely for us to also make a modest contribution in the service of this goal, we have paused upon certain questions that bring together the historical sphere, being convinced that the alteration of fundamental historical truths is damaging. As a result, our critical observations have no other purpose than to eliminate errors and promote historical truth.

8724
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FOREIGN HISTORIANS' VIEWS OF ROMANIA EXAMINED

Iasi CRONICA in Romanian 8 Aug 80 p 10

[Article by L. Boicu: "The Urgent Need for Mutual Understanding"]

[Text] The 14th International Congress of Historical Sciences, which took place in San Francisco between 22 and 29 August 1975 and which selected Bucharest as the host city for the 15th Congress, also has, among other things, the great credit of having eliminated Europe-centrist exaggerations, defining in precise terms the place of history in the contemporary world and the responsibilities of the historian and urging collaboration and mutual respect -- the the only way compatible with the virtues of science and the moral requirements of a world seeking its own security.

Collaboration and mutual respect are two elements capable of being the most prominent characteristics of the relations between the historians and the historiographies of the socialist countries, for reasons dealing with the doctrinal principles that govern their interstate relations. One can add to this, however, an important consideration: the geo-political one, the relations in the zonal-geographic plane. Romania is a neighbor with four socialist countries. Among them, and not just among them, there are ample and vigorous historical differences. Respecting and cultivating the individuality of their own country (in the noblest sense of the word), historians feel the urgent need for a mutual understanding of their profession and the need for collaboration as a condition for success.

The geographic amd historico-political coordinates of the territory inhabited by the Romanians, their ethnic origin and language, the juridico-political international statute of the Principalities and, later, of Romania until the gaining of independence in 1877, the place and role of our country in foreign events in the modern and contemporary eras, its original contribution to the cause of civilization and so forth require the researcher to undertake specific concerns stemming from the particular nature of the historic Romanian phenomenon.

Today, more than any other time, the study of Romania's history abroad has gone beyond the phase of the casual, spontaneous and only personal document. In universities and institutes of higher learning, the history of Romania occupies a distinct place in the history of the Southeast European countries, a region that constitutes a research material of an independent nature. There is an "International Association of Southeastern European Studies" which operates with remarkable results and which regularly organizes congresses and publishes discussions in massive volumes that give rise to the liveliest interest. In the majority of the socialist countries there are specialized institutes for Southeastern European research. They publish magazines such as BALKANSKII SBORNIK (Moscow), ETUDES BALKANIQUES (Sofia), JAHRBUCH FUR GESCHICHTE DER SOZIALISTISCHEN LANDER EUROPAS (Berlin) and so forth, in which the reader finds contributions dedicated to the history of Romania, especially the history of its international relations. In this regard, an important role is played by the "Institute of Southeastern European Studies" (Bucharest), with its periodical REVUE DES ETUDES SUD-EST EUROPEENNES.

In the spirit of fruitful collaboration, volumes were published, with bilateral participation, on the history of Romanian-Russian, Romanian-Bulgarian and Romanian-Hungarian relations. Under the same auspices, there is also a record of the anniversary of the winning of Romania's state independence. Tzenko Ghenov is the author of the work "Po boinia pat na osvoboditelite 1877-1978" (On the Battle Path of the Liberators 1877-1878), Sofia 1976, in which C. Velichi states "more attention is given to the Romanian participation in the war than in other general works that have appeared to date in Bulgaria." The Soviet publishing house "Nauka" published the reports presented at the international conference in Moscow under the title "100 let osvobojdenia balkaniskih narodev ot osmanskago iga" (One Hundred Years Since the Liberation of the Balkan Peoples from Ottoman Domination). In this volume, there are three Romanian reports, and not a few others dealing directly with Romania. Despite the persistence of a certain trend to idealize the foreign factor, the role of the smaller Balkan populations is well presented. Professor C. Velichi and V. Vrajkov completed in 1979 a joint monograph dealing with the Bulgarian emigration to Romania in the 19th century and the role it played in the national rebirth of Bulgaria.

In the period between the 14th and 15th international history congresses, a very useful collaboration was intensified between historians and specialized institutes in the socialist countries: periodic discussions dedicated to the improvement of history books and discussions designed to eliminate inaccuracies and to cultivate mutual understanding and respect. The Romanians have thus engaged in these types of discussions with all the European socialist countries. We are now awaiting the results.

The Polish historian Juliusz Demel published in 1979 in Wroclaw a well-received "Historia Rumunii" and Soviet historians in 1971 published two volumes (for the period 1848-1970) in the projected "History of Romania." A promising start that appears to have been interrupted.

The same fan of Romanian history, Juliusz Demel, published the first monograph by a foreigner about Cuza Voda: "Aleksander Jan Cuza Ksiaze Rumunii" (Alexandru Ioan Cuza Prince of Romania), Ossolineum, Wroclaw - Warszawa - Krakow - Gdansk, 1977, 246 pages. The Polish historian successfully presents one of the most beautiful and accurate portraits of this ruler. It shows in Ilie Corfus' translation: "from the contemporary records that have been preserved, which are not too numerous or extensive, we get the picture of a young man, of middle height, well-built, handsome, with a delightful exterior appearance. A face with steady, manly lines, a prominent nose and mouth, blue-green eyes, shining hair lightly curled. A polite, elegant manner, a casual, friendly behavior. He was characterized by a lively intelligence, an ease of expression, a quick and biting responsiveness, a person not lacking irony, frequently ardent since he did not like to hide his opinions. He had a sincere, brave nature that was foreign to hypocrisy, greed and the desire to succeed at others' expense. In addition to this, he had an active nature, filled with energy, mobility, spontaneity that was hostile to pompous, rigid ceremony." It is fitting to note that in all his works dedicated to the history of Romania and the history of Romanian-Polish relations, Juliusz Demel exhibits an admirable effort for objectivity.

Despite certain errors not lacking an element of partis-pris, the history of Romania is also satisfactorily presented in the dictionaries and encyclopedia in the socialist countries, beginning with "Sovietskaia istoriceskaia enticlopedia," which appeared in 1971.

A role of the greatest significance in the spread of the history of the country and in the development of collaboration between historians is played by the joint commissions on history, such as the Romanian-Bulgarian, Romanian-Yugoslav, Romanian-Hungarian, Romanian-Czechoslovak, Romanian-East German, Romanian-Polish, Romanian-Soviet and so forth. These commissions periodically meet to discuss problems of common interest for the purpose of mutual understanding, and the results merit the full consideration of the historian.

It would be unrealistic, however, and even damaging for us to draw the conclusion that Romanian historiography abroad, especially in the socialist countries, has reached a high and correct level of representation. In this aspect, there is much to be done. Circumstantial obstacles still spring up, and not a few of them have their source in the confused history of this part of the continent. Nowhere was history a series of summertime relations between the people and the rulers. It was not so in Eastern Europe. Some contemporary historians have a difficult time setting aside

false dogmas that have a multi-century tradition, and they have a narrow or incorrect comprehension of the general and particular interests and truths, which explains the regrettable disagreements in the writing of history. Unfortunately, Romanian historiography is also confronted with false problems. For those who wish clarifications, allow us to recommend the critical reactions of Petre Diaconu in the documentary series published in REVISTA DE ISTORIE, beginning with issue No 6, 1976, and Const. C. Giurescu, under the title "Raspus la 'nitel descintec' al unui vraci" (A Wizard's Response to a 'Little Spell'), in the same publication, issue No 8, 1976.

Naturally, the confrontation of opinions in science is defined as an organic implication that becomes well-meaning only if it is constructive. Despite the deviations, which characterize the relations between the historians and the historiographies of the socialist countries there is a desire and effort aiming at collaboration and mutual respect. We have every reason to hope that this will also be the spirit that will preside at the 15th International Congress of Historians, 10 to 17 August 1980 in Bucharest.

8724
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LAW ON 1981 CENSUS ADOPTED BY SFRY ASSEMBLY

Belgrade SLUZBENI LIST SFRJ in Serbo-Croatian No 41, 25 Jul 80 pp 1324-1327

[Law adopted by the SFRY Assembly in a session of the Federal Chamber on 17 July 1980: "Law on the 1981 Population, Household and Housing Census"]

[Text] Article 1

A census of the population, households and housing units (hereafter referred to as the "census") shall be taken from 1 to 15 April 1981 in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

The census shall be done as of 2400 hours on 31 March 1981.

Immediately after the census is taken, a statistical check shall be run on the quality of the data gathered in the census.

Article 2

The census shall embrace the following:

1) citizens of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, foreign nationals and stateless persons who have their domicile in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia regardless of whether they are in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia or abroad at the time of the census;

2) households of the persons referred to in Subparagraph 1 of this paragraph;

3) dwellings and other space in which people are living.

The census shall also cover citizens of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, foreign nationals and stateless persons who have their domicile abroad and who at the moment of the census happen to be in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

As an exception to the provisions of Paragraphs 1 and 2 of this article, the census shall not cover diplomatic personnel of foreign diplomatic and consular missions and members of their families and the dwellings which are the property of foreign states.

Article 3

Data on the following shall be gathered on the persons covered by the census: last name and first name, name of the place (settlement) and opstina where they live or are temporarily staying, working or attending school; the reason for absence from the place of permanent residence or for their presence at the place where the census was taken; sex, date of birth, place of birth (settlement and opstina) and marital status; nationality, ethnic minority or ethnic group; native language, literacy, schooling, whether or not attending school; number of children (live births), settlement and opstina of origin and the year of resettlement; occupation; occasional performance of other jobs to earn a living, socioeconomic status, activities and sources of income.

In addition to the data referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article, the following data shall also be gathered in the census:

1) on persons with permanent employment--data on the corporate name or title and registration number of the organization of associated labor and other organization or community as well as of the constituent unit in which they work, the level of their specialized education, how often they travel from the place where they work to the place where they live, and the amount of time they work away from the place where they live;

2) on secondary and postsecondary students attending school outside the settlement where they have their permanent residence--data on how often they return to that settlement;

3) on citizens of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia abroad--data on the name of the state where they live and on the time spent working for a foreign employer or in self-employment;

4) on citizens of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia abroad who returned before the census from employment with a foreign employer or self-employment abroad--data on time spent in that employment from 1965 up to the time of the census.

Article 4

Data on the following shall be gathered in the census of households: last name and first name of the person in whose name the household is recorded, members of the household and other persons residing in the household or happening to be in it at the moment of the census, and also the name of the settlement and street address where those persons do reside or happen to

be; the relationship of the various members of the household to the person in whose name the household is recorded; the legal basis for use of the dwelling, ownership of a building or dwelling for rest and recreation; existence of a well in the yard; business collaboration of members of the household with an agricultural cooperative or under other forms of association of private farmers or with an organization of associated labor; the area of own land, used land and arable land and principal data on the livestock herd, poultry, beehives, tractors and combines.

Article 5

In the census of housing data shall be gathered on the name of the settlement and street address where the dwelling is located; the floor area of the dwelling and the number of rooms, whether the dwelling has a kitchen, wiring and plumbing and toilet and bathroom, ownership of the dwelling, use of the dwelling (for residence, for rest and recreation, for conduct of a business activity), the story on which the dwelling is located, year of construction, type of building and material of the building's outside walls.

Article 6

An individual included in the census must give accurate and full answers to all the questions contained on the census forms.

Data on absent members of the household shall be furnished by the member of the household who is most familiar with such data, and on children under age 15 by one of the parents or guardians.

A person included in the census need not declare his nationality, ethnic minority or ethnic group, and the census form must contain a notice to that effect.

Article 7

If at the time of the census the censustaker does not find a person included in the census at home, and he is unable to gather the data in the manner envisaged in Article 6, Paragraph 2, of this law, he shall leave a written notice that that person must report to the competent agency by 20 April in order to furnish data related to the census.

Article 8

A basic and other organization of associated labor, an association and community of organizations of associated labor, a contract organization of associated labor, a bank, a community for insurance of property and persons or other financial organization, an agricultural or other cooperative, a self-managed special-interest community, an agency or organization of a sociopolitical community, a sociopolitical organization, any other public

organization, any other self-managed organization or community, or civic association must by 20 March 1981 furnish every worker employed in it data on a census form concerning the title or corporate name, address and registration number of the organization of associated labor or other organization or community and of the constituent unit in which he works and activities under which the organization or community is classified and the same data on a civic association, as well as the following data from labor records--data on schooling, occupation and level of specialized education of personnel.

Article 9

Persons designated as censustakers, instructors, supervisors or assigned to perform other tasks and jobs related to the census must participate as such in the census.

Article 10

The persons referred to in Article 9 of this law are required to keep as an official secret all data gathered from individuals pertaining to their person, family and property.

Article 11

The census shall be organized and conducted by the federal organization competent for statistical affairs, federal administrative agencies and federal organizations designated by this law, and by the competent agencies in the republics and the competent agencies in the autonomous provinces.

Article 12

The federal organization competent for statistical affairs, in collaboration with the competent agencies for statistical affairs of the republics and the competent agencies for statistical affairs of the autonomous provinces: shall work out the methodology of the census with uniform definitions of units and features and uniform classifications and content of processing and publication tables of interest to the entire country; shall work out the methodology and conduct statistical checking of the quality of the data gathered in the census; shall set forth uniform criteria for detection and automatic correction of errors in the census material; shall coordinate work to develop the logical checking program; shall coordinate work to develop tables for the uniform program of interest to the entire country.

The federal organization competent for statistical affairs shall provide the census material for the census of citizens of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia abroad and for the census of persons doing military service, shall work out the tables of the census results for the entire territory of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and shall publish

the results of the census under the uniform program, along with data of interest to the entire country.

Article 13

The federal administrative agency competent for national defense affairs shall organize and conduct the census of persons doing military service and of persons who are in military facilities at the time of the census.

Article 14

The federal administrative agency competent for foreign affairs shall organize and conduct the census of citizens of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia working in the following: diplomatic and consular missions of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia abroad; in wholly or partially Yugoslav-owned enterprises abroad; in wholly or partially Yugoslav-owned banks or financial organizations abroad; in wholly or partially Yugoslav-owned insurance or reinsurance organizations abroad; in permanent business units and temporary business units abroad; in joint economic representative offices abroad; in the United Nations and its organizations, as well as the census of citizens involved on the basis of international technical and other cooperation and members of households residing abroad with such persons.

Article 15

The federal organization competent for statistical affairs, the federal administrative agency competent for foreign affairs, the federal administrative agency competent for affairs of labor, health and social welfare and the federal organization competent for employment security affairs, in collaboration with the competent agencies in the republics and the competent agencies in the autonomous provinces, shall organize and conduct the census of citizens of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia working abroad for foreign employers or self-employed and members of households residing with them.

Article 16

The official who heads the federal organization competent for statistical affairs shall prescribe the contents of the necessary forms and shall furnish specialized and methodological instructions for the organization and conduct of the census.

The official who heads the federal organization competent for statistical affairs is required to obtain the following opinions before issuing the instructions referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article:

1) the opinion of the federal secretary for national defense--with respect to the census of military personnel and civilian employees of the Yugoslav People's Army and of persons doing military service,

2) the opinion of the official heading the federal administrative agency competent for foreign affairs--with respect to the census of the individuals referred to in Article 14 of this law,

3) the opinion of the official heading the federal administrative agency competent for foreign affairs, the opinion of the official heading the federal administrative agency competent for affairs of labor, health and social welfare and the opinion of the official who heads the federal organization competent for employment security affairs--with respect to the census of persons referred to in Article 15 of this law.

Article 17

The federal organization competent for statistical affairs shall publish the following:

1) the first results of the census for the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, the republics, the autonomous provinces and the opstinas--within 30 days from the date when the taking of the census is completed;

2) the results of the census of interest to the entire country--according to the program adopted for processing the data from 1 December 1981 to 30 June 1983.

Article 18

The federal organization competent for statistical affairs shall submit reports to the Assembly of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia on fulfillment of the Program of Tasks and Functions of Federal Agencies and Organizations in the 1981 Population, Household and Housing Census and on expenditure of funds to finance that program--by the end of the month of March of each year for the past year, and by the end of March 1984 it shall submit the final account of the funds spent.

Article 19

A basic or other organization of associated labor, association or community of organizations of associated labor, contract organization of associated labor, bank, community for insurance of property and persons or other financial organization, agricultural or other cooperative, self-managed special-interest community or other self-managed organization or community or civic association shall be fined no less than 5,000 and no more than 50,000 dinars for a misdemeanor if by 20 March 1981 it does not furnish every worker employed in it on the census form data on the name or corporate name, address, registration number of the organization of associated labor or other organization or community, as well as of the constituent unit in which they work and the activities in which it is classified or the activities of the civic association, and from labor records--data on schooling, occupation and the level of specialized training of personnel (Article 8).

The person responsible shall also be fined no less than 1,000 and no more than 5,000 dinars (Article 8) for a misdemeanor for the action referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article.

Article 20

The person responsible in the agency or organization of the sociopolitical community, in the sociopolitical organization or in the public organization which by 20 March 1981 does not furnish on the census form to every worker employed in it data on the name, address and registration number of the agency or organization in which he works and the activities in which it is classified, and from labor records--data on schooling, occupation and level of specialized education of personnel (Article 8)--shall also be fined no less than 1,000 and no more than 10,000 dinars for a misdemeanor.

Article 21

An individual as referred to in Article 9 of this law who in taking the census influences a citizen to declare against his will his nationality, ethnic minority or ethnic group shall be punished by a fine of 5,000 dinars or a prison sentence not to exceed 60 days (Article 9 in conjunction with Article 6, Paragraph 3).

Article 22

An individual as referred to in Article 9 of this law shall be fined no less than 500 and no more than 5,000 dinars for a misdemeanor if without good cause he refuses to participate in performing the tasks and functions referred to in that article.

Article 23

An individual included in the census who refuses to give data to a person as referred to in Article 9 of this law which are required by the census or who gives inaccurate data or prevents the verification of the data given (Articles 3, 4 and 5) shall be fined no less than 500 and no more than 5,000 dinars for a misdemeanor.

Article 24

This law shall take effect on the eighth day after publication in SLUZBENI LIST SFRJ.

7045
CSO: 2800

FEDERAL CHAMBER ISSUES CONCLUSIONS ON DELEGATE SYSTEM

Belgrade SLUZBENI LIST SFRJ in Serbo-Croatian No 41, 25 Jul 80 pp 1333-1335

[Conclusions issued by the Federal Chamber in Belgrade on 17 July 1980 and signed by Federal Chamber President Stana Tomasevic-Arnesen]

[Text] On the basis of Article 136 of the Operating Procedure of the SFRY Assembly and Article 219 of the Operating Procedure of the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly, the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly, in a session on 17 July 1980, upon examination of the material entitled "Certain Issues in Achieving the Delegate Assembly System and Tasks of Assemblies" and the material entitled "Certain Experiences in the Work of the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly on the Delegate Basis," issued the following

Conclusions

1. In the functioning of the assemblies of sociopolitical communities on the delegate basis so far worthwhile experience has been gained that constitutes a significant basis for further construction and improvement of the delegate assembly system and for more effective performance of the role of various social entities in that system.

The delegate assembly system is being confirmed more and more as a significant factor toward strengthening the self-management position of the workers and of their basic organizations and communities, for expression and self-management reconciliation of their interests and needs and for their ever broader inclusion in the process of policy formulation and decisionmaking in assemblies of sociopolitical communities.

However, experience so far also indicates a number of difficulties and problems in achieving the delegate assembly system. After all, the effective functioning of that system is most firmly related to development of self-management socioeconomic relations in organizations of associated labor and in society at large, to the material base of associated labor, to achievement of the constitutional status of the working class and of all working people in the management of income and the governance of society as a whole, to the effectiveness of the institutions of the political system

and to broader practice of conclusion of social compacts and self-management accords to resolve social issues, and also to strengthening social oversight in the conduct of the established policy. However, the functioning and further development of the delegate assembly system should also be examined in the context of socioeconomic relations as a whole, and specifically in their most direct relation to achievement of the policy of economic stabilization.

2. In connection with the functioning and achievement of the delegate assembly system as a whole there is a need for all working people and citizens in self-managed organizations and communities and in sociopolitical organizations, and also their delegations and delegates, as well as the assemblies of sociopolitical communities--to critically examine experience gained so far in the exercise of their rights and discharge of their obligations and responsibilities and to set forth specific programs of measures and activities to overcome more rapidly the definite dilemmas, shortcomings and difficulties that exist in achievement of that system.

There is accordingly a need for the following:

a) through appropriate measures and activities within organizations of associated labor and other self-managed organizations and communities to create and guarantee conditions for exercise of the rights and discharge of the duties and responsibilities of delegations, for adoption of basic views on the basis of the interests of the working people and citizens expressed through self-management, for linkage of delegations and for adoption of joint positions governing the work of delegates, as well as for these activities to be stimulated through the measures and activities of assemblies of sociopolitical communities;

b) in assemblies of sociopolitical communities for more complete regulation of the basic issues important to the functioning of assemblies on the delegate basis (method of informing and involving delegations in the proceedings and decisionmaking of assemblies, programming the work of assemblies, the rights of delegations in so-called legislative initiative, the role of delegations and delegates in the procedure of adopting legislation, the obligations and tasks of executive and administrative organs related to the functioning of delegations and assemblies on the delegate basis, etc.);

c) for further improvement of cooperation of assemblies of sociopolitical communities in connection with coordinating and synchronizing their work programs, coordinating basic solutions in the procedure of adoption of legislation and other matters important to the coordinated operation of the assembly system and performance of their functions in the procedure for statement of policy and adoption of legislation, in overseeing enforcement of the stated policy and legislation, in the exercise of policy control over the work of executive and administrative organs and in other matters of common interest.

3. With respect to the functioning of the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly on the delegate basis, the chamber, its working bodies and delegates shall strive to carry out the following program of measures and activities:

First--if the delegates in the Federal Chamber and thereby the chamber itself are to have the most direct and firmest ties with their delegate base in self-management, the following are particularly necessary:

i. the fullest possible linkage of delegations of self-managed organizations and communities and sociopolitical organizations in the republic or autonomous province in order to formulate positions governing the work of delegates in the Federal Chamber, this to be done through conferences of delegations and delegates in the chambers of assemblies of opstinas and assemblies of republics and autonomous provinces and other forms of relation of delegations and delegates, with the vigorous participation of sociopolitical organizations;

ii. encouragement of delegations and their self-managed organizations and communities to take the initiative and submit proposals in the procedure for preparation of the work programs and plans of the Federal Chamber and to ensure their vigorous participation in examination of those programs and plans, whereupon, after their adoption, the delegations would bring their own work plans into conformity with the topics and dates in the work program of the Federal Chamber in which they have an interest;

iii. in the procedure for reexamination and amendment of the provisions of the Operating Procedure of the Federal Chamber particular attention should be paid in the current proceedings of the chamber to the questions of procedure for preparation and adoption of legislation, in which more appropriate participation and role should be furnished to delegations and to the forms of their relation to delegates (beginning with initiatives and proposals for adoption all the way to adoption of legislation, ensuring a more vigorous role of the chamber and its working bodies in examination and monitoring of the conduct of policy and enforcement of legislation and establishment of the obligations of the Federal Executive Council and federal administrative agencies), as well as to matters important to synchronizing the work and to cooperation of the Federal Chamber with assemblies of sociopolitical communities, with sociopolitical organizations and with other social entities;

iv. self-managed organizations and communities and sociopolitical organizations in the republic or autonomous province should regularly monitor the work of their delegates in the Federal Chamber, and it is the duty of the delegates to completely and regularly inform them about their individual and joint work in the Federal Chamber and its working bodies;

v. along with work on amendments of the SFRY Constitution, work should also be undertaken on those amendments and supplements to the Operating Procedure of the SFRY Assembly and the Operating Procedure of the Federal

Chamber, which, implementing the initiative toward further improvement of collective work, decisionmaking and responsibility, would ensure consistent implementation of those principles and arrangements in the organization and proceedings of the Federal Chamber and its working bodies.

Second--that forms of cooperation of the Federal Chamber and its working bodies with the assemblies of the republics and autonomous provinces and their working bodies be further developed and improved, and specifically the following:

i. particular topics and tasks in the work programs and plans of the Federal Chamber would be coordinated from the standpoint of time and manner of their realization with the same or similar topics contained in the work programs of republic and provincial assemblies, especially when the latter assemblies have an interest in simultaneous legislative or other activity in the particular area;

ii. that their collaboration be manifested still more in monitoring the conduct of policy and in setting forth policy governing enforcement of laws and other general enactments, again a matter in which they have their common interests;

iii. that the Federal Chamber and its working bodies encourage and take under consideration initiatives, opinions and proposals on matters submitted by various republic and provincial assemblies and their working bodies.

Third--that tasks and obligations and also operating procedures of the Federal Chamber and federal administrative agencies be brought into conformity with the needs of the operation of the Federal Chamber on the delegate basis. The following are necessary in this regard:

i. insistence that the Federal Executive Council and federal administrative agencies, when they are preparing and presenting materials for the needs of the Federal Chamber (summaries, clearer supporting arguments, alternative proposals, indication of the social and material consequences of the solutions proposed, and so on) make it possible for delegations and delegates to enter more easily into the essence of the issues and problems raised in the proposed legislation and material, thereby making it easier for them to take a position on them. Accordingly, material which has not been prepared in conformity with the provisions of the Operating Procedure of the SFRY Assembly and Operating Procedure of the Federal Chamber shall be rejected for consideration more consistently than in the past;

ii. without detracting from the role of proposals and initiatives coming from the Federal Executive Council and federal administrative agencies, legislative and other initiatives and proposals of delegations and delegates and of self-managed organizations and communities shall be manifested to a greater extent in the work of the Federal Chamber and its working bodies, and the working bodies of the chamber shall on the particular topics

in the work program take over certain tasks and thereby the role of proponents of individual laws and other general legislation. In so doing they are to have the full professional and other assistance of federal administrative agencies and the Federal Executive Council;

iii. the Federal Executive Council shall ensure organized and timely discharge of the obligations which it and federal administrative agencies have assumed in carrying out the work program of the Federal Chamber and shall regularly inform the Federal Chamber concerning cases of and reasons for justified postponement and overrunning of the deadlines which have been fixed, which must more and more be exceptions in future work.

Fourth--the Federal Chamber and its working bodies should collaborate on an ongoing basis with sociopolitical organizations and their organs and forms of activity both in the procedure of preparing and adopting the work program and also on matters of common interest as set forth in work programs. Accordingly, the Federal Chamber and its working bodies shall devote full attention to initiatives, proposals and opinions of sociopolitical organizations at the federal level.

4. These conclusions shall be published in SLUZBENI LIST SFRJ.

7045
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END

JPRS 76573

8 October 1980

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1847

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8 October 1980

EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1817

CONTENTS

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Briefs
Bulgarian Embassy Reception 1

ALBANIA

Order Regulates Navigation in Territorial, Inner Waters
(GAZETA ZYRTARE, Jun 80) 2

BULGARIA

Definition of Elements Considered as State Secret
(DURZHAVEN VESTNIK, 19 Aug 80) 9

Relations Between Bulgaria, Iraq Improving
(Petko Loukanov; BULGARIA TODAY, No 9, 1980) 16

Decree Allows Practice of Small Businesses, Trade
(DURZHAVEN VESTNIK, 22 Jul 80) 18

Example of Blatant Irresponsibility Noted
(Petur Khvurchilkov; TRANSPORTEN GLAS, 13 Aug 80) 24

Causes for Frequent Breakdowns of Armored Vehicles Examined
(VOENNA TEKHNIKA, No 7, 1980) 27

Struggle Against Accidents, by Penyu Kostadinov
Engine Breakdowns, by Krasimir Milanov

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Mission, Composition of People's Police Alert Units Described
(INFORMATIONEN, Aug 80) 36

HUNGARY

Biographic Sketches of Ministry of Culture Officials Published
(KOZNEVELES, 5 Sep 80) 39

POLAND

Commentary on 'More Efficient' Weapons Race Noted
(Editorial Report) 42

ROMANIA

Ministers, Delegates Speak at Peoples Councils Congress
(Various sources, 12, 13 Sep 80) 43

Second Congress Meets
Defense Chief on Cutting Costs, by Vasile Milea
Fight Against 'Parasites,Traffickers', by George Homostean
'Blasphemers' of Classical Writers Condemned, by Paul Anghel
Role of Trade Unions Discussed, by Emil Bobu
Assignment of New Workers Cited, by Sara Santa
Minister Cites Health Problems, by Eugen Proca
'Significant Shortfalls' in Agriculture, by Angelo Miculescu
Shortcomings of Trade Network, by Ana Muresan
Housing Problems in Foscani, by Alexandrina Mocanu
Shortcomings of Young Workers, by Pantelimon Gavanescu
Harmful Television Programs Scored, by Nicolae Gonea
Dialogue With Citizens, by Victor Bordea

Regulations on Discarding of Military Equipment
(BULETINUL OFICIAL, 8 Sep 80) 60

Heroic Efforts of Firefighters Hailed by Commander
(Gheorghe Bricaeg; SCINTEIA, 13 Sep 80) 62

Theater Season Receives Critical Review
(Valentin Silvestru; CONTEMPORANUL, 6 Jun 80) 64

Briefs
Earthquake in Galati 67
Libyan Anniversary Reception 67
Alba Iulia Bishop 67
Orthodox Church Officials 67

YUGOSLAVIA

Policemen Indicted for Murder of Bystander
(Editorial Report) 68

BRIEFS

BULGARIAN EMBASSY RECEPTION--Bucharest, 9 Sep (AGERPRES)--On the 36th anniversary of the victorious socialist revolution in Bulgaria, Petur Danailov, ambassador of that country in Bucharest, gave a reception on September 9. Attending were Virgil Cazacu, member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP, Ion Patan, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, deputy prime minister, Leonte Rautu, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, other Romanian officials. [Text] [AU111956 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1830 GMT 9 Sep 80]

CSO: 2020

ORDER REGULATES NAVIGATION IN TERRITORIAL, INNER WATERS

Tirana GAZETA ZYRTARE in Albanian No 3, Jun 80 pp 47-54

[Council of Ministers Order No 2 of 2 May 1980 "On the Regulations on Navigation in the Territorial Waters and the Inner Waters of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania"]

[Text] The Council of Ministers, on the basis of Article 6 of Decree No 4650 of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of 9 March 1970 "On the Border of the People's Republic of Albania," amended by Decree No 6181 of 26 April 1980, issues this order:

I. General Provisions

Article 1

The passage of foreign non-military vessels into the territorial waters of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania is peaceful when it does not damage the social system and security of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and its economic interests.

Article 2

Foreign non-military vessels which have the right of peaceful transit are allowed to pass through the territorial waters of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania on their way to other countries, traveling parallel with the base line of the inner waters no closer than 3 miles to this line, with the exception of the Strait of Corfu, where passage is in the middle of the canal.

Foreign non-military vessels which are headed for the open ports of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania sail along routes established by the harbor offices.

Article 3

The open ports of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania in which the entry and docking of foreign non-military vessels are permitted are: Durres, Vlore and Sarande and their bays.

The following sea and land regions are forbidden areas: Bishti i Palles, Dukati Bay, Palermo, Sazan Island, Limjoni and Shengjini. The regulations for entry, travel and docking in prohibited zones for ships of the merchant fleet and the fishing fleet of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, for the means of communication and for Albanian citizens are determined by the Ministry of People's Defense.

Article 4

The Ministry of People's Defense, for training purposes, stipulates that some sea regions be closed temporarily to navigation and game fishing, notifying the office of the captain of the ports 10 days in advance so that the appropriate announcements can be made.

Article 5

Foreign non-military vessels which sail in the territorial waters of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania must keep their state flag raised and when they sail in the inner waters and are headed for open ports they must also fly the state flag of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. At night they must keep their navigation lights lit in accordance with international regulations.

Article 6

Foreign non-military vessels cannot engage in hydrological and hydrographic studies, in photographing, filming, game fishing and other operations of any type in the territorial waters or the inner waters of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania without the permission of Albanian state organs.

Article 7

Foreign non-military vessels, which enter into the territorial waters and the inner waters without the permission of the Council of Ministers of the People Socialist Republic of Albania, are dealt with in accordance with the orders of the Ministry of People's Defense.

Article 8

Merchant ships, fishing vessels and those belonging to other Albanian organizations, during their movement from a port or from one place on the Albanian coast to another, are obliged to sail along coastal routes established by the harbor offices. Fishing vessels are not allowed to fish in prohibited regions.

Article 9

Regulations on the navigation and entry and exit of vessels of the Navy of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania in the ports and the coastal bays are established by the Ministry of People's Defense.

Article 10

The marine hydrographic service places and maintains the coastal lights and other signals needed for navigation in the coastal areas, in the territorial waters and in the inner waters. The harbor offices, the state organs and enterprises in the coastal area are obliged to help to repair, place and service the lights and other signals in the water and on the coast and to extinguish any other lights similar to these signals and to stop the setting up of objects which obstruct the view.

Military units which have lighthouses in their areas are obliged to put the lights on and extinguish them at the proper time.

II. Regulations on the Permitting of the Navigation and Docking of Foreign Ships and Albanian Ships

Article 11

The crossing of the border of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania to the seaports, through the border crossing control points, takes place in accordance with the instructions of the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

Article 12

The harbor offices of the open ports must give notification in writing to the command of the unit responsible for the protection of the sea border and to the port authority 24 hours before the arrival or departure of foreign ships and Albanian ships engaged in foreign navigation and immediately after their actual arrival and departure. This notification must contain: "the name of the ship, the time of arrival, the state flag, the type and tonnage of the ship and the number of crew members and passengers.

Article 13

The harbor offices, in the case of movement within the territorial waters and the inner waters of merchant and tourist and tourist ships and vessels belonging to other Albanian organizations and the managements of fishing enterprises, in the case of fishing ships, will submit, on a daily basis, to the command of the appropriate sea border protection unit and the port authority, a schedule for the ships' movements for the next day, indicating: the name of the ship and its captain, the time of departure, the destination, the estimated time of arrival and the estimated time that the fishing vessels will remain in the fishing grounds.

For urgent economic reasons and in unforeseen circumstances, the reporting of the above information takes place immediately and the departure of the vessel is not delayed.

The harbor offices and the managements of the fishing enterprises, with the arrival of a vessel in dry dock, will immediately notify the appropriate sea border protection command and the port authority.

Article 14

When fishing vessels must leave the restricted fishing area in order to follow the fish, they must immediately notify, by radio or other means of communication, their enterprises, which must then notify the appropriate border guard command and port authority of their delay in returning to the fishing zone.

Article 15

The Ministry of Communications and the Ministry of Light Industry and the Food Industry provide radio stations for all vessels of the merchant fleet and fishing fleet, with the exception of motor boats.

The General Directorate of Posts and Telecommunications will organize and ensure uninterrupted radio communications at the frequencies stipulated in the nomenclature of the coastal stations, so that foreign ships and vessels of the merchant fleet and the fishing fleet can establish communication whenever they enter for work. Foreign ships and vessels of the merchant and fishing fleet give immediate notification of their exact location, while the coastal radio station notifies the harbor offices where the station is operating, in the case of foreign ships, and notifies the appropriate enterprises, in the case of vessels of the merchant fleet and fishing ships of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

The ships are obliged to carry out the requirements of the coastal station. The harbor offices, the fishing enterprises and the Directorate of the Merchant Fleeet organize 24-hour service. They report to the unit responsible for the protection of the sea border and to the port authority organ the information which they receive from the radio stations in regard to the movement of ships of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

Until the fishing vessels are supplied with radio stations, the fishing activity is organized on the basis of groups of ships, thus assuring continuing communication with the radio stations of the coastal communications system.

Article 16

The Ministry of People's Defense, in order to assure the recognition of the vessels belonging to Albanian enterprises and organizations and help them in case of need, will establish signals for conversations between Albanian vessels and coastal observation posts.

Article 17

If merchant ships and fishing vessels belonging to Albanian enterprises and organizations notice in the territorial and inner waters mines or other dangerous exploding objects, they must immediately inform the

management of their enterprise, while keeping the object under constant observation until the arrival of the specialists or ships designed for this purpose. The enterprise management must immediately notify the military command charged with guarding the coast and the organ of the port authority so that appropriate measures can be taken.

Article 18

Ships and other sailing means of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania have the right to dock in the [as printed] as well as in other coastal areas established by the Ministry of People's Defense. The docking of ships and sailing means at other areas of the coast, with the exception of prohibited zones, is permitted after the notification of the border unit commands.

Article 19

Small boats belonging to enterprises, agricultural cooperatives, and social organizations must remain docked and guarded during the entire period they are not in use. During the period they are being used they will remain anchored at sea and supervised by those who operate them.

Small boats that are not administered by fishing enterprises can be used only in restricted coastal areas and only by authorized persons. The area and the period of navigation will be established by the local government organs in cooperation with the coastal commands. Small boats administered by fishing enterprises can be used by persons authorized by the directorates of the enterprises.

III. Regulations on the Examination of Albanian and Foreign Ships

Article 20

At the time of the arrival in dry dock and the departure from the port of foreign ships and Albanian vessels engaged in foreign navigation, the harbor offices, the border organs of the port, the health, customs and sea agency organs must carry out an examination of the credentials of the crew, the passengers, the cargo, the documents and of the health situation.

After the examination is completed, action is taken in accordance with provisions in force.

Article 21

The sea border service of the navy will exercise control over the implementation of the provisions regarding the navigation of foreign and Albanian non-military ships sailing in inner and territorial waters. In open ports and their bays the control will be made by the harbor offices and the border port authorities.

Article 22

The sea border service of the navy has the right to investigate the peaceful nature of the navigation of foreign ships and the observance of navigation regulations by them in the territorial and inner waters of the People's Republic of Albania. If the intentions of foreign ships are not peaceful or if they violate navigation regulations, they must be stopped, directed outside the territorial waters, or brought into the nearest open port, where they will be turned over to the harbor offices or investigating authorities.

Article 23

Albanian ships, when applying navigation regulations in inner and territorial waters, have the duty when they see any foreign or Albanian ship violate these rules to immediately inform the management of their enterprise which will inform the appropriate sea border protection command unit.

Article 24

Non-military foreign vessels which violate the navigation regulations are taken by the border protection vessels of the navy, escorted to the nearest open port and handed over to the organs of the harbor offices and the port authority organ. A procesverbal will be drawn up for the illegal activities; it will be read and signed by the representative of the border protection ship and by the captain of the non-military foreign ship and an interpreter will be provided if necessary. One copy of the procesverbal, if requested, will be given to the captain of the foreign ship and a copy will be given to the harbor office and the organ of the port authority.

Article 25

Albanian ships violating navigation regulations will receive a warning. If the violations are serious and repeated, they will be escorted to the nearest port where they will be investigated by the respective authority.

Article 26

When a foreign non-military ship or an Albanian ship, during navigation in territorial or inner waters suffers an accident or is sinking, it will be allowed to dock at the nearest port or other areas on the Albanian coast stipulated for such a purpose.

The places where ships, foreign or domestic, can be docked in the above situation are:

a) The open ports and their bays (by the Ministry of Communication);

b) Other coastal points (by the Ministry of People's Defense).

IV. Final Provisions

Article 27

The violation of this ordinance, if it does not constitute a penal act will be subject to a fine according to the provisions of the Decree on Harbor Offices.

Article 28

Council of Ministers Order No 1 of 26 January 1962, "On the Regulation of Navigation in the Territorial and Inner Waters of the People's Republic of Albania," is abrogated.

Article 29

This ordinance becomes effective 15 days after its publication in GAZETA ZYRTARE.

Chairman of the Council of Ministers
Mehmet Shehu

CSO: 2100

DEFINITION OF ELEMENTS CONSIDERED AS STATE SECRET

Sofia DURZHAVEN VESTNIK in Bulgarian 19 Aug 80 pp 765-767

[List of Facts, Information, and Objects Considered as State Secret of the Bulgarian People's Republic (approved by Decree No 30 of the Council of Ministers dated 4 June 1980)]

[Text] Information Related to the Defense of the Country

1. Information on the location, movements, names, numbers, organization, and table of organization and listed strength of the personnel, systems for the management and material and financial support of the armed forces of the republic, entirely as well as for the individual arms and branches of troops, formations, large units, units, subunits, ships, offices, establishments, and military sites.

2. Information on the condition, dimensions, capacity, number and location of naval bases, base and control centers, coastal defense, the lighthouse and hydrographic service, military airports and landing sites, navy ships, protection of state borders, antiaircraft defense, and other military sites, institutions, and establishments.

Information on the total handling capacity of sea and river ports, the condition of the ships of individual shipping administrations and the country at large, and the capacity of shipbuilding, ship repair, and aircraft repair enterprises.

3. Information on the battle and mobilization readiness, combat training, moral-political condition and combat capability, combat support, armaments, communications facilities, military transportation and availability of fuels and lubricants by the armed forces of the republic at large and for the individual branches and arms of troops, formations, large units, units, subunits, ships, and military sites, and data on the tactical-technical possibilities and combat utilization of armaments and other combat and support equipment.

4. Information on operative-tactical and tactical-technical assignments and requests for new experimental prototypes of armaments and other combat

and auxiliary equipment, and information on the adoption of such prototypes as armaments.

Information on strategic, operative, and tactical concepts of warfare and combat activities and documents (regulations, instructions, reports, etc.) presenting such concepts. Information on exercises conducted.

5. Information on materials used by the Ministry of National Defense and Ministry of Internal Affairs, on increase or decrease of their stocks, on warehouses for armaments and ammunition, and on financial allocations.

Summarized information on quantities of liquid fuels and lubricants allocated and delivered to meet the requirements of the Ministry of National Defense and Ministry of Internal Affairs, and the other forces.

6. Information on exceptional incidents, accidents, and breakdowns involving armed forces personnel and combat equipment of the armed forces of the republic and the individual branches and arms of forces, units, and military sites.

7. Information or documents on talks, treaties, or agreements with Warsaw Pact members or with other countries, related to the country's defense.

8. Information on the number of young people subject to and fit for military service in the armed forces and the construction and other forces, for the country at large or by military district.

Information on reserve personnel subject to military training and on already trained personnel.

9. Information on the mobilization or operative plans of the armed forces of the country at large and by individual arm and branch of forces, units, and military sites and information, long-term plans, directives, reports, legal documents, and accountability information on their operative, combat, and mobilization readiness.

10. Information on mobilization and operative plans, estimates, projects, and measures related to insuring the defense capability of the country along the lines of state administration, industry, transportation, communications, and other national economic sectors.

Information, plans, and documents on the organization, management, condition of training and combat readiness, evacuation and dispersal, defense equipment and other measures related to insuring the country's civil defense.

11. Information on the amounts, composition, condition, location, and purpose of mobilization reserves of all types (manpower reserves, animals, materials, transport facilities, and others) for the armed forces of the country at large and for the individual arms and branches of the forces, formations, large units, units, subunits, and military sites and data on the evacuation of economic organizations, branches, offices, and others.

12. Topographic maps and charts whatever their scale, their copies, catalogues, lists, and other documents with coordinates of points of the astronomical, triangulation, gravimetric and magnetic grid of the country, values of the force of gravity and its anomalies, vertical level deviations, height of the quasigeoid, and material and data making it possible to draft such charts and maps or compute such coordinates.

All types of special charts and maps and their prints and copies based on topographic charts of all scales.

Aerial films and photographs, their copies, and ground panoramic or perspective photographs of military sites, the sea coastal strip, industrial areas, industrial sites, and other sites of national importance and photographs which could be used for topographic purposes.

Information on data provided by earth satellites from stations related to state systems of coordinates and summarized information on the depth, topography, and nature of sea and river bottoms and elements determining the hydrological system of coastal waters (with the exception of fairways used in international navigation).

13. Information on the precise location of electric power plants, dams, water sources, hydroengineering installations, treatment stations, tracks of principal water mains supplying or planned for the supply of water to big cities, railroad junctions, and major industrial centers.

Data on installations along rivers and convenient areas for river fording by troops.

14. Information on discoveries, inventions, rationalization suggestions, and research and experimental work in science and technology of importance to the country's defense.

Information Related to the Country's Internal Security and Foreign Policy

15. Information on duly classified foreign and domestic policy based on the fact that knowledge of such information by someone else could harm the interests of the country.

Information on the political-economic and military condition of foreign countries, based on unpublished data, and whose dissemination could result in diplomatic complications.

16. Information on the composition, combat readiness, combat training, moral-political condition, combat capability, strength, and deployment of cadres, and on the organization and nature of the tasks, and ways and means of the operative work of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and its units, as well as information on their armaments.

17. State codes, aids, installations, means of operation, and coded data.

Economic Information

18. Information or documents which, by decision of CEMA and other intergovernmental organs have been proclaimed confidential, as well as information and documents on bilateral or multilateral intergovernmental agreements.

19. Location of defense industry enterprises, general plans and technical specifications of enterprises producing military goods; size of their personnel and amount of their wage fund, as well as information on military output and related production capacities; draft plans and plans for the production and delivery of equipment and materials.

20. Summarized information on production capacities, plans, and reports on their implementation in physical terms related to the production of special items by industrial sector.

21. Information on the organizational-technical and programmed defense of control and information systems of departments and higher maangement organs.

22. Information on mastering the production of military items and the development of mobilization capacities for the production of military equipment and ammunition by economic organizations and their branches.

23. Information on construction projects directly related to the defense of the country and the military industry.

24. Information on the availability, stockpiling, and location of stored state material reserves.

25. Information on stockpiles, production capacities, production of rare, radioactive, dispersed, and superpure metals, their export and import in physical and cash terms, and the location of deposits of radioactive and rare earth elements.

26. Information on proven nonferrous and precious metal deposits and on the growth of proven large individual deposits.

Information on production capacities, plans for the production of nonferrous and precious metals, concentrations and products containing such

metals, and reports on the implementation of such plans in physical terms for the country at large and the individual economic organizations and their branches.

27. Information on available and necessary liquid fuels and lubricants for the country at large and summarized information on the locations and capacity of basic facilities for their storage.

Information on production capacities and annual and long-term plans and reports on petroleum refining and production of petroleum products for the country at large.

Summarized information, plans, and charts on the precise location of the tracks and principal installations among main pipelines for the transportation of gas and petroleum products.

Summarized information on equipment insuring control of the country's energy system.

28. Discoveries, inventions, and research and experimental work in the fields of science and technology of major scientific and national economic significance before a permit for their publication has been issued.

Transportation and Communications

29. Information on the handling and hauling capacity of railroad tracks and individual railroad sections, and on the processing capacity of marshalling and section railroad stations and peak train traffic schedules.

Summarized information on automation and telemechanic installations within the transport control system.

30. Information on the quantity, type, capacity, and technical condition of the transportation rolling stock--locomotive engines, railroad cars and trucks, on the Ministry of Transport, the special departments, and the country at large.

Overall situation plans and charts of railroad tracks, railroad junctions, marshalling yards and section railroad stations, airfields, maritime and riverine ports, railroad bridges with spans exceeding 20 meters and bridges over 50 meters long along the highways, and data on their special equipment.

31. Summarized information on the numerical strength and condition of flying and technical facilities, number of all types of airplanes and helicopters, information on the airport network, the quality, type of equipment, and handling capacity of individual airfields and airfields in general, and on the country's civilian air fleet.

32. Information on the capacity, type and number of telegraph-telephone and radio relay lines, television, radio communications and radiobroadcasting stations and other facilities related to the country's defense preparations in terms of communications.

33. Summarized information on mobile and fixed telegraph and telephone equipment and television, radio and radio relay stations of individual okrugs, main lines, directions, and the country at large.

Information on the internal breakdown of radio communications frequencies.

Finances and Trade

34. Information on the gold and foreign exchange stock, the monetary circulation in the country, and the means for protecting the currency from forgeries.

35. Information on the cash and foreign currency plan and the payment and accounts balance of the republic in absolute figures.

Information on the annual and quarterly foreign exchange plans of ministries and departments.

Information on granting foreign exchange loans for imports, including contracts for such loans prior to the conclusion of the deal.

Summarized information on foreign loans used or granted by the country.

Summarized information on losses from economic activities on a national scale and analyses of losses.

36. Information on state budget outlays for planned losses and expenditures directly related to the country's defense.

37. Consolidated balances of financial results from the foreign trade activities of the Ministry of Foreign Trade and their form documents.

38. Information on deadlines for deliveries, approved on the basis of a plan or document of the Council of Ministers for equipment and materials in short supply and licenses to be imported from foreign countries, as well as directives and opinions on conditions for the conclusion of foreign trade deals.

39. The annual and quarterly import and export plans for the country at large and for ministries, other departments and foreign trade organizations for the following indicators: type, on a national scale, foreign exchange value, planned prices and export returns, and accountability data revealing the content of such plan indicators.

Summarized information and studies regarding the condition, long-term plans and forecasts of the development of foreign trade as well as other summarized data on imports and exports, knowledge of which would harm or could harm the country's interests.

5003
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RELATIONS BETWEEN BULGARIA, IRAQ IMPROVING

Sofia BULGARIA TODAY in English No 9, 1980 p 9

[Article by Petko Loukanov: "Mutual Interest, Good Possibilities"]

[Text]

The Republic of Iraq is one of the Middle East countries with which the People's Republic of Bulgaria is continually expanding her political, economic and cultural relations, ones based on equality, mutual respect and benefit. Traditional friendly relations between the two peoples have been expanding with every passing year, covering ever new spheres of cooperation.

Bulgarian-Iraqi relations received a powerful impetus in their fruitful development after Comrade Todor Zhivkov's visit to Iraq in 1974 and again in May 1980 and his meetings with the Iraqi leaders. Along the same line the visit paid to Bulgaria in 1975 by Saddam Hussein, Deputy General Secretary of the Regional Leadership of the Arab Socialist BAATH Party and President of the Iraqi Republic, was an important contribution to the expansion of friendly cooperation.

The following documents were signed during Comrade Todor Zhivkov's visit to Iraq last spring:

– A plan for cooperation between the Bulgarian Communist Party and the Arab Socialist BAATH Party for the period 1980-1981.
– An economic and techno-scientific cooperation agreement.
– A long-term programme for the development of trade, industrial, and techno-scientific cooperation.
– The protocol of the Mixed Bulgarian-Iraqi Committee of Economic and Techno-Scientific Cooperation.

Cooperation between the two countries is regulated by a number of intergovernmental agreements, the main features of which are trade, the supply of complete projects, designing, construction, land improvement schemes and geological surveys.

Trade plays the principal part in Bulgarian-Iraqi economic and commercial relations. Trade in 1979 was double what it was in 1978. Thus the Iraqi Republic is in the top three countries of the 75 developing countries which are among Bulgaria's trade partners. There are conditions for a still greater expansion of trade and for diversifying the export lists. Machines and equipment for industrial purposes predominate in Bulgaria's exports to Iraq (about 50 per cent) followed by foodstuffs, products of the light industry and other goods.

Bulgaria was one of the first countries in the world to purchase oil from Iraq after the nationalisation of the Iraqi Petroleum Company in June 1972. We also import sulphur,

dates, sheep skins and other products.

Long-term contracts have now come to the fore in the economic relations between the two countries. The agreements signed on the development of economic, techno-scientific and cultural cooperation give wide scope for cooperation and specialization in industry, for the training of specialists and for the exchange of experience in various spheres of the national economy.

Bulgarian civil engineers and building workers are well known in Iraq. Through the Technoexportstroi Co. a number of projects have been built and brought on stream there. Nearly 30 bridges, the international airport of Baghdad, highways, the sewerage system of Baghdad, 180 km long, and the Dialla irrigation system are real symbols of Bulgarian-Iraqi friendship. New monuments in ancient Mesopotamia are the bridges spanning the Rivers Tigris and Euphrates.

There are big possibilities in agriculture and land improvement. Bulgaria's extensive experience in building up industrialized agriculture can be of use to the developing countries.

The Agrocomplekt State Firm is fulfilling contracts to build the irrigation-drainage fields of Shahemia and Suwera. The Bulgargeomin State Economic Corporation is making seismic and drilling surveys, prospecting for oil and gas. This organization, in cooperation with Technoimport is building the oil pipeline and oil products depots in Russafa al-Jadida. These two projects are the first attempt of several countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance to undertake joint construction work in Iraq. The Soviet Tsvetometpromexport organisation is supplying most of the material necessary for the construction. Without doubt the cooperation between the two countries will continue to expand at accelerated rates in the future. For, as Todor Zhivkov, First Secretary of the CC of the BCP and President of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria said, Bulgarian-Iraqi friendship 'has sound roots, because it is based not only on mutually beneficial bilateral cooperation, but also on our common struggle against imperialism, colonialism and reaction, for peace, security and understanding in the world.'

PETKO LOUKANOV

Saddam Hussein, Secretary of the Regional Leadership of the Arab Socialist BAATH Party and President of the Iraqi Republic, welcoming Todor Zhivkov, First Secretary of the CC of the BCP and President of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, at Baghdad Airport, May 1980

CSO: 2020

DECREE ALLOWS PRACTICE OF SMALL BUSINESSES, TRADE

Sofia DURZHAVEN VESTNIK in Bulgarian 22 Jul 80 pp 633-635

[Council of Ministers Decree No 37 of 3 July 1980 for Exercising of Artisan and Trade Activity by Citizens]

[Text] The Council of Ministers decreed:

Single Article. (1) Approves an ordinance allowing small trade and artisan businesses by citizens.

(2) The minister of finance:

1. Specifies jointly with the minister of internal trade and services the mandatory documents necessary for the persons in business falling under this ordinance;

2. Specifies the order and manner of imposing taxes and fees on the persons involved according to the preceding item.

Chairman of the Council of Ministers St. Todorov

Chief Secretary of the Council of Ministers Iv. Shpatov

Ordinance on Trade and Artisan Business by Citizens.

Section I

Artisan Activity.

Article 1. (1) Citizens may have artisan business involving services and production of small articles for public consumption, as well as art objects created by art professionals by observing this ordinance as well as other normative acts.

(2) The socialist organizations may assign by contract to licensed artisans the production of deficit goods, semifinished products and spare parts by supplying them with the necessary raw and other materials.

Article 2. (1) Artisan services that may be performed by citizens are determined by the executive committee of the obshtina (district) people's council on the basis of nomenclature and normatives on consumption approved by the Ministry of Internal Trade and Services.

(2) In view of meeting specific needs in some inhabited places as well as in cases of nonexistent government or cooperative organizations for performing specific services, the obshtina (district) people's councils may allow artisan services by citizens not bound by the nomenclature and normatives of the preceding paragraph.

(3) Small articles for public consumption that may be produced by artisans and other citizens are determined by the executive committees of the obshtina (district) people's councils whereas art objects produced by art professionals, by the Ministry of Internal Trade and Services and the Committee on Culture.

Article 3. (1) Artisan work may be done only by persons who are competent and have the appropriate professional qualifications.

(2) Competency or professional qualifications are certified by master of craft certificate, diploma for specialized education, certificate for retirement in the respective field or completed schooling or courses, or by other documents specified by a normative act.

(3) Certificate for competency or professional qualifications is not needed for work not requiring special qualifications such as shoe shining, chimney sweeping, house cleaning and others of the same type.

(4) The chairman of the executive committee of the obshtina (district) people's council may make an exception and allow artisan work by persons who have long experience in the respective field but do not have a certificate for competency or professional qualifications.

Article 4. (1) Permission for artisan work is given to:

1. Disabled soldiers or partisans;

2. Persons trained under the auspices of TELK [Labor Expert Medical Commission];

3. Retirees;

4. Citizens who work by contract on the side, not during worktime;

5. Citizens not included in the preceding items who do not work by labor contract and are suggested by the respective state labor inspectorate.

(2) Permission for artisan work is not granted to persons:

1. Who have not paid their taxes and other state loans;

2. Who have been charged with systematic violations in exercising their artisan work.

Article 5. Permission for production of small articles for public consumption and for items produced by art professionals is granted when the requirements under Article 4 are met, as well as the following conditions:

1. To have an approval protocol by the council on design of the Scientific Center on domestic trade, services and local industry at the Ministry of Internal Trade and Services;

2. The products to meet the existing standards, specific norms or technological requirements.

Article 6. Refusal of permission to run an artisan small business, to produce small articles for public consumption or art items by art professionals may be appealed according to the Law for Administrative Production, and the notices of appeal, through administrative channels, are examined by the chairman of the executive committee of the okrug people's council.

Article 7. Permits for small artisan business activity is issued for 3 years by the chairman of the executive committee of the obshtina (district) people's council or by another official of the executive committee designated by the council. Copy of the permit is sent to the department of "Finances" of the respective obshtina people's council at the person's place of residence.

Article 8. (1) The permit is personal and cannot be transferred to other persons. It applies for the specified type of work and place of work.

(2) Persons with permits for artisan work as well as producers of small articles are not allowed to hire workers under any circumstances. They may be assisted without any labor agreement by their spouses and children over 16 years of age provided they are members of the same household.

(3) Art professionals as an exception are allowed to train two students up to 2 years.

(4) Students' remuneration and method of establishing acquired qualifications are determined by the Ordinance of Labor Remuneration of Students trained in Production, approved by Decree No 120 of 25 July, 1962, issued by the Council of Ministers. The duration of the students' training is considered as labor training. The licensed artisan himself pays the students' deposits in the state social insurance.

(5) The students must be from 16 to 25 years of age, and the edicts of the Labor Code have to be observed.

Article 9. Licensed artists and producers of small articles for public consumption may sell their products to state and public organizations as well as to private citizens at established prices.

Article 10. (1) Licensed artisans and producers of small articles buy from the trade organizations the necessary raw and other materials as well as spare parts at retail prices.

(2) The executive committees of the okrug people's councils plan, following the line of the material-technical supply, those raw and other materials for the needs of the licensed artisans which, due to their specificity, cannot be sold through the trade system.

Section II

Trade Activity

Article 11. Citizens may sell retail some products specified by the Ministry of Internal Trade and Services.

Article 12. (1) Trade permits may be granted to persons who do not work by labor contracts who fall under the following categories:

1. Disabled soldiers or partisans;

2. Persons trained under the auspices of TELK;

3. Retirees.

(2) Citizens falling under the preceding item must meet the following conditions:

1. They must not have been deprived of the right to hold jobs involving financial and materially responsible matters;

2. They must not have any contagious diseases;

3. They must have paid their taxes, fees, and any other state loans;

4. They must not have been charged with systematic violations of the trade rules.

Article 13. (1) A trade permit is issued by the chairman of the executive committee of the obshtina (district) people's council or by another member of the executive committee designated by the chairman.

(2) A trade permit is granted for 3 calendar years and is valid for a specific inhabited place and for some types of goods specified in an itemized list issued by the Ministry of Internal Trade and Services. A copy of the

permit is sent to the department of "Finances" of the respective obshtina people's council at the person's place of residence.

Article 14. Refusal of a trade permit may be appealed following the Law on Administrative Production and the notice of appeal is examined through administrative channels by the chairman of the executive committee of the okrug people's council.

Article 15. (1) The trade permit is personal and only its owner has the right to be engaged in trade.

(2) As an exception, if the person in question needs an assistant due to physical disability, he must present a certificate issued by the respective medical authorities. The official employee, according to Article 13, Par 1, may allow the use of an assistant after evaluating the case, which should be marked in the permit (name, number of passport, and other data).

(3) The assistant may be the spouse, a blood relative or a relative by marriage no more than twice removed. In case of no relatives the authorities may allow according to Article 13, Par 1 the use of another person as an assistant. The assistant must meet the conditions of Article 12, Par 2, Item 1.

Article 16. (1) The persons involved in trade by this ordinance are supplied with products from the socialist organizations only upon presentation of valid documents.

(2) The persons referred to in the preceding paragraph must sell the goods at the established retail prices.

Section III

Administrative and Penal Edicts

Article 17. (1) For systematic unfulfillment of orders and services within the contractual time-table, for poor quality work, for services and sale of goods at higher than the established prices, for violations in trade rules, for systematic failure to pay taxes and respective insurances, for violations in tax accounting and for services or trade done by persons not mentioned in the permit, the party that has issued the permit may invalidate or rescind it for not less than 30 days and up to 2 years.

(2) In case of invalidation, the authorities that have issued the permit determine a suitable liquidation period.

Article 18. (1) Violators of Article 17, Par 1 are punishable by a fine not to exceed 200 leva as per Article 32 of the Law on Administrative Violations and Penalties provided they are not liable for stricter punishment.

(2) The penal decrees are issued by the authorities following Par 2 of the Closing Edicts on the basis of indictments by same authorities.

Closing Edicts

Par. 1. The methodical management and supervision in the field of industrial aesthetics concerning the production of goods for public consumption, art objects by art professionals, as well as the quality of the goods, is done by the Committee on Culture, the Ministry of Internal Trade and Services and the State Committee on Standardization.

Par. 2. The supervision following this ordinance is entrusted respectively to the minister of Internal Trade and Services, the minister of Finance, the chief of the Central Administration on Prices at the State Committee on Planning, the chairmen of the executive committees of the people's councils and the organs authorized by them.

Par. 3. This ordinance is issued on the basis of Pars 3 and 4 of the preceding and closing edicts of the Law on Property by Citizens and abrogates:

1. Decree No 12 of 1974 by the Council of Ministers (D.V. issue No 20 of 1974) and the approved ordinance with it concerning artisan and trade activity by citizens;

2. Item No 15, Par 2 and Item 17 of Decree No 34 of 1971 issued by the Council of Ministers.

(2) This ordinance does not apply to members of the Society of Art Professionals.

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EXAMPLE OF BLATANT IRRESPONSIBILITY NOTED

Sofia TRANSPORTEN GLAS in Bulgarian 13 Aug 80 p 5

[Article by Petur Khvurchilkov: "One Spoonful of Kerosene Spoils a Bucket of Milk"]

[Text] In the last issue we printed detailed information on the national conference of the leading cadres of the Bulgarian State Railway SO [Economic Trust] which took place in the capital on 4 August of this year. Discipline emerged as the most urgent task facing the railroad transport in 1980. The question of firm and conscientious labor and technological discipline was raised most acutely in the report of the director general as well as in the speech of Minister Vasil Tsanov. Our country is approaching an important forum, the 12th Congress of the Bulgarian communists. In honor of this historic event in the life of the party-leader, it is the duty of the railroad workers, together will all Bulgarian people, to use their best efforts in staging a meritorious welcoming of the congress. But, in order to fulfill their great and very important share in the all-round economic and cultural progress of the country, the most important thing for the railroad workers is discipline, discipline and again discipline. Discipline in every endeavor and everywhere, in the entire complicated operational process. The most important goal in this respect is to reach the state of absolute infallibility and to observe most strictly the traffic schedule of the trains. These two elements are also the basis of the inspiring call that the participants in the conference addressed to all railroad workers in the country.

And, just when a change was at hand, when tens of thousands of railroad workers were captivated by the inspiring words of the participants in the conference and were ready to turn these words into deeds, the traffic on the four railroad track was interrupted for 12 hours, the schedule of hundreds of express, local and freight trains was fouled up and thousands of railroad workers could not fulfill their plan because of a few negligent, undisciplined workers, persons with low feeling of responsibility. What happened could be described by the proverb: "One spoonful of kerosene spoils a full bucket of milk."

One of the railroad cars of train composition No 40649 derailed between Dryanovo and Vurbanovo stations, damaged partially 6,500 meters of track, ruined the entry signal system at Vurbanovo Station and stopped all traffic for about 12 hours.

The reasons:

On 5 August the personnel of the repair and reconstruction enterprise had finished some basic repair work on the railroad line from Vurbanovo to Dryanovo. When reaching the bridge over the Dryanovska River, they had not removed the ties nor evened up the ballast under them. Between the last 4-5 joints the ballast had been evened up but at the place of the passage it had made a "threshold." The inspector Vasil Venkov of ninth railroad section in Gorna Oryakhovitsa had checked the work and discovered the existence of a "threshold," ordered that it be evened out and had gone to the near-by crossing without checking later on whether the mistake had been corrected. The technical manager of the RVP, Yordan Stanchev, had arranged the instructions of the inspector to be followed. The instructions were followed but not the correct way. The following day Gorcho Vurbanov, the other technical manger of the RVP, had simply passed by the place in question and had confirmed that the ballast was corrected without any flattening of the bed but he on his part did not do anything about it. He simply forgot that on 17 May of this year, under similar circumstances, the personnel of their station had caused the derailment of four cars of train No 40647 in the neighboring stretch between Dryanovo and Sokolovo stations and the traffic had to be interrupted for 13 hours. But, we should open brackets here. Gorcho Vurbanov might in fact have forgotten the accident since up to today, 8 August, the RVP leadership had also forgotten to punish the culprits of the 1 May accident. (You may draw your own conclusion, dear readers, for the discipline from the top to the bottom ranks.)

And so, at about 1700 on 7 August, train No 40649 lost its 13th car when passing the "threshold" in question. The train, pulled by two locomotives 43-106 with machinist Georgi Boldov and assistant Petur Marinov and 42-71 with machinist Ivan Nikolov and assistant Milko Denev, dragged the derailed car on the cross-beams for 6.5 kilometers. In the meantime the 13th car, remember, not the 50th but the 13th, was rattling, breaking cross-beams, throwing stones and making sparks and in the course of 17 minutes (the time of the unfortunate trip) nobody of both locomotive brigades ever turned around to check the condition of the train.

In fact there was someone, a watchful and alert railroad worker: the ticket clerk at Bacho Kiro Station, Rayna Kuncheva or Grandma Rayna as the railroad workers call her. She was sleeping peacefully at the station but, hearing the clamor, she dashed out and, realizing the trouble, immediately called Vurbanovo Station.

"Stop the train immediately! A car has been derailed!"

But the answer of the traffic managers Khristo Velev and Nasko Atanasov was most categorical:

"Impossible! It is on 'go'."

"Break the seals immediately or else we will have an accident," the ticket clerk ordered, but this time too the answer was:

"Impossible! The order is not to stop it."

Grandma Rayna was horrified. The old railroad veteran realized the tragic end due to inactivity, apathy and lack of most elementary foresight and professional alertness on the part of the managers of Vurbanovo Station.

She again ran to the tracks, saw the marks and the broken, supposedly brand new cross-beams of the just reconstructed railroad bed and picked up the telephone again in even greater rage. Kolyo Kolev, chief on duty at Dryanovo Station, heard her and immediately called the district dispatcher Iliya Papasov and relayed the pressing alarm signal.

Instead of immediately ordering the train to be stopped and the electric circuit to be shut off, Papasov ordered:

"Call her again to check whether any car has derailed."

In the meantime, instead of taking the matter into his hands, the Vurbanovo traffic chief also called the dispatcher, asking him:

"What shall I do?"

The dispatcher did not answer. Time was passing fast. The train was moving. The car continued to damage the newly repaired tracks.

At about 1740 Vurbanovo informed the dispatcher:

"Two cars derailed and hit the signals..."

And the dispatcher, quiet until that moment, answered curtly:

"Why didn't you stop it! Didn't I tell you???"

The incident does not need any comments. The inquiry protocol will be full of conclusions, proposals, decisions. It might be proper for the prosecutor's office to express its competent opinion as well. The conclusion, however, will be the same, i.e. that the gross irresponsibility and lack of discipline of a bunch of people, blind to the work and efforts of thousands of their comrades, should not remain unpunished.

1010
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CAUSES FOR FREQUENT BREAKDOWNS OF ARMORED VEHICLES EXAMINED

Struggle Against Accidents

Sofia VOENNA TEKHNIKA in Bulgarian No 7, 1980 pp 1-2

[Article by Col Engineer Penyu Kostadinov, candidate of technical sciences]

[Text] The commanders, staffs, and technical services of a number of units properly assess the role and place of ABTT [Armored Vehicles] in resolving the complex set of problems and paying great attention to its proper utilization and maintenance, and tirelessly struggle against accidents. Ever greater attention is being paid to the elimination of the prerequisites which result in accidents and breakdowns of the machines. Active efforts are being made to improve the material and technical base for the servicing, repair, and storing of the equipment.

An efficient organization for allowing the vehicles to run has been introduced in the units where officers Ivanov, Iliev, Apostolov and Khristov serve. Their use, servicing, and storing are fully consistent with the requirements of the Internal Service Regulations and the Instruction on ABTT Support in the Bulgarian People's Army.

The study and analysis of the reasons of accidents in such units is a main aspect in the struggle against them. Such studies make it possible to determine more completely the role of factors such as shortcomings in the training and education of the personnel, violations of the utilization, servicing, repair, and storage of the vehicles, omissions in the organization and implementation of the parking services and insufficient army discipline, as well as to earmark and carry out activities for their elimination. Ever more active work is being done in the units where officers Stanev, Sokolov, Nedelchev, Markov and others serve to improve the training and upbringing of the command and other personnel. Their success is due to the precise implementation of the program and the courses on technical training and driving and the bold introduction of the new element in training: the gaining of maximum practical knowledge and skills.

Precision in the work of the commanders and the engineering-technical personnel in the units where officers Krustev, Kamburov and Dimov serve contributed to the development of a good organization in the servicing, repair, and protection of the vehicles. Diagnostic and control equipment is extensively used. That is why in these units the equipment may be used only if it is in proper shape and ready for combat activities.

The positive results achieved in the struggle against accidents should not reassure commanders and technical services, for the necessary results have still not been achieved in some areas. A great deal of breakdowns are possible which disturb the combat readiness and the training process in the units and result in unjustified material expenditures.

Studies have indicated that the nature of accidents involving armored vehicles may vary as much as the reasons for such accidents. In the units where officers Ivanov and Todorov serve the engines of the vehicles broke down as a result of an oil leak through cracked rubber seals. In the unit where Officer Tomov serves, a motor vehicle overturned and fell in the road ditch as a result of the loosening of the bolts of a wheel which fell off while the vehicle was in motion. These examples indicate that technical servicing (whether daily, periodical, or seasonal) and repairs (current, medium, or capital) have been substandard and vehicles in improper working order were kept in the garage. These units failed to create a good servicing and repair organization in the course of which all operations stipulated in the instructions and manuals for the corresponding models must be carried out in full.

A number of changes take place in the vehicles in the course of their lengthy storage as the result of atmospheric influences and physical and chemical processes affecting metal, rubber, leather, and tarpaulin parts. The cracking of rubber seals in the systems, premature wear of cylinder-piston sets, and others indicate that some officials ignore the rules governing equipment storing, fail to observe the changes closely, and do not promptly correct malfunctions. We know that when a vehicle remains unused for a period of over 15 days its engine should be protected. Investigations have indicated that a number of commanders and technical services do not protect machine units and vehicles or process them strictly in accordance with regulations. All this adversely affects their reliability and, later on, leads to breakdowns and accidents and to performance failures. The periods allocated for the checkup of parked vehicles are not used most efficiently.

The garage duty personnel do not always demand that the crews, teams, and drivers strictly observe internal regulations. Violation of such regulations create prerequisites for accidents in the garages themselves, such as the outbreak of fires in the vehicles, freezing and cracking of engines as a result of undrained water from the cooling system, damages

to the light signaling systems, failure to maintain the necessary temperature of the water in water heaters, and so on. There have been cases in which poor internal order in the parking areas has enabled the drivers to take out vehicles on their own with improper documents. Occasionally such violations also involve the use of alcohol as a result of which the final consequences are most undesirable.

An important feature in the use of ABTT is preparations for use. We know that proper preparations of engines and vehicles prevent premature wear and tear and breakdowns of mechanisms and machine units. The study of accidents shows that a high percentage of breaks are due to violations of the technological procedure in preparing and switching on the engines. Control checks are ignored, the engines are not warmed up to the necessary level, and operational systems are violated. The engineering and technical personnel are well familiar with the fact that the greatest wear of the crank shaft-connecting rod mechanism takes place at the starting of the vehicle. Some commanders who do not demand the use of individual vehicle heaters and the maintenance of the necessary temperature of the water in the water heaters poorly help the combat readiness. The preparation of the vehicles for running should also involve a checkup of their technical condition by subunit commanders and the giving of instructions to the driver and vehicle commander. In checking the condition of the vehicles before starting, the commander of the KTP [Technical Check Point] should act as the final barrier blocking the use of vehicles in improper condition. Here again statistics prove that despite such control organs vehicles are allowed to leave the parking area with improper cooling and lubrication systems and units, loose parts, improper lights, and unchecked brakes. The result is the overheating of engines, improper functioning of bearings, the cracking of crankcases, and others.

Still accounting for a large number of accidents are the insufficient knowledge and practical skills of the personnel handling ABTT. This involves, above all, breakdowns from overheating of engines and breaks of transmission units as a result of overloads in crossing terrains ignoring the possibilities of the vehicles, the hydraulic shocks experienced by the engines in improper crossings of waterways, or the melting of bearings as a result of ignoring the readings of measuring devices. Accidents as a result of poor personnel training indicate that some units are still underestimating the significance of effective technical training and driving involving officers, mechanics, and drivers. The engineering and technical personnel must become more actively involved in organizing and controlling the implementation of measures based on the weekly cycle by the subunits. Here purposeful technical training must play a definite role.

A high percentage of accidents are the result of lack of discipline as well. This proves violations of the regulation on the application of the law on street and road traffic. Speed limits are exceeded, vertical and horizontal signs are ignored, and wrong light and sound signals are

given. Deviations are allowed from road schedules explained and ordered in advance, use of alcohol, improper loading and transportation of personnel, and violation of rules governing the operation of the vehicles. Not only the immediate violators but commanders, staffs, political organs, and technical services must be held liable for such violations, as they have been unable to formulate a strict statutory procedure and have failed to struggle for the elimination of prerequisites leading to the violation of discipline and of regulations, orders, and instructions. Lack of discipline also leads to accidents involving privately owned vehicles by military personnel.

Equally noteworthy in the study of accidents is the seasonal factor in the period when the highest number of breakdowns occurs. Experience has indicated that at peak traffic times the rate of accidents declines instead of increasing. This is the result of improved organizational work and control on the part of commanders at all levels. Hence the conclusion that our struggle against accidents could be more effective when it involves the participation of the entire army and when active work is done to eliminate prerequisites which lead to breakdowns and accidents.

Political organs and party and Komsomol organizations could actively help commanders and technical services in the noble struggle for reducing ABTT accidents. They could help to organize, manage, and keep track of the socialist competition among collectives and promote in the personnel a feeling of love and socialist responsibility for assigned ABTT.

Engine Breakdowns

Sofia VOENNA TEKHNIKA in Bulgarian No 7, 1980 pp 7-9

[Article by Major Engineer Krasimir Milanov]

[Text] In a number of cases determining the real reasons for breakdowns of ABTT engines is a complex procedure which could be performed by highly skilled investigative military personnel.

Experience in armored vehicles support in large units and units has indicated that in the study of ABTT engine breakdowns a scientific approach must be applied, requiring extensive and profound knowledge of specifications and of the foundations of the operation of vehicles by specialized military personnel.

Statistical data show that the investigation of breakdowns are not always successful. Their real reasons are not established. In most cases this is noted in the case of vehicle engines whose maintenance and observance of necessary operational rules require greater experience on the part of the operational personnel.

There are many types of engine breakdowns. Some of them, however, are standard.

The breakdown of cylinders and pistons is the most frequent. It is manifested in the premature wearing out, break or tear of the piston and the deep grooving of the smooth surface of some of the cylinders.

The main reason for the intensive wearing out of the cylinders along their entire length is the penetration of abrasive materials through the section pipe along with the air, oil, and fuel, through the vents in diesel engines, and the forced ventilation system of crankcases in carburetor engines, or through cracks, particularly where the air blower connects with the suction collector. The area of the most intensive wearing of the cylinders depends on the line of penetration of the dust. Should dust enter the engine through the suction pipe, the biggest wear is in the upper part of the cylinders and the piston rings. Should dirty oil be used the biggest wear is in the middle part of the cylinders which results in the fast breakdown of the oil piston rings.

The reasons for the intensive wearout of the cylinders near the top dead center is the highly active nature of the corrosion processes which develop when the temperature of the mixture is below that of the spraying point. When engines work at a temperature of the cooling liquid and oil not exceeding 60°-70°C, the heat on the cylinder walls does not reach 100°C and water vapors condensate on them. Since the combustion products also contain a certain amount of sulfurous gas favorable conditions are created for the formation of sulfuric acid which corrodes the cylinder walls (Fig. 1). Particularly strong corrosion develops on the walls of cylinders with carburetor engines left unprotected for short periods of time, as a result of which they wear out far more intensively.

Past experience in the operation of motor and armored vehicles has indicated that by removing the engine head each 20,000-25,000 kilometers and after numerous short preservation procedures a typical edge caused by the wearing out may be seen in the upper part of the cylinders (8 to 10 mm from the dividing surface), while the radial slackness of the pistons has increased. This, as well as the reduced strength of the material at high temperatures, deforms the piston and results in its break and the grooving of the cylinder.

It is quite frequently believed that a broken piston entails the twisting of the connecting rod and to the melting of the connecting rod bearing. It would be logical to assume the opposite. The melting and tearing up of the connecting rod bearing blocks the free movement of the lower end of the connecting rod, increases the radial pressure on the piston, and deforms both piston and connecting rod.

These deformations lead to the subsequent destruction of the piston. This is exemplified by some cases in which the piston has been broken, the connecting rod twisted, and the connecting rod bearing has been torn.

The main reason for the breaking of the pistons of carburetor engines in the area of the oil piston ring is excessive temperature. Gunning the engine with insufficient cooling raises the temperature of the upper part of the piston head. The slack between it and the cylinder is reduced and a tightening may result when it reaches 0.02 mm. The cyclical tightening results in cracks which frequently wreck the piston even when the engine is operating quite normally.

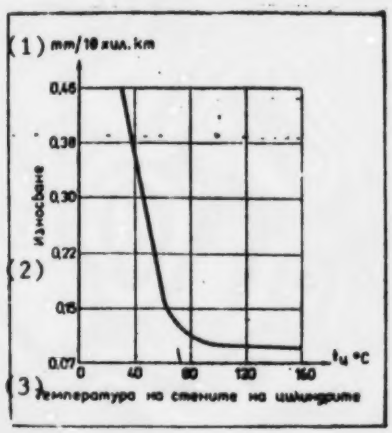

Fig. 1.

Key: (1) Millimeters per 10,000 kilometers
(2) Wearing out
(3) Temperature of cylinder walls

Another frequent breakdown is the piercing of the cylinder block or the crankcase. This is the result of a hard blow dealt by a broken or released connecting rod if the faulty engine is not stopped on time. The upper head of the connecting rod, released when the piston is broken or torn out may pierce the cylinder block.

The break of the connecting rod bolts is a dangerous breakdown in the connecting rod unit. This may be caused by excessively tightened bolts which lead to a deformation of the lower head, excessively loose bolts, or a substantial slack in the connecting rod bearing.

As a rule, the so-called hydraulic shock in tank engines leads to the bending and, subsequently, breaking of the connecting rod and the piercing

of the cylinder block or the crankcase. The water may penetrate the cylinders through the air filter or the release pipes should the tank take water or in the course of its washing, as well as should the tightness between the cylinder block and the head be disturbed.

Another frequent accident involves damages to the bearings of the crankshaft, manifested through the cracking, tearing of, shifting, or melting of the antifriction alloy, the turning of the bushings or the breaking of the lower bearing caps. The main reason for the tearing, dragging, or melting of the antifriction alloy and the grooving of the crankshaft pin on the side of the bearing is the shortage of oil. This results in dry or semidry friction and insufficient heat conduct. In such cases the bearings rapidly overheat and the melting or mechanical destruction of the alloy begins.

Reasons for insufficient lubricant reaching the bearings of the crankshaft may include various defects of the lubrication system and, above all, a violation of driving procedures. Thus, for example, someone may fail to lubricate the bearings, the engine may be started with an insufficient amount of oil in the oil pan or the crankcase, the oil headers may be blocked, an element of the lubrication system may have been destroyed (pump, pipe, rubber seal), or a change in the quality of the oil as a result of the penetration of antifreeze or fuel.

In the period of starting and warming up the engine, the temperature does not match the give of the bearings. The durability of bearings made of tin bronze may be maintained providing that the temperature on their surface does not exceed 140°C. Fig. 2. shows that this is achieved when the released oil ranges from 30 to 110°C according to the regulation heat guage for V-2 engines.

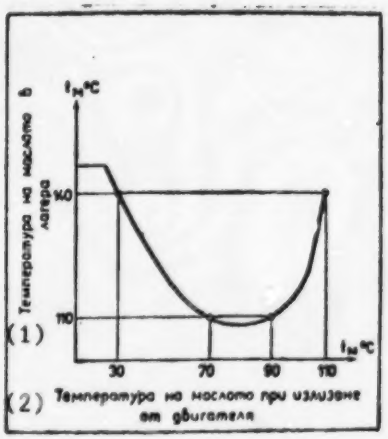

Fig. 2.
Key: (1) Oil temperature in the bearing
(2) Temperature of the oil leaving the engine.

Sometimes the seventh and eighth main bearing of the crankshaft of tank engines may break down. This is the result of the improper alignment of the engine with the gearbox or the reduction gear. Should such nonalignment exceed the admissible level, the additional stress required results in the overloading of such bearings. In the long run, this damages the antifriction alloy of the bearings which melt.

The play between the bearings and the crankshaft pins may increase as a result of the wearing out of the bearings in the course of the running of the engine. An excessive play of up 0.25-0.30 mm causes shock stresses and pushes the oil out of the bearings. Cuts and tears appear along the pins. Such shock stresses occasionally lead to the tearing and the overturning of the bushings, particularly in carburetor engines, as a result of which the oil conduits are blocked and the flow of oil to the bearings is interrupted. The running of an engine with melted or torn bearings immediately and rapidly result in their destruction and the jamming of the crankshaft.

The breaking of the crankshaft is a frequent accident. Essentially, this is due to metal fatigue. Usually, the destruction begins in the areas of stress concentration: the shoulder to the pins, the end of the oil grooves of the pins, or the key groove at the front end of the crankshaft.

The stress on the crankshaft is increased considerably in the running of diesel engines at high RPMs, which may lead to its dropping. The uneven control of the fuel supplied or the beginning of the injection into the cylinders may add as much as 15 percent to the stress of the crankshaft.

In the case of vehicles with two parallel engines GAZ-40P and GAZ-49B, should the connectors not be coordinated for simultaneous starting, a high overload of the crankshafts develops. This is the main reason for the break of the crankshaft at the sixth connecting rod pin and in the area of the transmission from the sixth connecting rod to the fourth main pin. An excessive shaft bending may develop also in the area of transition to other pins in the case of the tightening or sticking of the piston in the cylinder should the engine overheat. The loosening of the bolts of the belt rings in such engines increases the overload of key joint, and leads to fatigue and break of the front end of the crankshaft.

A damaged sealing of the cooling jacket of the cylinder block and cylinder head is a frequent phenomenon. It shows in the deforming and cracking of cylinder heads and blocks, and the loss of elasticity of the packing rubber rings of the cylinder sleeves. Usually, this is the result of overheating or freezing of the coolant in the engines.

Overheating occurs when the vehicle is driven in an unsuitable gear, with closed radiator shutters, a dirty cooling surface of the radiator, spinning of the friction clutch or the fan belt, or blocked circulation of the fluid in the cooling system.

Starting the engine with a partially filled cooling system or loss of some of the coolant as the vehicle is driven, leads to overheating. This may occur in the course of preparations for taking the motor vehicles outside the parking areas should the alarm signal be given. The drivers must carry a 20-liter jerrican filled with water. Because of the loss of some of the water 18 to 19 liters of water are poured into the system whereas the capacity of a ZIL-157 is 22 liters. For this reason the cooling of some areas of a running engine is disturbed.

The local overheating of cylinder walls and, particularly, of the combustion chamber is the result of the blocking of the coolant throughout a highly heated engine. The circulation within the system stops, extensive steam is formed in the water jacket of the block and the head, the pressure in the system rises sharply, and some of the coolant may spill out.

The proper investigation, determination, and study of the reasons for ABTT engine breakdowns would enable the serviceman-specialist to reach proper conclusions. This is an important prerequisite for effective action in the struggle against accidents involving the ABTT of an army unit.

5003
CSO: 2200

MISSION, COMPOSITION OF PEOPLE'S POLICE ALERT UNITS DESCRIBED

Bonn INFORMATIONEN in German No 13, Aug 80 pp 14-15

[Background report by FRG Ministry for Inner-German Relations: "GDR Newspaper Reports on Composition and Tasks of People's Police Alert Units." The two East German articles discussed below are both published in Neubrandenburg FREIE ERDE in German 15 Jul 80 p 4, as follows: "At the Beginning Is the Drill: A Training Day With the Men of Our Police Alert Units," by Gunther Pickroth; and "An Important and Fine Profession--Three Questions Addressed to Lt Col Horst Schewe, CO, Hans Kahle Alert Unit, People's Police"

> [Text] In mid-July of this year FREIE ERDE, the organ of the Neubrandenburg SED Dezirk Command, printed two reports on the People's Police Alert Units, which comprise over 18,000 soldiers, and have been an official part of the core of the GDR territorial defense forces since 1970. For the first time in the GDR, comprehensive information was supplied on the structure and the duties of these military units, which had so far hardly been mentioned by the press in contrast to the National People's Army [NVA] and the Border Troops.

The first units of this type had been established by the Ministry for State Security as early as 1950. As of 1955 they were termed "Internal Troops," were then renamed People's Police Alert Units 1 year later and came under the command of the GDR Ministry of the Interior (MdI) in 1957. In 1961 they were utilized to build the Berlin wall, and in 1970 they participated in the "Brotherhood-in-Arms" maneuver of the Warsaw Pact nations as part of the territorial defense forces. According to the Conscription Law of 1962, service in the People's Police Alert Units is regarded as alternate military service and is thus considered equal to military service. One of the FREIE ERDE newspaper reports comments as follows:

--"Alternate military service? Nothing is secondary here--this entails military service as in the army; military training and modern military

technology determine daily life, just as in a motorized gunners' unit." In another article, Lt Col Horst Schewe, commander of the Hans-Kahle People's Police Alert Unit, Neustrelitz, comments on the duties of the Alert Units in detail:

--"The Alert Units of the German People's Police are militarily structured, fully motorized units with modern equipment and weapons, accommodated in barracks. They are capable of solving various police tasks and other major tasks. These units are utilized when major disturbances or dangers affecting public order and safety, i.e., large fires, explosions, or disasters due to floods or snow drifts, or cases of average are about to happen or have happened. The ultimate aim is to protect our citizens and our economy against jeopardy."

According to Schewe, the units are also used to "provide security during large events or to help search for dangerous violators of the law." Further, they are "fully integrated into the socialist national defense system and are able to "perform acts for the defense of our home country in case of imperialist aggression."

The training of the Alert Unit policemen is an "allround training," according to Schewe, which he understands as "exercise and drill training, training in marksmenship and protection, tactics, political training, military physical education, and instruction of military regulations." Schewe says, "Their armament can be equated to that of a motorized gunners' unit of the NVA."

One characteristic of the Alert Units is that the troops and noncommissioned officers have the ranks of the German People's Police; the officers, however, have the ranks of the NVA. The three groups (staff sergeants, troops, noncommissioned and commissioned officers) can be broken down as follows:

--Staff sergeants:
Candidate of the People's Police
Under-Staff Sergeant of the People's Police
Staff Sergeant of the People's Police

--NCO ranks:
Senior Staff Sergeant of the People's Police
Chief Staff Sergeant of the People's Police
Master Staff Sergeant of the People's Police
Senior Master Staff Sergeant of the People's Police

--Officers:
Second Lieutenant of the People's Police
Lieutenant of the People's Police
First Lieutenant of the People's Police
Captain of the People's Police
Major of the People's Police
Lieutenant Colonel of the People's Police
Colonel of the People's Police.

According to a FREIE ERDE report, the noncommissioned officers are obligated to a "minimum of 10 years service." Following their basic training they attend a school for noncommissioned officers and are then utilized as assistant platoon leaders.

Career officers must be obligated to a minimum of 25 years in the service. In order to be accepted, graduation from high school and completion of vocational training are required. The officers are trained at the Officers' University of the MdI Alert Units in Dresden. Following a 3-year course of study the students are conferred the equivalent of a master's degree in industrial engineering and the rank of a lieutenant. When returning to the troops, they normally work as platoon leaders and may subsequently "qualify as company commanders, staff officers, or political officers," according to Lt Col Schewe.

The individual alert units are stationed in barracks in or near the 14 district cities; two units each are stationed in the industrial districts. In Basdorf near East Berlin three alert units are available as additional security forces for the government residential area near Bernau.

In one of the SED newspaper reports training of alert unit policemen in a floatable armored personnel carrier is addressed, among other things; one officer comments as follows: "The armored personnel carrier is a true child of Socialist economic integration. The hull and motor come from Hungary, the weapons from Romania, the tires from the CSSR, and the optical and radio equipment come from the Soviet Union."

9544
CSO: 2300

BIOGRAPHIC SKETCHES OF MINISTRY OF CULTURE OFFICIALS PUBLISHED

Budapest KOZNEVELES in Hungarian 5 Sep 80 pp 4-5

[Text] As our readers know the Presidium of the Hungarian People's Republic enacted a decree of legal force establishing the Ministry of Culture. The combined functions of the former Ministry of Culture and the Ministry of Education will devolve upon the new ministry. It will also be in charge of those aspects of skilled worker training which were formerly under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Labor.

Biographic sketches of ministry officials follow:

Minister of Culture Imre Pozsgay was born in 1933 in Kony in Gyor-Sopron County. He studied history and Marxism-Leninism at the faculty of education of the Lenin Institute. He is a candidate of philosophy. From 1957-1965 he was the head of the night school of Marxism-Leninism of the party committee of Bacs-Kiskun County. From 1965-1970 he was in charge of the department of agitation and propaganda of the county party committee. In 1970, he became subdepartment head of the department of agitation and propaganda of the Central Committee after which he became deputy editor-in-chief of TARSADALMI SZEMLE. From July 1975 he served as deputy minister in the Ministry of Culture; later as Minister of Culture in 1976 and is now Minister of Culture since the reorganization. He has been a party member since 1950. He was elected member of the Central Committee at the XII Party Congress.

Andras Korcsog, state secretary, was born 1931 in Bekescsaba. He completed secondary school at Szeged and Bekescsaba. He obtained his decree as chemical engineer in the field of oil and coal processing from the Chemical Industry University of Veszprem in 1954. After working briefly for the Petroleum Industry Enterprise, he acted as secretary of the youth organization of the Veszprem University till the fall of 1956 after which he became a teacher at the same institution. Between 1964-1967 he worked in the Department of Science, Education and Culture of the Central Committee of the MSZMP. He returned to Veszprem in 1967 where he was deputy rector of education from 1967-1973. From 1974 until his appointment as State Secretary he worked for the Department of Science, Education and Culture of the Central

Committee of the MSZMP where he dealt with scientific-political matters. He has been party member since 1953. He has held various offices: university party secretary, member of the city executive committee and member of the county party committee. In addition to being general deputy for the ministry he is in charge of higher education.

Jozsef Drecin, deputy minister was born in Arad in 1929. Originally an iron turner, he completed his education at the faculty of theoretical sciences of the University of Economics in Budapest. He worked in the National Planning Office from July 1952 to July 1980. He is member or official of a number of scientific organizations including the Society for Organization and Management of which he is head; vice chairman of the MTSZ [expansion unknown]; member of the committee of the economic society; economic columnist of the periodical, GAZDASAG; also member of the editorial committee of the aforementioned periodical. His publications in the field of economic policy, investment policy and management are known at home and abroad. He taught political economics at the night school of Marxism-Leninism for several years. He has been member of the party since 1946 and associated with the workers' movement since 1945. He is now in charge of the economic affairs of the ministry.

Maria Hanga, deputy minister, was born in 1939 in Koka. She received her teacher's diploma at the teachers' training school in Kecskemet and taught for two years in Pest County. She resumed her studies at the Faculty of Philosophy of the Lorand Eotvos University of Science. She became secondary-school teacher specializing in Hungary and Pedagogics in 1965. Later that year she transferred to the Mihaly Fazekas Practical Grade School and Gymnasium in Budapest. For 4 years she was member of the KISZ Central Committee. In 1972 she began working for the Department of Science, Education and Culture of the Central Committee of the MSZMP. She served as deputy head of said department from 1973-1975. From 1975 up to the present, she has been deputy minister of education. She is now in charge of public education, special education and general cultural affairs.

Ferenc Ratkai, deputy minister, was born to poor peasant parents in 1930. In 1942, he won a scholarship to complete his secondary school studies. He graduated from gymnasium in Dombovar in 1950 after which he studied at the faculty of Philosophy at the Lorand Eotvos University of Sciences from which he received his teaching diploma. From 1953-1960, he worked in the field of book publishing. He then transferred to and became chief of the department of literature in the Ministry of Culture. From 1970 on he was, first, head of a sub-department, then, deputy department head in the Department of Science, Education and Culture of the Central Committee of the MSZMP. He dealt with cultural-artistic matters and international cultural relations. His writings as literary critic, articles dealing with cultural policy and translations have been published. In his present assignment he is responsible for international cultural and educational relations.

Dezso Toth, deputy minister, was born in Budapest in 1925 to a family of civil servants. He completed his secondary education in Budapest. He obtained his teaching diploma from the Faculty of Philosophy of the Lorand Eotvos University of Sciences as teacher of Hungarian-Latin. From 1951-1955 he worked as assistant professor at his university. He then became senior member of the Institute of Literature of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. From 1961-1964 he was literary chief of the Magveto Publishing House and secretary of the Hungarian Writer's Federation. From 1964-1977 he worked first as member, later as deputy department head of the Department of Science, Education and Culture of the Central Committee of the MSZMP. He became a deputy minister in the Ministry of Culture in 1977. He won the Attila Jozsef Prize in 1964 for his literary critical activity. He became a corresponding member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in 1979. As in the past he will be dealing with artistic affairs in the reorganized Ministry of Culture.

CSO: 2500

COMMENTARY ON 'MORE EFFICIENT' WEAPONS RACE NOTED

[Passages between slant lines appear in bold face type in original]

[Editorial Report] Warsaw SLOWO POWSZECHNE in Polish on 12 September 1980, page 4, in an article by Tadeusz Pioro, entitled, "From the 'Thin Man' to the Neutron Bomb," preceded by a short chronology of bomb production--from the 20-kiloton "Thin Man" bomb in 1945 to the "new, old 'N' bomb"--it is stated that "There is almost not a month that goes by in which information about new 'achievements' in the field of military technology do not reach us. Self-guided missiles, new strategic bombers, gigantic submarines, spy satellites and satellites which destroy other satellites, laser and chemical weapons, increasingly efficient armor and anti-tank weapons, electronic battle systems--/all this transcends the sensible needs of defense./ Technical progress leading to the creation of instruments of annihilation appears to be uncurbed.

"In light of this, all disarmament initiatives, undertaken consistently by the socialist states, take on particular significance. /Also, the declaration which was published on the 25th anniversary of the Warsaw Pact as well as the proposals for the reduction of armed forces in Europe submitted recently in Vienna, and the readiness of the Soviet Union to take up talks on the issue of medium-range nuclear missiles--all this aims at one purpose: curbing the arms race and assuring peace./"

CSO: 2600

MINISTERS, DELEGATES SPEAK AT PEOPLES COUNCILS CONGRESS

Second Congress Meets

[Editorial Report--The following are the text and excerpts of speeches given at the Second Congress of the Peoples Councils held in Bucharest from 10-12 September 1980. The main speech given by Nicolae Ceausescu, secsecretary general of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party, appeared in the FBIS Daily Report on Eastern Europe of 17 September 1980, Volume II No 182, pages H 10-H 34]

Defense Chief on Cutting Costs

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 12 Sep 80 p 12

[Speech of Colonel General Vasile Milea, first deputy minister of national defense, chief of the General Staff of the Armed Forces]

[Text] The constant concern of our party and state and of you personally, comrade secretary general Nicolae Ceausescu, for the development of the national economy at a steady pace--the speaker said--is brilliantly demonstrated by the recent decision regarding the increase of funds intended for the implementation of the program for raising the standard of living of the people by reducing military and administrative expenditures and other state expenditures.

We express our firm conviction that this decision serves the highest interests of our nation since the development of the socialist system, the growth of the economic power of the country constitute the bases for strengthening the defense capability of the country and increase the will and determination of the people to defend their revolutionary achievements, their independence and national sovereignty.

For all the members of our armed forces, the decision made recently by the Political Executive Committee of the party represents a mobilizing stimulus for increasing efforts for perfecting the combat training and political training of the troops, providing them with thorough training in the shortest possible time with the lowest possible consumption of fuels, munitions and other materials, the best possible and most efficient maintenance and

use of weapons and combat technology, the avoidance of their premature wear and tear, the elimination of anything resulting in damage or accidents, the strengthening of order and discipline, and the elimination of any possibilities of waste.

We are convinced that, by the more and more effective utilization of the competence and creative capacity of the commands and the staffs, by the growth of the mobilizing force of the party and Union of Communist Youth organs and organizations, the army is ready to increase its combat strength and capacity and to execute, with honor, dignity and high responsibility, its mission of defending, together with all the people, the independence and sovereignty of our country.

On the basis of the concept of our party in regard to the defense of the country and of the military doctrine of socialist Romania, whose brilliant founder is you, comrade supreme commander we will act with all determination for the exact implementation of the orders which you have given to us to extend and deepen cooperation among military units, subunits of patriotic guards and detachments of youth, by joint exercises and instruction activities, by the most effective utilization of the material base for instruction by all forces of our defense system.

Involved in the general effort of the people for the building of socialism --a work which the 12th party congress has given new dimensions--the armed forces are making their contribution to the development of the forces of production and to increasing the national wealth and are participating, shoulder to shoulder with the workers, in constructing 85 industrial projects in the current five-year plan, in the construction of the Danube-Black Sea Canal, the Bucharest metro, and a large number of dwellings, in the construction and modernization of roads and railroads, and in the execution of other projects of national interest.

Inspired by your high esteem, the military men who are participating in the implementation of the broad land amelioration and irrigation program are working with enthusiasm to exceed the provisions of the plan so that by the end of this year, work will be completed on 400,000 hectares, 50,000 more hectares than the initial provision.

Also, participation in the agricultural campaign this fall is considered by the military men to be a mission of high responsibility and they are determined to work with the same self-sacrifice to assure that the harvest will be gathered, transported and stored in the shortest possible time and without losses.

In the coming five-year plan, too, we are determined to honor, with a high sense of duty, the tasks which will be entrusted to us in the national economy, with the firm conviction that by this means the army serves the people and their fundamental interests.

An integral part of our society, the army is an active presence in the social and political life of the country. Cultural and scientific creativity in the armed forces and artistic and military groups are integrated harmoniously--in the manifestations which took place during the "Hymn to Romania" national festival, as well as in the intellectual life of the country and in the cultural and artictic landscape of the localities.

In conclusion, the speaker said: Inspired by the noble ideals of the building of a more just and better world, of a climate of peace, understanding and confidence among peoples, for which the secretary general of the party and the entire nation fight with revolutionary passion, the personnel of the armed forces firmly support the foreign policy of socialist Romania of strengthening collaboration and solidarity with all socialist countries and of expanding relations with the developing states and with all states in the world.

In the spirit of the principles which serve as a basis for Romania's foreign policy, our armed forces develops relations of collaboration with the armies of the countries participating in the Warsaw Pact and of all socialist countries and other friendly countries in the interest of the cause of understanding among peoples, and in the interest of peace and progress.

Fight against 'Parasites, Traffickers'

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 13 Sep 80 pp 6-7

[Speech of George Homostean, minister of the interior]

[Excerpts] As you have asked of us, comrade supreme commander, we are working consistently so that our entire activity will be carried out under the direct leadership of the party organs, with the broad support of the citizens and with strict observance of socialist legality, by strengthening the education and developing the political discernment of the cadres and increasing their responsibility in their work.

In accordance with the role which they have in the system of our socialist state and with the powers and duties which are given to them by law, the organs of the Ministry of the Interior give top priority to the activity of preventing infractions and other anti-social acts, to preventing unusual events and dangerous conditions in economic units and manifestations of parasitism which are noted in some persons.

As a result of the general development of our society, the improvement of the political awareness, the educational activity carried on by the party and by the state and community organs, and the ever-more powerful affirmation in social life of the principles of socialist ethics and equity, year after year there is a reduction in the number of infractions and various anti-social manifestations.

I would like to stress that the achievements obtained by the organs of the Ministry of the Interior are the result of direct leadership by the Party, of the ever-increasing support which we receive from the workers, of collaboration with the patriotic guards and the detachments training the youth for the defense of the country and of the support which we receive from the leadership of socialist and public organizations. By means of the militia support groups, the order and discipline teams established in those places where infractions might be committed, where there are concentrated different parasitical elements, speculators, gold and currency traffickers, or where disturbances of public order might occur, the Ministry of the Interior organs receive a valuable support in preventing and combating anti-social acts.

In implementing our tasks, we also receive considerable support from the peoples councils which, on the basis of legal provisions, analyze and guide the activity carried on by the local militia organs and firefighters.

Analyzing, in a party spirit, the activity carried on, I report that it has not always been at the level of the demands levied upon us by the leadership of the party and state and by you [Ceausescu] personally. In a number of cases, actions undertaken by criminal elements have not been discovered early enough and, as a result, the most effective measures to nip them in the bud were not taken. Also, the necessary combativeness, firmness and vigilance have not always been demonstrated in regard to these elements which, by their actions, violate the laws of the country and the norms of living together in society, thus causing damage to the national economy, to the personal property of citizens and to public peace and order. There have been situations where we have not made the necessary contributions to the prevention of unusual events in the economy, such as fires and damage, and to the elimination of manifestations of negligence, abuses and lack of responsibility in managing public property and keeping it in the best possible condition. In some cases, we have not acted with sufficient firmness and determination to combat manifestations of parasitism, speculation, illegal traffic in currency and precious metals.

However, we are firmly resolved to eliminate these work deficiencies without delay and to increase the efficiency and quality of our entire activity. We will act constantly for the assimilation and unrelenting implementation of the decisions of the party, of the laws of the land, and of your orders, thus making our contribution to the general successes which our entire people are obtaining. We will place the principal emphasis on the activity of preventing infractions, anti-social acts, and violations of the law, following your directive that the Ministry of Interior organs should consider that they have done their duty only when they have succeeded in preventing infractions and violations of the law. We will watch with determination over the strengthening of socialist legality, demonstrating increased exactingness and taking firm, effective measures against all those who try to cause damage to our socialist construction and to harm public and personal property, against parasitical elements, speculators and all those who, by their deeds, try to taint the civil, healthy climate of our society.

For this purpose we consider that it is necessary that the organs of the public prosecutor's office and the justice organs manifest, in all cases, more effectiveness in the judgement and firm punishment of those who violate the law, thus contributing to the strengthening of a climate of socialist legality and to the prevention of new infractions.

Also in our own activity we will not permit, in any form, the taking of abusive measures, which our party and you, personally, have criticized repeatedly. In our entire activity, we will manifest high party principledness and a spirit of vigilance; we will unceasingly develop criticism and self-criticism in regard to defects; we will constantly promote the most appropriate work methods and forms for each stage; we will work for the perfecting of political and specialized training of cadres, for the strengthening of educational work in the ranks of all personnel.

Under the leadership of the party organs, we will rely continually, in the execution of our mission, on the support of the collectives of workers; we will improve cooperation with the organs of the public prosecutor and the justice organs, with the other state and public organs, together with whom we will make an increased contribution to the education of citizens in the spirit of observance of the laws; we will work for the continued reduction of the number of infractions and for public discussion of those who commit penal acts, thus creating a strong current of public opinion in regard to every violation of the norms of living together in society. We will take firm measures to combat the unjust attitude of some militia cadres who sometimes tolerate the committing of infractions and do not take a stand against those persons who, utilizing the positions which they hold in local organs, try to shirk their responsibilities under the law and commit various abuses.

The organs of the Ministry of the Interior and the militia organs should have a principled and firm attitude in all circumstances; they should not accept intercedings under any form, regardless of their source; they should apply the law without letting themselves be influenced by the position of the person who has violated it, thus executing their duty to use the party and the people.

Under conditions when the role of the peoples councils is increasing greatly, we will intensify our efforts to contribute, to a greater extent and with increased efficiency, to the implementation of the tasks which the party and you have placed before us. We have in mind both a more constant mobilization of Ministry of Interior cadres who are deputies in the peoples councils, to execute, in the best possible conditions, the mandate entrusted to them, and the more active participation of all our organs in the solution of the many problems confronting the peoples councils.

Giving special attention to elevating our entire activity to a qualitatively superior level, we will fight for the implementation of the party policy on strengthening the defense capability of the country, under conditions of the application of the recent decision of the party leadership on the reduction of military expenditures and we will make an increased contribution to the defense of the national sovereignty and independence of the country.

We assure you, beloved and esteemed comrade supreme commander, that we wo will spare no efforts in firmly carrying out your guidelines and directives, which are of overwhelming theoretical and practical significance, in regard to the ways and means by which state security, national wealth, public peace and order, and civil rights and freedoms should be defended in our socialist society.

'Blasphemers' of Classical Writers Condemned

Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 13 Sep 80 p 7

[Speech by the writer Paul Anghel]

[Excerpts] Some literary historians might say that 15 years represents too short a period to be defined as a literary period, saying that a new period is connected with older periods and that it continues them and develops them. This is true but this is valid for all great periods. The books which appeared in this period [the past 15 years] could not have appeared earlier, neither so many nor so good books, and this says everything about the climate of development of literature art and culture in Romania today. In order to develop, literature--and not only literature--needs a good climate, a warm climate and the warmth which this period has brought us is the warmth of the man who beings it. There he is!

I would like to give an example in regard to the improvement of the climate in literature: the abolition of censorship. No matter how many misfortunes censorship causes, it is known that the first victim of censorship, anywhere, is the written word. But censorship oppressed not only the written word but also the thought. Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu took the initiative in getting rid of this anachronistic institution, imported from other shores and representing an era of frost. We are indebted to him for the fact that our literary works are published today as they are written, as we think them and thus they reach you, our readers more rapidly. There are many reasons why we, the writers, are grateful to the secretary general of the party and our gratitude has some obligations: we respond to a great period with a great literature.

How do we do this? This is being done, this literature exists and is being created before our eyes. It is an involved and militant literature, militating resolutely for our socialist country and for its people, proclaiming the noble humanist ideal of this new and innovative period. Our literature today is an integral part of the great construction site and creation site which is Romania. Here is another characteristic: today's literature has taken over in a felicitous way the great and glorious tradition of the golden ages of Romanian literature. The painful break with the past, a grievous break which lasted for a number of black and cold years, has been eliminated in a determined manner. Today, the great classic writers are our contemporaries; they are no longer foreigners in their own country.

The greatest writers--Eminescu, Sadoveanu, Arghezi, Blaga and Calinescu--will help us by their example to make a new classical period of Romanian literature, which we desire, a period of universal reference. It is not possible, we are convinced for present-day Romanian literature not to reflect the fate of Romania today. At the same time, we have a literature which is receptive to the new and open to the newness of literary techniques and procedures which come from contemporary life, from the language and sensitivity of contemporary man, from the thought and philosophy of the builders of socialism.

This is why we are troubled by some radio stations, not in our country but elsewhere. Some gentlemen somewhere else are teaching us how to write Romanian and how to feel human while they have turned their backs on the language and the feeling of this land. Let us say that they do not like today's writers because they are Communists and because they write a committed literature, but they are also blaspheming our classic writers--Sadoveanu, Arghezi and Calinescu--who have no other vice, they and the others of bearing Romanian literature on their shoulders, as on the shoulders of giants. These professional blasphemers reject, not only the literature of today but also every Romanian value. They do not like it when we write about the freeholders of Stefan the Great, or when we write about the heroes of Plevna, or when we write about the men of today, so that you might ask them: Gentlemen, don't you like the Romanian people at all? According to them, it would have been well if this people had left the country, going, young and old, to some other place and reintegrated themselves with the Martians, if possible, leaving an empty space here.

Our essential task remains that of elevating the country to new stages of progress and of raising to a state of magnificence the culture, science, art and literature of today's Romania. Who will do this if not us, we who are here on this land? As for literature, we still have a lot to do to raise it to a new level. Justifiably, here in the Congress, criticism has been addressed to weak creations, unsatisfactory both ideologically and artistically, and, justifiably the desire has been expressed that works of art and culture should express the truth of our age more resolutely and more vigorously. But, to tell the truth, we expect much more severe criticism. In this regard, it seems to me that we should accentuate the militant content of literature, the involvement of literature in the great themes of the times, in the problems of life and the building of socialism in today's Romania. This is my opinion; there may be other opinions, but I am asserting my option, my literary belief. It seems to me that we should increase the altitude of meditation in our books, the quality of ideological and artistic thought, a thought which comes from a new, scientific and humanistic ideology--the ideology of the party. We must increase our contacts with the life of the builders of socialism. Let us go more frequently and stay longer in the places which we left since life is the only reason for a work of art. How else can we confront the future than by relying strongly on the past and the present?

Role of Trade Unions Discussed

Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 13 Sep 80 p 6

[Speech by Emil Bobu, chairman of the Central Council of the General Union of Trade Unions of Romania, minister of labor]

[Excerpts] In the system of socialist democracy, the development and perfecting of worker democracy finds profound expression today in worker self-management which has, in the new economic-financial mechanism and in the self-administration of enterprises, a broad and fertile field for action and for the manifestation of the new status of the working man--that of owner, producer and beneficiary of the entire national wealth. In this orginal, profoundly democratic system of worker self-management, the trade unions are not merely involved and do not merely make contributions. They are direct participants, with precise and concrete responsibilities, rights and duties.

I would like, from this high forum of our socialist democracy, to express the satisfaction and gratitude of the trade unions for the conditions which have been created for them to assert themselves as mass organizations of the working class and of workers.

Taking into consideration and the increasing role, importance and attributes of the trade unions, we place at the center of their activity the mobilization and uniting of the efforts of all owrkers for the exemplary implementation of the socio-economic development plans of the country on which the uninterrupted progress of the country and the improvement of the well-being of the workers depend.

Acting together with the masses of workers, in the name of the interests of the working class and of workers, the trade unions never forget for a moment that powerful axiomatic statement of the secretary general of the party that nothing has fallen to us from the skies and that we have received nothing from others and all that has been done in our country is the fruit of the heroic and self-sacrificing work of the working class and of the entire people and that only by determined, disciplined work can we achieve what we aspire to--an ever-more prosperous life, an ever-higher prestige in the ranks of the countries and peoples of the world.

We are aware that the trade unions must do much more so that each worker will understand the significance of the status of the working class as owner, producer and beneficiary of the entire national wealth. We must work so that this is affirmed in work deeds, in the framework of worker self-management and economic self-administration in the enterprises, in the way the work collectives manage the part of the national wealth entrusted to them, as well as the technical assets, material resources and labor force of the enterprises.

We must do more to achieve a wise utilization of the labor force, to increase the professional skills of the workers and to reduce the number of non-productive, auxiliary, bureaucratic personnel. We must act more perseverently to mobilize all workers to assure in all units a strict system of savings and of the most judicious use of raw materials, other materials, energy and fuel, for the collection, recovery and recycling of everything possible in the production process.

In our political and educational work, we must act with more determination to combat any negative manifestations, retrogade mentalities, and attitudes in contradiction with the principles of socialist ethics and equity, with the norms established for living in our society.

We will intensify our control over the implementation of labor safety, for the reduction and elimination of work accidents and occupational illnesses, for the improvement of the quality of health care in the enterprises and the development of the networks of canteens and snack bars.

Assignment of New Workers Cited

Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 13 Sep 80 p 6

[Speech by Sara Santa, deputy chairman of the Covasna County People's Council]

[Exerpts] I would like to refer to the problem of the assignment and hiring of the labor force, especially those workers with higher training. In my opinion, there should be more firmness in the application of the law regarding the obligation of graduates to go where the interests of society require. It is true that the peoples councils have an important role in creating the material conditions which these young people need to become integrated in their work. But we cannot approve of the system of intercessions, of so-called "negations", with negative results for the cadre situation in each county since specialists from the provinces are able to take the road to the Capital too easily.

Minister Cites Health Problems

Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 13 Sep 80 p 6

[Speech of minister of health Eugen Proca]

[Excerpts] We cannot overlook the fact that there are still some shortcomings in the activity of workers in the health field. Neglecting the methodological role, the role of technical assistance and support in carrying out far-reaching prophylactic actions and monitoring their application, they have not given adequate attention to chronic diseases. The national program for recovery--a valuable work instrument in this important sphere of present-day medicine--was late in being finalized. Although during recent years there has been a continual increase in the consumption of medicines in Romania and

although their production has been diversified, the regular supplying of the entire range of varieties has experienced fluctuations and deficiencies have been noted in the quality of some medicines. No organized framework has been created for the utilization of medicinal plants, an inexhaustible source of therapeutic elements, a resource of great importance for providing the raw materials which are solicited more and more by the chemical and pharmaceutical industry; the unscientific utilization, without a methodological framework, of the natural curative factors, an inestimable wealth of our country, is another deficiency in this area.

Scientific research, an important field of work of the doctor, has not yet obtained results capable of eliminating out-model methodology, routine and conservativism, despite the fact that it has at its disposal an excellent material base and well-trained cadres, many of them prestigious personalities.

Also, all efforts have not been exerted in support of the allocation, on a priority basis, of apartments from the state supply to families with a number of children and the strict observance of the legislation governing the work of pregnant women has not been monitored closely. I can only be in agreement with some provisions provided by the proposed modifications of laws No. 4 and No. 5 of 1973 in regard to the granting of preference to families with a number of children or with difficult living conditions.

Despite the fact that the Ministry of Health, on the basis of the tasks set by the plenum of the Central Committee of our party, together with other ministries, has organized actions for the improvement of living and working conditions at all levels, no better organized actions have been undertaken which would lead to the elimination of chemical and physical pollutants and which would require the observance of antipollutant legislation. Also, departures from the norms of medical ethics and deontology are still being noted on the part of some health personnel; there are doctors who, ignoring the humanism of the profession, show evidence of superficiality, do not behave in a civilized manner in their relations with patients, perform their medical services on a mercantile basis, and are absent, unjustifiably, from their work place.

The Ministry of Health and the peoples councils are called upon to apply and to support the implementation of complex measures aiming at the protection of pregnant women, the assurance of conditions of complete safety for the birth process, and the active monitoring of the newborn baby, the infant, and the child, on an individual basis. Factors of special importance in preventing and combating illnesses are the assurance of suitable hygiene conditions in all sectors of activity and the perfecting of the medical care which is given in workers' collectives.

A matter which is also important for health is proper nutrition for the people, an area in which the health organs and the peoples councils have well-determined functions.

'Significant Shortfalls' in Agriculture

Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 12 Sep 80 p 5

[Speech by Angelo Miculescu, deputy prime minister of the government, minister of agriculture and the food industry]

[Excerpts] In agriculture, the tasks of the plan were not achieved year after year, resulting in significant shortfalls in the five-year plan which is concluding. This has had a negative influence on the development of agriculture, the achievement of programs for the economy as a whole, especially export and the balance of payments. Also, we must say openly that our results have not been up to the level of the technical-material base, of the financial means, and, in general, of the assistance given by the state.

The shortfalls in vegetable production, especially in the production of grains and fodder crops, have had a negative influence on the development of animal production which, in turn, has created significant difficulties in satisfying all the needs for raw materials for the food industry and light industry.

These results show that in the activity of the Ministry of Agriculture and the Food Industry, the peoples councils, the agricultural organs, and the leaderships of many production units, significant deficiencies continue to be manifested in the use of land, in the use of means of mechanization and chemicalization, in the execution of land improvement works, in achieving the numbers and yields of animals, in the mobilization and organization of the labor force, which results, in many units, in the failure to execute in time and with proper quality the works determined by technical norms and, as a direct result, poor products, below the level of possibilities and with unfavorable economic and financial consequences, are still being obtained.

In the next five-year plan, we must do our best to obtain a yield of 27-28 million tons of grain and this objective is at the basis of the increase of animal production to 45-46 percent of the total agricultural production. The providing of fodder, the exploitation, with increased yields, of the more than 5 million hectares of pastures and arable land intended for fodder production, constitute, as Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu has said, central tasks for zootechny, and all necessary measures should be taken for their achievememt.

Shortcomings of Trade Network

Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 12 Sep 80 p 2

[Speech by Ana Muresan, minister of domestic trade]

[Excerpts] Viewing our work self-critically, I must acknowledge that although we have had positive results, shortcomings still persist in trade

activity. The Ministry of Domestic Trade and the local trade organs have not monitored with sufficient attention the appropriate distribution of goods on a territorial basis and this has created certain deficiencies in supplying some localities. We have not acted with the necessary firmness to make some suppliers and producing ministries, which are in arrears month after month, respect their contract obligations, in the framework of the state plan. At the same time, in some trade enterprises, there is no continuing concern for the management of the units and the supply of goods.

The inadequate use of commercial space, the unjustified placing and spacing of some units and markets in some sectors and localities have had negative effects on the level of supplying. Also a climate of order and discipline and of responsibility and respect for the customers has not been created in all the units.

Housing Problems in Foscani

Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 12 Sep 80 p 3

[Speech by Alexandrina Mocanu, chairman of the Foscani Municipality People's Council]

[Excerpts] Despite the efforts made by the state to resolve the housing situation for the people, there are still some citizens whose housing problem has not been resolved. Of course, this is a result, partially, of shortcomings in construction activity. But, in my opinion, housing legislation should be improved, especially in regard to the distribution of housing space. I would propose that the law provide more equitable criteria for determining the housing space for landlords and that those rooms in excess of the housing needs of the landlord and his family be rented by the landlord and by the people's council. Also, the peoples councils should be obligated by law to check periodically, possibly every quarter, on the situation of excessive housing space.

Shortcomings of Young Workers

Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 12 Sep 80 p 2

[Speech by Pantelimon Gavanescu, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Union of Communist Youth, minister for youth problems]

[Excerpts] The activity of the Central Committee of the Union of Communist Youth and of our organizations has had some shortcomings. In many economic units, especially in those in which the majority of workers are young, there are young people who do not fulfill the tasks of the plan, who violate production discipline, who turn out poor quality products, and who show a lack of interest in the activity of the respective enterprises. We must act systematically to generalize the progressive characteristics of the new type of man, to increase combativity toward tendencies and manifestations of careerism.

Distress at Departure of German Minority

Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 12 Sep 80 p 4

[Speech by Iosif Eckenreiter, first deputy chairman of the Sibiu County People's Council]

[Excerpts] In our country, all nationalities, Romanians, Germans, and Hungarians, benefit from complete equality in the right to a constantly better and more prosperous life. Therefore, I am overwhelmed with indignation when some citizens of German nationality, apathetic in regard to the country in which they and their ancestors were born and raised, in regard to the excellent prospects for asserting themselves which it offers, leave their country, blinded by an illusion of achievement abroad.

With all my heart, I express here my disapproval of such actions and my disgust with the lies circulated against our country by the various radio "voices" of the renegades. Let them leave us in peace!

It is the duty of all of us, the deputies, to intensify our work of patriotic education among the masses of citizens and to demonstrate to those who want to leave the country the adventurist path on which they are embarking.

We are aware of the obligations of the peoples councils in regard to the adoption of proper measures for the knowledge and strict application of the party decisions and the laws of the state by all citizens, the strengthening of public order and discipline, the protection of public property, order and the goods of citizens. I consider, in this area, that the local organs of the militia and the other organs which carry on their activity in this area have the duty of giving the peoples councils reports on the way in which they perform their functions assigned by law. In particular, I would like to stress the fact that much more firmness should be shown in regard to the observance of the laws in the construction sites, where materials, energy, and fuel are not used with sufficient thrift.

Benefits for Miners Cited

Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 12 Sep 80 p 2

[Speech of Petre Barb, chairman of the People's council of Petrosani Municipality, Hunedoara County]

[Excerpts] On the basis of your guidelines and directives, given at the time of your visits to the Jiu Valley, the economy of Petrosani Municipality is experiencing an intense process of development and diversification. We are giving priority attention to the fulfillment of the plan for coal production. However, I must say that we are not satisfied with the activity carried out and the results obtained because some mining enterprises have not fulfilled the tasks of the plan. This is why we are concerned with

raising the spirit of worker combativity in all work collectives and orienting attention more firmly in the direction of the better use of working cadres and equipment, the improvement of the organization of labor and the strengthening of order and discipline, so that we will make the activity of making up for lost time and the achievement of the plan in coal production a concern both for the miners and for all those who work in the Jiu Valley. In this effort, we would like to receive more active assistance from the responsible ministries, especially in regard to the program for the mechanization of the extration process and the ensuring of the work front for 1981, an area in which we are still lagging.

The miners of the Jiu Valley are deeply grateful to you, most esteemed Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, for the program of the construction of industrial units needed for the employment of the female labor force. The "vis "viscoza" enterprise in Lupeni has been expanded and the silk mill is near completion. The Vulcan clothing factory, the knitwear enterprise in Petrosani and the Petrila furniture factory have begun production. More than 5,000 women will work in all these units, the majority of them, wives and daughters of miners.

To all this we add, with gratitude, the substantial increase in the monetary incomes of the workers--the miners were the first to benefit from the increase in wages--, the increase in the consumption of food, industrial products and products of general use and the improvement of the level of comfort.

However, we must state that we are not succeeding in raising the level of the peoples councils activity up to the level of the great current demands, in all places. The shortcomings which still exist in the activity of some peoples councils oblige us to persevere so that it will be understood that the peoples councils must act in the present period in a new, revolutionary spirit and must ensure, unceasingly, the promotion of the principles of socialism, the building of a new order in the territorial-administrative units in which they operate. On the basis of these demands, I believe that we should analyze whether the name of the peoples councils should be changed, perhaps to "revolutionary peoples councils" or "socialist peoples councils", so that they will better respond, by their name, to their mission as organs of the revolutionary power of the people and of our socialist order.

I read with interest the provisions of the law in regard to the increasing of the responsibility of local organs in the revolutionary, patriotic education of the population, in the formation of the socialist awareness. I must say, self-critically, that we are not succeeding in carrying out a continuing cultural-educational activity everywhere, in combating negative states, in cultivating, in all citizens, love of work, respect for the law and for the principles of socialist ethics and equity. Also, I believe that the central institutions of education, especially, television, the films, and the central press, should give us better support in this work.

One cannot speak of support on the part of some television broadcasts which flood the television screens with all sorts of poor-quality Western films, which, instead of criticizing capitalist realities, present an apology for the bourgeois way of life. I also believe that the Council for Socialist Culture and Education should assist us by sending us many more good films and sending many more theater groups to the Jiu Valley, groups with a militant, educational and revolutionary repertoire.

Harmful Television Programs Scored

Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 12 Sep 80 p 2

[Speech by Nicolae Gonea, first deputy chairman of the Bucharest Municipality Peoples Council]

[Excerpts] We are aware that our results would have been better if there had not been a number shortcomings in the work of the local organs of state power and administration. For example, we have had delays in the implementation of the program for the construction of housing; lags have occurred in the areas of providing services and utilizing local resources; the services do not respond to the needs of the population, both in regard to their range and their territorial distribution. There are shortcomings in the activity of supplying the population, especially in the judicious distribution of the existing supply of goods, as well as in the manner of serving the consumers. In regard to public transportation, we must say that there are still a number of deficiencies in providing transportation at regular intervals in peak hours, repairing and maintaining the vehicles, and the observance of rules of order and discipline by all the personnel of the Bucharest Transportation Enterprise.

Some shortcomings continue to exist in the work style and methods of the people's councils of Bucharest and its sectors. One often finds manifestations of formalism, conservativism and bureaucracy, and lack of concern, in some cases, for the needs of the population.

The deficiencies existing in the activity of the peoples councils are a result of the fact that, sometimes, their staff must concern itself with the compilation of numerous statistics and situation reports, covering a multitude of data requested by the Committee for People's Councils Problems and other central organs dealing with planning and synthesis, to the detriment of the everyday, concrete work amoung the citizens.

I acknowledge the fact that we are insufficiently concerned with education and with the management of the material base intended for this activity and with the organization of extensive cultural-artistic and sports manifestations and I must say that the peoples councils have registered a number of complaints from citizens in regard to the programs broadcast on radio and television. I agree with the criticism of Comrade Petre Barb in regard to

some television programs. Uninteresting, unconvincing programs, with no connection to actual life, are broadcast and too many Western films, without any educational message and with harmful influence on the youth, are scheduled.

The peoples councils and the militia, the public prosecutor, and the justice organs must increase their attention to any deviation from the laws of the country. We do not understand why some state organs have become meek and tolerant toward those who violate the law. cmmmit anti-social acts and strike at public or personal property. We must act determinedly against all manifestations of hooliganism, of theft, of uncivilized behavior, for the strict observance of the principles of socialist ethics and equity by all citizens.

Dialogue with Citizens

Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 13 Sep 80 p 7

[Speech by Victor Bordea, chairman of the Tirgoviste Municipality People's Cpuncil]

[Excerpts] First of all, in my capacity as deputy of the Dimbovita County People's Council and as mayor of Tirgoviste Municipality, please allow me to present to the leadership of the party and the state and to you, personally, most esteemed comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the thanks of the workers of these ancient Romanian regions for the invaluable support given to the rapid development of Dimbovita County and Tirgoviste Municipality.

The procession of the many founders of the city, which was interrupted centuries ago, has been resumed in recent years with the most brilliant and visionary of them all, the most important man in our history, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, to whom all workers are grateful and will always be grateful in their thoughts, hearts, and deeds.

In the most glorious period in the history of our country, initiated by the 9th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party, the city of Tirgoviste, like all the localities of the country, is undergoing a powerful socio-economic emancipation. During this period, industrial production has increased from one billion to more than 12 billion lei and the population on the municipality has increased more than 3 times. More than 18,000 apartments have been constructed and are inhabited by 3/4 of the residents of our muncipality. During the last five-year plan alone, the average annual rate of industrial development has exceeded 23 percent, which will permit Tirgoviste to become a large industrial center of the country.

The speaker referred to the activity of the people's council and of the deputies for the good management of the city, for the revolutionary education of all citizens for the best possible organization of the "Hymn to Romania" national festival.

Therefore, in order to assure that such manifestations and political-educational activities, in general, are carried out under the best possible conditions, I believe that the cultural attirbutes of the peoples councils should be better defined in the amendments which are being proposed for the Law on the Organization and Operation of the Peoples Councils, so that their adoption will lead to an increased role for the local organs of state power in the formation of the new man and of his revolutionary awareness.

We are aware that a number of deficiencies persist in our activity. They were known, even more courageously, in the systematic meetings which we have had with citizens in the framework of the forum of civic dialogue called the "Tribune of Democracy", an initiative for which we are indebted to the secretary general of the party and to his undiminishing concern that every person in this country should have his say in regard to the solution of all problems related to movement on the road to multilateral economic and social progress. We are determined to improve our work style, making each action which we undertake a daily concern for all citizens, involving our entire activ, headed by the Communists, in their mobilization. We will concern ourselves more thorougly with assuring an adequate material base for the regular fulfillment of the tasks of the plan by all the enterprises; we will make an effort to improve conditions in regard to public transportation, water supplies, and the creation of acceptable conditions for all. Some needs can be better satisfied, in our opinion and as the dialogue with the citizens revealed, if the responsible organs will carefully analyze the proposals, which I am making it my duty to formulate, in the framework of our forum. In light of the fact that the Doicesti thermoelectric power plant is only 10 km. from Tirgoviste Municipality, we ask the Ministry of Electric Power to accelerate the necessary work so that arrangements can be made for receiving thermal energy from this source; in order to provide the highly-skilled manpower needed for the industrial units in the municipality and in Dimbovita County, I propose that an analysis be made of the possibility of establishing a branch of Bucharest Polytechnical Institute--an evening course--in Tirgoviste, to train subengineers in the branches of metallurgy and machine building.

CSO: 2700

REGULATIONS ON DISCARDING OF MILITARY EQUIPMENT

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 69, 8 Sep 80 p 1

[Council of State Decree Amending Article 50 of Council of State Decree No 207/1976 on the Material Responsibility of Military Personnel]

[Text] The Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees: Sole article -- Article 50 of Council of State Decree No 207/1976 on the material responsibility of military personnel is amended and will have the following content:

"Art. 50 -- (1) The declaring obsolete and discarding of material goods, including military hardware belonging to the armed forces, are executed as follows:

a) with the approval of the Defense Council of the Socialist Republic of Romania for military hardware stipulated in the annex *) to the present decree;

b) with the approval of organs of the Ministry of National Defense and of the Ministry of the Interior, respectively, according to the areas of jurisdiction stipulated by the Defense Council of the Socialist Republic of Romania, for material goods and military hardware other than that provided for in the annex.

(2) Material goods can be discarded only if they have been in service for the length of time stipulated by the law or if they are in an advanced stage of wear and are not able to be used for any other purpose in the national economy and cannot be repaired or modernized.

The material goods which are discarded will be taken apart, ensuring that the units, sub-units, components and materials can be recovered so that they can be recycled into new articles or used as spare parts or for repair work, in the state in which they are obtained or through reconditioning, for the needs of the armed forces or for the national economy.

*) The annex is being transmitted to the institutions concerned.

The other materials obtained by the discarding of material goods can be retained by the units which have discarded them, for the satisfaction of their own needs or to distribute to other military units and to be utilized, according to the law, in the socialist sector.

(3) The minister of national defense and the minister of the interior, respectively, on the basis of the decisions of the management councils, will issue, with the approval of the State Planning Committee and the Ministry of Finance, norms regarding the removal from the records of material goods used up or worn out in the process of combat training or in other activities, regarding the process of declaring obsolete and discarding material goods belonging to them, including military hardware, regarding the subtracting of losses from rejects as well as the subtractions in percent for the losses resulting from their perishability or their transformation."

NICOLAE CEAUSESCU,

President of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Bucharest, 4 September 1980

No 269

CSO: 2700

HEROIC EFFORTS OF FIREFIGHTERS HAILED BY COMMANDER

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 13 Sep 80 p 8

[Article by Major General Gheorghe Bricaeg, commander of the firefighters; "Firefighters' Day--Carefully Watching Over the Property of All"]

[Excerpts] It has been a tradition of our people to celebrate the "Day of the Firefighters of the Socialist Republic of Romania" each year on 13 September. This is an occasion to remember the heroic struggles carried on by the detachment of Bucharest firefighters in the battle of Dealul Spirii, on 13 September 1948, against the Ottoman invaders, for the defense of the ancestral land and for the cause of the revolution. It is also an opportunity to express appreciation to those who today protect from fire the national wealth, the lives and the property of citizens.

The unprecedented socio-economic development during the years of socialism, the increase in national property from year to year, in the number and importance of industrial and agricultural units, their equipping with high complexity machines and installations, on the level of world technology and the diversification of manufacturing techniques have necessitated and still necessitate special attention to combatting and, especially, to preventing fires.

Thoroughly trained, ready at any moment and under any conditions to resolutely face dangerous situations, the firefighters have taken action, whenever necessary, with a high spirit of patriotic self-sacrifice and professional competence, putting out fires and saving important material assets from destruction. Military members of firefighter units in Turceni, Tirgu Jiu, companies I and II in Ploiesti, in Bacau, Tirgoviste, Orastie and others have demonstrated real courage and bravery and, when necessary, heroism in their actions.

Stressing the activity of prevention, special attention is being given to the technical examinations executed by the representatives of the firefighter units in all economic and socio-cultural installations, especially in those with a high level of vulnerability to fire.

With a view to fire protection, an intense and diverse educational activity has been organized and carried out among the masses. Also, closer collaboration has been achieved with specialists from the economic ministries and the central institutions and with members of the technical commissions in the installations and localities in eliminating the causes of fires. However, in some economic and socio-cultural units, one still finds aspects of negligence or imprudence, the ignoring of technical norms for the utilization or maintenance of aggregates and installations, with the resulting risks.

Members of technical commissions and of civilian firefighters' groups make an important contribution to carrying out a continued and effective activity of preventing or putting out fires. Outstanding among these are the technical commissions in the chemical combine of Craiova, the Teleajean petrochemical combine, the Blaj wood processing plant, the Galati iron and steel mill, the Constanta naval shipyard and others as well as the civilian firefighters' groups in the localities of Buhusi, Saveni, Cruset, Calatele, Masloc, Hida and Cisnadioara--which were rated in first place in the patriotic competition organized in this area.

As a result of the raising of the level of awareness and of the spirit of responsibility of workers, there have been frequent cases in which citizens have intervened directly or have promptly notified the firefighter organs for the purpose of eliminating situations or irregularities which might cause fires. But the most valuable assistance which the firefighters can receive from the population is the observance by all citizens of the norms of fire prevention, thus eliminating the causes which produce fires.

While they are proud of their successes, the military and civilian firefighters are also aware of the shortcomings in their activity and the fact that the quality of their actions has not always been up to the level of the conditions created. They will do their best to continue to improve their readiness.

CSO: 2700

THEATER SEASON RECEIVES CRITICAL REVIEW

Bucharest CONTEMPORANUL in Romanian 6 Jun 80 p 7

[Article by Valentin Silvestru: "Meditation in a Loud Voice--Which Could Be Wrong"]

[Text] How does the theatrical season look? Can it be portrayed, does it have distinctive features? It is difficult to reply. Any illuminating comment on this subject also has its negative counterpart. The picture is contradictory. We are experiencing the most fertile moment of original dramaturgy, not only in the sense that we have significant works of all kinds and genres, many of which have been printed or staged, but also in the sense that performances of Romanian tragedies and comedies have a noteworthy artistic value and are enjoying the real appreciation of the public, the support of the critics, and the interest of other opinion leaders. Horia Lovinescu's admirable modern parable, 10 years old, has been staged and awarded the imposing Theatrical Criticism Prize. Nearly all of Teodor Mazilu's comedies are appearing on several stages to the great and lasting satisfaction of the public. Marin Sorescu is seeing a play performed that he wrote a decade ago, and he has the pleasure of seeing his historical writings in new settings that are winning awards at festivals. Two interesting plays by Fanus Neagu are being staged. Tudor Popescu, an author who has come to prominence more recently, has been welcomed by many theaters. The novelist Mircea Sandulescu, a highly deserving beginner, is appearing over the footlights with two dramas at almost the same time. Aurel Baranga's incisive comedies are receiving new and successful stagings. A successful social drama by Paul Everac is being replayed by more and more theatrical companies. Andras Suto is on the billboards of several theaters, with the original versions and translations of five of his plays. On the other hand, I do not know why a monumental historical chronicle by Dumitru Radu Popescu, although published, has been awaiting its interpretation for a rather long time. Dumitru Solomon's comedies of ancient paraphrase, which are admirable modern allegories, have not reached the stages of Bucharest for years on end. Ion Baiesu's plays (some not yet performed) have been almost entirely forgotten by the theaters. Paul Cornel Chitic's documentary dramas of original design have figured in repertory plans for years and have

been praised by all (with the sole exception of those who promised long ago that they would stage them because they are good but who now say that they have not staged them for many years because they are not good). And in the meantime minor, dull and faulty works of so-called local authors are being produced, authors who have had two or three failures and whose lack of qualification and talent is apparent to all those who labor with their substandard output. Frivolous dramas and pointless farces, domestic and foreign, are preferred, swelling the wave of mediocrity that is provincializing our theater and divorcing it from problems and culture.

The same author, Tudor Popescu, is offering the theaters a forceful satirical comedy entitled "Occasional Paradise" /Paradis de ocazie/ and has published (in TEATRUL) an excellent, wonderfully well written drama entitled "We Are Not All Born At the Same Age," but he has also published an insipid farce of the boulevardier variety entitled "The Sweet Hypocrisy of the Mature Male," and of course various entrepreneurs with doubtful taste are flocking to it. The Little Theater is rising to the top of the theatrical movement with the most important play of the season and a performance of great scope entitled "The Fortuitous Middle Ages" /Evul mediu intimplator/ by Romulus Guga, and then it produces in its annex, The Very Little Theater, minor writings and a trivial melodrama or rather a series of monologues, produced with inexplicable eccentricities and essentially false, entitled "Kennedy's Children." The same stage manager, Liviu Ciulei, an artist of the highest caliber, creates the memorable performance "The Storm" and then signs the poor adaptation of a deplorable American trifle called "Gin Rummy." The same young actors who so often delighted us at Piatra-Neamt now appear in a vague, unrecognizable way in a stultified and sterile production of "The Stormy Night." The list of vexations could be prolonged.

It could not be said that there is no trend of opinion critical of anomalies (although the anticritical pressure is not insignificant either) or that true achievements are not encouraged. Every month there is an extensive demonstration of theatrical culture (this year at Craiova, Pitesti, Brasov, Sfint Gheorghe, Birlad, Vaslui etc.), as well as festivals and colloquiums favoring fertile, democratic discussions with very lively exchanges of experience and opinions that are continued in the press. There are also constructive discussions of each theater's activity, either in the country or, when there are tours, at the headquarters of the Artists' Association, on the initiative and with the generous support of the Dramatic Criticism Section, as well as symposiums, meetings among collectives, scientific meetings, and conferences, all with a beneficial effect upon consideration and determination of theatrical policy. Then why these uncertainties and contradictions and so many inconsistencies? Again it is difficult to frame replies. Nevertheless: Some plead publicly for a current, political, committed, militant and aggressive repertoire but choose (sometimes the same people) plays which will be "purely entertaining," pointless and "without problems," "spirited dramas" and "comedies without satire" which "will not cause headaches" and "will bring money to the box office no matter how," although it has been seen how Shakespeare, Duerrenmatt, Pirandello, Caragiale, Baranga, Sorescu and Mazilu can bring people to the box office in droves, and not in any fashion but with true, dramatic and inspiring

literature, brimming with ideas and, coming from some of our authors, timely and with a high political and patriotic value.

Then there is also the disastrous practice of throwing performances together without skill, thought or consideration. In some places this is not considered artistic work but a kind of rough carpentry. The stage management and sometimes even the scenography are entrusted to authors who are estimable as such but not as producers. The bookkeeping or planning would not be entrusted to them on any account, or any other prerogative of the theater, but they can perform stage management as mere dilettantes among professionals. The directors, actors and literary secretaries also perform it. A performance with the stage management signed (on placards) by the congenial Constanta comics Jean Constantin and Gelu Manolache is traveling through the country! Another one bears the stage manager's signature of the director of the respective theater and a newspaper man. Performances are very hurriedly arranged in 2 or 3 weeks. Comrade Mihai Berechet, who has been working for several months to put on a performance of Cocteau at the National Theater, set the record of spending only 15 days in Timisoara for Robert Thomas' "Eight Women." The stage manager Radu Sorin Grigorescu of TV roves through the country proposing showings of 3 days and one night, during which time the performance is recorded on film and an "outlet at a station" is promised him (which sometimes even happens). Special performances are held "for villages" and "outside the plan" "which the critics will not see or know of."

Such harmful phenomena, the infiltration of fraudulent, antiliterate translators who buy up foreign trifles quickly and cheaply, the pressure of provincial and Bucharest scribblers upon the theaters, the absence of scientific documentation, the inclination toward easy successes, indifference and sometimes repulsive and authoritarian hostility to criticism (regarded de plano as malicious, interested, erroneous etc.) and the like serve to restrict the sphere of influence of the dramatic theater. Our creative potential is extraordinary in all sectors. It is now only partially in use. Meanwhile the great achievements are not the rule in this season.

5186
CSO: 2700

BRIEFS

EARTHQUAKE IN GALATI--The Center for Earth Physics and Seismology announces that on 12 September 1980, at 0224 hours, 25 seconds, there was an earthquake with a magnitude of 4.7 on the Richter scale in the vicinity of the city of Galati, at a depty of about 15 km. The intensity of the earthquake at its epicenter was 5 degrees on the Mercalli scale. The earthquake was felt in Galati, Braila, Macin, Tulcea, Focsani, Rimnicu Sarat, Tecuci, Bacau and Birlad, with an intensity of from II to IV degrees. There was no material damage. [Text] [Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 13 Sep 80 p 8]

LIBYAN ANNIVERSARY RECEPTION--On the occasion of the 11th anniversary of the 1 September revolution, Libya's national anniversary, that country's ambassador to Bucharest gave a reception on 4 September at the Intercontinental Hotel. The reception was attended by Virgil Trofin, deputy prime minister and minister of mines, petroleum and geology; Gheorghe Caranfil and Dumitru Popa, ministers; Dumitru Bejan, minister secretary of state at the Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation; Gheorghe Dolgu, deputy minister of foreign affairs, members of the leadership of other ministries and central institutions, men of culture and art, journalists, and heads of diplomatic missions and members of the diplomatic corps. [AU091344 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 5 Sep 80 p 5]

ALBA IULIA BISHOP--The President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Auxiliary Bishop Jakab Antal is recognized in the position of bishop of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Alba Iulia. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 69, 8 Sep 80 p 2]

ORTHODOX CHURCH OFFICIALS--The President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Bishop-Vicar Simion Florea is recognized in the position of bishop-vicar of the Archdiocese of Sibiu, a position to which he was elected by the Synod of the Romanian Orthodox Church on 16 July 1980 and Archimandrite Dimitrie Coravu is recognized in the position of bishop-vicar of the Archdiocese of Craiova, a position to which he was elected by the Synod of the Romanian Orthodox Church on 16 July 1980. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 69, 8 Sep 80 p 2]

CSO: 2700

POLICEMEN INDICTED FOR MURDER OF BYSTANDER

[Editorial Report] Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian on 14 September 1980, pages 16-17, sheds light on the murder indictment brought against three police employees--all bearing explicity Serb names--in the beating death of a 22-year-old Moslem auto mechanic in the police station of a provincial Serbian town on 9 July 1980. The killing had not been reported in the national press until 2 weeks after the victim's funeral [see FBIS Eastern Europe Daily Report, Vol II, No 146, 28 July 1980, pp I 4-5]. Belgrade ILUSTROVANA POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian on 29 July 1980, pages 52-53, contributes additional details. The emerging facts paint an unappealing picture of interpersonal relations in Priboj-on-the-Lim in western Serbia, where a motor vehicle factory has been turning out trucks and buses under license for more than 20 years and where the Serb population is mixed with persons retaining the Moslem identity of their kinsmen in nearby Bosnia. The case is illustrative of the range of arbitrary power in isolated communities in which an authoritarian tradition runs strong.

Given the facts of the case, Zvonko Simic in NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE seems justifiably surprised at an indictment for "plain murder" instead of "brutal murder," the count to be expected under Yugoslav law when the victim dies after being beaten. Two groups of people had been arguing in a cafe that July afternoon in Priboj. Unfortunately, we are not in a position to say what they were arguing about; the indictment is silent on this point. Since a drunken brawl or passing insult would presumably have been described in an indictment covering a case that had aroused much local interest, we may be justified in presuming some cause that the Yugoslav authorities would prefer not to bandy about in public, such as intolerance on ethnic, religious, or other grounds. In any event, when the arguing resumed in another cafe, someone called the police. Alija Toskic, whose names bespeak his Moslem affiliation, was among those taken to the police station, presumably as a witness. According to Desimir Milenovic, in ILUSTROVANA POLITIKA, Toskic has attempted to stop the fighting between two individuals who were ready to slug it out.

By all indications, the beating of Toskic began when he kept his hands behind his back after being told to leave them loose at his sides. Uniformed policeman Ljubisa Vukovic was first to hit him, followed by Radojko Raketic,

no policeman at all--just the station telegrapher from the next room. Uniformed policeman Dragoljub Vranic joined in with his rubber hose. All three seem to have kept hitting, kicking, and stomping Toskic until they finally realized that he was not playing possum on the floor. The indictment cites the clinical details from the autopsy: 13 serious wounds on Toskic's face, arms, legs, and back; a fatal blow to the back of the neck; contusions all over his body. According to Milenovic, Priboj medical center staffers were beside themselves when the bruised corpse was brought to them.

The most extraordinary aspect of the scene at the police station is the presence of no fewer than three civilian eyewitnesses during the beating, if the indictment is to be trusted, plus an unnamed number of uniformed policemen. Under these circumstances, Simic's rhetorical questions would seem the absolute minimum: "Why did the accused policeman Vukovic rush to beat up Toskic at the station? Why did two of his fellow-employees join in? Why did the other policemen fail to intervene to break up the melee? Above all, why did the duty officer--who had the right and obligation to do so--fail to do so?" Perhaps the hangers-on at the Priboj police station had become inured to such spectacles.

The Yugoslav authorities would like the public to believe that this was a strange instance of isolated, inexplicable abuse and that the dossier is closed.

Inexplicable it seems to be: to judge by the press accounts, petty schoolyard posturing led up to the crime. According to Toskic's girl friend in ILUSTROVANA POLITIKA, Raketic had been staring at Toskic and herself a month earlier when they were sitting on a park bench. "Why are you looking at us?" asked Alija. "Because I feel like it," Raketic answered. Five minutes later, Raketic returned with a patrolman. "Now you know who I am," he said, shoving some identity card into Toskic's face. The same Raketic is supposed to have yelled at Toskic in the police station, "So you're the one who wanted to beat me up!"

However, isolated this crime was not: 15 complaints were filed against policemen in Priboj after the tragedy occurred. A subsequent issue of ILUSTROVANA POLITIKA (19 August 1980, pages 18-19) carries a letter from ex-residents of Priboj living in Denmark who describe the head of their household as having died a few months earlier after having his nose broken by policeman Vranic. The public prosecutor, when asked about the case by relatives of the deceased, said, "My work is done. Three physicians signed that this was a heart attack and that he did not die of his injuries...I believe the physicians."

Belgrade MLADOST in Serbo-Croatian on 22 August 1980, page 6, reviews previously reported cases of police brutality, including a detail that may not have been reported heretofore: a crowd wrecked a police station in Novi Pazar, Kosovo province, in late 1979. The article does not directly link the incident with any particular case, but policeman Miljan Perovic is mentioned elsewhere in the article as having been sentenced to 20 years in prison for killing Muhamed Haljilji of Pec while the latter was fishing without a license.

CSO: 2800 END

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14 October 1980

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1818

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14 October 1980

EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1818

CONTENTS

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Romanian Awards Given to Warsaw Pact, Bulgarian Military Officers
(BULETINUL OFICIAL, 8 Jul 80) 1

Warsaw Pact Officers Awards
Awards for Bulgarian Officers

BULGARIA

Visiting Spanish Politician Comments on Bulgarian Anniversary
(Antonio Hernandez Gil; ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME, 4 Sep 80)..... 4

Editorial Calls for Better Training of Air Traffic Controllers
(NARODNA ARKIYA, 4 Sep 80) 6

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Factors Limiting NATO's Use of Military Power Analyzed
(Gerhard Basler; IPW-BERICHTE, Jul 80) 8

Former Merchant Captain Describes Arms Shipments, Life at Sea
(Ruediger Moniac; DIE WELT, 21 Aug 80) 23

HUNGARY

Briefs
Possible Seminarian Expulsion 26

POLAND

Norwegian Pro-PRC Organ Reports From Gdansk on Strikes
(KLASSEKAMPEN, 27-28-29 Aug 80) 27

Norway Union Supports, by Arne Jorama
Afghanistan, Czechoslovakia Demands
Local Party Chief Recants, by Tuva Gry Øyan

Polish-French Cultural Relations Noted
(Jean-Philippe Lecat Interview; ZYCIE WARSZAWY,
16 Jul 80) 34

Polish-French Cultural Relations, Principal Themes Outlined
(Bernard Margueritte; LE FIGARO, 18 Jul 80) 37

Protestant-Catholic Controversy Over Territorial Rights Noted
(LE FIGARO, 1 Aug 80) 39

ROMANIA

Principle of Non-Interference in Internal Affairs Hailed
(Victor Duculescu; CONTEMPORANUL, 27 Jun 80) 41

Briefs
New Chief Editor 45

YUGOSLAVIA

Concern Expressed Over Financing of Federal Operations
(NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE, 27 Jul 80) 46

Effectiveness of Expenditures Questioned, by Dragos Ivanovic
Analysis, Statistics, by Velizar Zecevic

Briefs
Accused of War Crimes 53

ROMANIAN AWARDS GIVEN TO WARSAW PACT, BULGARIAN MILITARY OFFICERS

Warsaw Pact Officers Awards

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 56, 8 Jul 80 pp 3-4

[Presidential Decree awarding the medal "Military Virtue" to generals, admirals and officers working in the organs of leadership of the United Armed Forces]

[Text] For contributions made in strengthening friendship among the armed forces of the Warsaw Pact states, the President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees:

Sole article--The medal Military Virtue First Class is conferred on the following comrades:

From the Bulgarian People's Army--Maj Gen Eng Penyu Danev Khalkov; Col Georgi Petkov Kolev; Col Nedelcho Atanasov Smilyanov; Captain first class Velyo Todorov Peev.

From the Hungarian People's Army--Maj Gen Eng Janos Horvath; Col Istvan Kovacs; Col Pal Kocsis; Lt Col Eng Laszlo Kovacs.

From the People's National Army of the German Democratic Republic--Col Hans Jurgen Wolk; Lt Col Deiter Zeidel; Col Wolfgang Hasse; Lt Col Gerhard Gise.

From the Polish Army--Brig Gen Sergiusz Kalugin; Brig Gen Jerzy Lagoda; Col Maksymilian Koszeniewski; Col Zvigmunt Drzewiecki.

From the armed forces of the USSR--General of the Army Anatoliy Ivanovich Gribkov; Admiral Vladimir Vasilyevich Mikhaylin; Col Gen Eng Ivan Artemyevich Fabrikov; Lt Gen Anatoliy Grigoryevich Merezhko; Lt Gen Mikhail Georgiyevich Titov; Lt Gen Viktor Vasil'yevich Semenikov; Maj Gen Lyubim Kirillovich Fedorov; Maj Gen Dmitriy Petrovich Sarkashev; Air Force Maj Gen Vitaliy Mikhaylovich Bugayenko; Maj Gen Fedor Makarovich Sarichev; Col Vasiliy Mikhaylovich Galkov; Col Viktor Yakovlevich Cherniyak; Dmitriy Nikolayevich Sorikin; Col Viktor Georgiyevich

Fedoseyev; Col Vladimir Vasil'yevich Medil'ko; Col Arkadiy Mikhaylovich Voribiyev; Col Vladislav Fedorovich Kovtunov; Lt Col Nikolay Alekseyevich Kostin; Col Yuriy Vasil'yevich Beleayev; Lt Maj Igor Ivanovich Dokudovskiy; Col Yevgeniy Nikolayevich Tomilin; Capt First Class Geliy Aleksandrovich Menshikov; Capt First Class Mikhail Petrovich Korcheagin; Capt Second Class Ivan Stepanovich Kovalenko; Col Eng Valeriy Stepanovich Mishkovskiy; Col Yevgeniy Nikitovich Nikolayev; Col Genadiy Aleksandrovich Andryukov; Col Eng Yuliy Semenovich Natarov; Col Boris Mikhaylovich Yablokov; Captain Vladimir Nikolayevich Maleyev.

From the Czechoslovak People's Army--Lt Gen Bohuslav Kucera; Lt Col Imre Jatko; Lt Col Jiri Gora; Col Milan Pipal.

Nicolae Ceausescu
President of the
Socialist Republic of Romania

Bucharest, 6 May 1980
No 100

Awards for Bulgarian Officers

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romania Part I No 56, 8 Jul 80 pp 4-5

[Presidential Decree awarding the medal "Military Virtue" to some generals and officers in the Bulgarian People's Army]

[Text] For contributions made to the strengthening of the friendship between the army of the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Bulgarian People's Army, on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the Warsaw Pact, the President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees:

Sole article--The medal, Military Virtue First Class, is conferred upon the following comrades: Col Gen Slavcho Stamenov Trenski; Col Gen Avgust Khristov Kabakchiev; Col Gen German Dimitrov Germanov; Lt Gen Petko Khristokoskov Dudof; Lt Gen Trifon Rangelov Balkanski; Lt Gen Tenyu Stoyanov Popov; Maj Gen Petko Milushev Petkov; Lt Gen Panayot Aleksandrov Karakachanov; Maj Gen Georgi Kostov Stoyanov; Lt Gen Geno Genov Stoykov; Lt Gen Khristo Ruskov Khristov; Maj Gen Strakhil Mladenov Stefanov; Maj Gen Vasil Stoychev Kosarov; Maj Gen Kuncho Pavlov Patev; Maj Gen Blagoy Petrov Zakhariev; Maj Gen Delcho Dobrev Delchev; Maj Gen Gocho Kostov Gochev; Maj Gen Prof Dr Dimitur Stoyanov Sishmanov; Maj Gen Prof Dr Ivan Viktorov Dimitrov; Maj Gen Prof Dr Stanko Stankov Petrov; Maj Gen Todor Dimitrov Donchev; Maj Gen Aleksandur Todorov Aleksandrov; Maj Gen Dimitur Petrov Popov; Maj Gen Grigor Borisov Zhotev; Col Petur Atanasov Iliev; Col Yanaki Markov Tenkov; Col Todor Petrov Stanev; Capt First Class Dragomir Stefanov Dudev; Col Petur Ivanov Petkov; Col Eng Stefan Stoyanov Mikhaylov; Col Eng Ivan Georgiev Dimov;

Col Stanoy Panayotov Stanoev; Col Kostadin Raykov Raykov; Col Sayko Nikolov Marinov; Col Ivan Petrov Berlevski; Col Eng Penyu Todorov Kostadinov; Col Mladen Nikolov Mladenov; Col Kiro Belchev Totev; Col Dencho Minev Georgiev; Col Nedko Yordanov Dimitrov; Col Zakhari Petrov Khristakov; Maj Gen Prof Dr Gencho Dimov Krustinov; Maj Gen Dicho Dimov Dichev; Col Ilya Stanev Madzharov; Col Kostadin Georgiev Katsarov; Col Yordan Ivanov Gumnerov.

Nicolae Ceausescu,
President of the
Socialist Republic of Romania

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VISITING SPANISH POLITICIAN COMMENTS ON BULGARIAN ANNIVERSARY

Sofia ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME in Bulgarian 4 Sep 80 p 4

[Comments by Prof Antonio Hernandez Gil, expressed to Ivan Glushkov in the offices of the newspaper, on the occasion of his visit to Bulgaria as Chairman of the Spanish National Committee on Bulgaria's 1,300th anniversary celebration]

[Text] This is my second trip to Bulgaria. I came here the first time as chief of a Spanish parliamentary delegation. Then and now I saw a people (and I was highly impressed) that is succeeding in molding together its pursuit of reform and progress with memories of and respect for its history. An appropriate proof of this is also the initiative to celebrate the 1,300th anniversary of the founding of Bulgaria. I consider this event exceptional, endowed with national and international significance, inasmuch as the contribution to its wide imprint by many other countries is concerned. Being familiar with the history of an ancient nation and having the possibility of exchanging spiritual values, is this not one of the most solid ways of consolidating friendship, of reaching the ideal that should unite humanity in its entirety, the ideal for lasting peace on our planet?

During my visit I had the honor and pleasure of meeting and having important conversations with Petur Tanchev, the secretary of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union and first deputy chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, who was also instrumental in inviting me to this celebration. We both agreed that great possibilities exist for mutually advantageous cooperation in different fields between Spain and Bulgaria, whereby both countries will contribute to the creation of a climate of trust and understanding in Europe. Special attention was devoted to the role of the democratic parties and organizations in mobilizing public opinion on our continent to work in the name of peace and progress.

I was also received by Mrs Lyudmila Zhivkova, chairman of the Committee for Culture. We discussed three issues. The first one was the need to unite the efforts of all honest people in creating a world of peace where war will be nonexistent. We also talked about the children and the attention they

get in both our countries. I learned about the undertakings in Bulgaria connected with the International Year of the Child. I was also very highly impressed by the monument "The Banner of Peace" standing in the outskirts of Sofia. It expresses a unique and basic humanitarian idea as a concept and as an artistic creation as well.

No doubt that in the foreground of my conversation with Mrs Zhivkova was the celebration of the 1,300th anniversary of the Bulgarian nation and Spain's contribution to this celebration. I consider it a special honor and I am grateful that the responsibility of presiding on the Spanish committee for the celebration of this notable event was bestowed upon me. The committee consists of people of great authority and prestige in the fields of culture, science, and politics. We have already held several meetings and and members of the committee are eager to assist actively in the fulfillment of this noble goal.

I would like to point out that our activity will contribute to the better understanding, and hence to the creation of favorable conditions for expanding the relationship between Spain and Bulgaria. The more so as there are very clearly defined similarities between the Spanish and Bulgarian people, in character, temperament, and spirit, in spite of geographic distance. In the course of centuries our two countries have experienced critical moments but have always been able to overcome them. And I think that the important thing now is the willpower of Spain and Bulgaria to continue on the road to further progress, cooperation, and peace inspite of the daily problems facing us. It is exactly this basic goal, the celebration of peace, that should unite all people of good will. We should strive for it in spite of differences in our sociopolitical systems and philosophical ideas and probably precisely because of that.

In conclusion, I would like to use the pages of this newspaper to express my warmest feelings toward Bulgaria and the Bulgarian people, to thank you most sincerely for your heart-warming hospitality and for the opportunity to see much interesting things and to familiarize myself on the spot with the past and present of your wonderful country.

1010
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EDITORIAL CALLS FOR BETTER TRAINING OF AIR TRAFFIC CONTROLLERS

Sofia NARODNA ARKIYA in Bulgarian 4 Sep 80 p 4

[Text] The successful solution of the tasks concerning military training and further improvement of combat readiness of the aviation units in the light of party requirements and better flight safety depend greatly on the correct organization and skillful vectoring of the flights. The work of the air traffic controllers is intricate and responsible. With their alertness they keep strict order on land and in the air and react fast and correctly in difficult situations.

The air traffic controllers of the Air Force units are highly qualified and capable of achieving excellent results in fulfilling the tasks of the flight units. Officers Sinapov, Vladimirov, Todorov and many others skillfully direct flights by communicating carefully, calmly and professionally with the crew on land and in the air and constantly watching over the safety of the flights.

However, there are still some shortcomings in the training and work of some of the controllers' units where Officers Zlatkov, Slavov and some others are assigned. For example, before the start of a certain flight, Captain Totev had underestimated the difficult meteorological conditions in the area of the flights. And when he had taken his position in the air traffic control tower, due to his own overconfidence, he had not paid the necessary attention to the report of one of the young pilots. And this had caused a tense and dangerous situation during the flight. The navigating and vectoring officer of the air traffic control tower was also at fault for the complicated situation in the field.

This fact proves that in order to vector correctly one needs not only great experience, high qualifications and some special individual qualities, but also systematic and purposeful training of the entire personnel as well as exercising constant operational control. The basic requirements for this purpose are listed in the designated flight manuals. The experience of the leading units shows that only strict observance of the directive marked in these manuals guarantees perfect results in achieving high quality performance and safety in flights.

Receiving and analyzing the incoming infirmation, the controller must consider not only the circumstances at that precise moment and the images on the screen, but also anticipate the subsequent situation. He must be able at any moment to separate the most pertinent information from the main stream of incoming positions and at the same time remember the prior information as well. The rapid change of circumstances, the different messages coming in from different relay channels, the immediate decisions and the great responsibility involved, increase the psychological tension of the traffic controller and the specialists working under him.

Many conditions have to be complied with so that the controllers can sequence the flights according to schedule. One of these conditions is to plan correctly the number of airplanes and helicopters that have to be directed simultaneously by the unit. Experience shows that errors may occur if more planes are in the air than the scheduled optimal number.

It is exceptionally important that during the preliminary training and actual practice at the air traffic control tower, together with the purely professional skills, the specialists and mainly the future controllers also show skill in analyzing and predicting flight conditions, in making quick decisions and handling a great volume of information at the same time.

The staff of the aviation section plays a very important role in the organization and directing of the flights. On the day of the preliminary training the section chief, through the staff officers and department chiefs and following the decision of the commander, personally makes the requests for the flight routes and the necessary means for directing the planes. He organizes the training and watches how the pilots use the equipments and simulators, supervises the studies of the controllers, collects data about the means and capacities of directing the flights and reports to the commander. The deputy commander of the political work plans and organizes the working political schedule together with the air traffic controllers in accordance with the tasks, character and peculiarities of the future flights. In the leading combat units the political workers, the party and Komsomol activists explain in depth the requirements of the light manuals, summarize and publicize systematically the successful experiences of the air traffic controllers, quarantee the vanguard role of the communists and the excellence of the Komsomol members in mastering aviation technology as well as the means for the most effective ways of flight directing in different meteorological conditions. Directing air traffic is one of the most important links in the total system of operations which contributes to the improvement of flight safety.

Therefore the training of air traffic controllers and their mastering of all duties and obligations should always be the most important goal of the commanders, staff, political workers, and party and Komsomol organizations.

1010
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FACTORS LIMITING NATO'S USE OF MILITARY POWER ANALYZED

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/Article by Gerhard Basler: "Military Power in the Anti-Detente Concept of Imperialism: Aggressive Forces Increase Reliance on Military Factor--Growing Contradiction Between Imperialist Goals and Limited Possibilities--Increased Rearmament Endangers Peace and Security"/

/Text/ The basic deterioration of general living conditions in present-day imperialism incites its ruling circles to feverishly search for means and methods for halting and even reversing it. Over and over again, and especially at the turn of the 1970/1980's, attention is dangerously focused on the use, the expansion and the deployment of the military power of imperialism.[1] Considerable forces in the West try to return to the methods of the cold war era, when imperialist policy was known for brinkmanship: They have initiated a new round of rearmament and use their armed forces not only as tools for political blackmail but for direct and armed conflict with the forces of progress. To a far greater extent than only a few years ago these forces--which have achieved influential positions in the United States and other imperialist countries--are endeavoring to carry out a "correction," a"change in the trend" of the general direction of the international balance of power, especially by calling on the various types of use of military power.

That is also the nature of the so-called Carter doctrine. According to Z. Brzezinski, National Security Adviser to the American President, it is necessary "to have the appropriate military power to help direct changes in a positive direction," which must be so constituted as to "be in keeping with our values and compatible with our interests."[2] His colleague Harold Brown, U.S.Defense Secretary, underlines this with the emphatic and unmistakeable indication "that the efficacy of our foreign policy often depends on the military power backing it."[3] The aggressive and misanthropic practices of imperialism in the past 30 years have amply proven that these are not mere words.

In accordance with its socioeconomic nature state monopolistic capitalism, an exploiter system, inevitably breeds aggression, including its military

manifestations, and war. However, whether, when and how the military power tool of imperialism is used, depends largely on the international balance of power and the politics of the ruling circles. The politics of strength have always been the basic principle of imperialist policy. Ulrich de Maiziere, former inspector general of the Bundeswehr, for example, considers that armed forces "provide political scope to governments."[4]

The compulsive expansion of the imperialist military potential is thus a central element in the effort of the ruling circles of the monopoly bourgeoisie to once again emerge from the historical defensive and gain the political offensive. This holds true most particularly at the present time, when the change in the international balance of power tilts it more and more obviously against imperialism. "The less imperialism's opportunities for ruling other countries and peoples, the more angrily do its most aggressive and short-sighted representatives react," commented L.I. Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, citing the main reason for imperialism's increasing penchant for military solutions.[5]

Consequently, in the early 1980's influential forces in the West, especially the United States, noticeably exacerbated the international situation by setting their sights on rearmament and demonstrations of military might, and against detente, thereby increasing the danger of war. Their actions are dictated by the fear that the further implementation of the principles of peaceful coexistence might further narrow the foreign political scope enjoyed by imperialism for making its power and profit interests prevail. At the same time, and most notably so, they are motivated by the efforts of the military-industrial complex to use rearmament for obtaining long-term and reasonably sure maximum profits. Greater aggressiveness abroad is also designed to deflect attention from the many problems and weaknesses, the internal and external defeats of imperialism. In the first place, though, it is a matter of improving the status of imperialism in the conflict with the forces of the revolutionary world process.

Above all military power is to help imperialism to pressure the socialist countries from a position of strength. At the same time it is intended to raise substantial barriers to the economic and social development of socialism by compelling it increasingly to raise defense expenditure. At the same time military power is to serve as a potential threat not only in the struggle against socialism but also in the conflict with the other main streams of the revolutionary world process. The young national states are to be kept in subjection, revolutionary-democratic changes in the imperialist countries stifled either by armed force or the threat thereof, raw material and energy sources as well as the exploitation of the developing countries secured in all circumstances.

Imperialism uses military force in two main ways: As immediate and direct force, involving the open use of weapons (war, intervention), and as indirect, hidden and potential force threatening the use of weapons (troop displacements, provocative maneuvers, mobilization, "deterrence," violation of

air space, naval concentrations, and so on). Just let us consider the irresponsible manner, totally disregarding the peaceful interests of mankind, by which U.S.imperialism has used such methods in the recent past--from the aggression against Vietnam to the adventurist use of military forces against Iran. There cannot be the least doubt that any reinforcement of the quantitative and qualitative dimensions of the military potential for the aggressive aims of imperialism must precipitate the utmost danger. Nevertheless imperialism is meeting objective limits which restrain the use of its military power and, above all, prevent the eruption of another world war. The peace policy and real power of socialism, especially the USSR and the other countries in the Warsaw Pact organization, provide the main barrier to war and military compulsion. They have the greatest role in changing the international balance of power to the detriment of imperialism. Regarding the use of military power General Maxwell D. Taylor, former chief of the U.S.Defense Staff, regrets that "we no longer have the political scope available to us in the calm days of our postwar preeminence...Times have changed...We are no longer...able to use and maintain military power everywhere we would like."[6]

The decisive obstacle to the use of military force by imperialism is the relative military balance between the USSR and the United States as well as between NATO and the Warsaw Pact. This is the situation which, in view of the risk of self-annihilation in a nuclear inferno, deters the imperialist party from the use of its military arsenal against the Warsaw Pact countries, although bourgeois strategists would make us believe that this hesitation is due to the weapons development consequent upon the scientific-technological revolution in military matters.[7]

Other factors counteracting the use or the threat of the use of military force by imperialism are the noticeably greater weight of the developing countries, their newly achieved status vis-a-vis imperialism and the support given them by world socialism (which, somehow, also acts as a protective shield against imperialist intervention). And not least the peoples struggle for peace in its own sphere of influence (as demonstrated in the successful resistance to the introduction of the neutron bomb) limits the potential of imperialism for endlessly raising and using military power.

In recent years especially some obstacles to the use of military means have come to the fore. They resulted in part from the fact that imperialism is increasingly confronted with economic, political and social problems which cannot be appropriately--if at all--handled by military means, while economic means are definitely suitable. In other words factors other than military strength are gaining greater importance for maintaining the interests of the imperialist countries.

The scope of the imperialist system in this respect is also narrowed by certain disagreements between imperialist countries and regions or among the various groups of the bourgeoisie within a country regarding the suitability, usefulness and dimensions of the use of military force in any specific instance.

Modified Views on the Use of Military Power

The situation of the state monopolistic system is characterized by the objective contradiction between the ambitious targets of imperialism "supported" by a steadily expanded and enormous military potential and the limited possibilities for really using this military might to influence the course of the historical development in the international arena. This contradiction is the expression of as well as an element in the general crisis of imperialist foreign policy. Not that this signifies the renunciation of the use of military power, but it does imply the necessity to operate in a narrower framework and with modified means and methods. Of course the powers of imperialism also acknowledge this discrepancy between potential and possibilities, and they attempt to come to terms with it. The acknowledgment of changes they have been compelled to accept has led them to seek new ways to improve the effectiveness of force as a means of imperialist foreign policy. British political scientist Laurence Martin expressed this endeavor when he wrote that the future does not belong to those "who deny usefulness to military power but to those who manage best to adjust it to the rapid development of politics and technology."[8]

When we more closely scrutinize the most important conclusions drawn by imperialist strategists and politicians from the contradiction between goals, potentials and possibilities of the use of military power, and which enter their foreign political and defense conceptions, we are bound to notice in this sphere also the endeavor to adjust politics and strategy to the changed conditions for the continued existence of the state monopolistic system. The tools of military power are to be made more flexible, appropriate and efficient. On the other hand we see here a clear albeit highly complex process of differentiation within the bourgeoisie regarding the best approaches and methods for using this power in these changed conditions. Here, though, I am able only to outline the main trends of this process.

The first conclusion emphatically impressed on the imperialist party (with merely a few exceptions) since the loss of U.S.nuclear superiority consists in the existential necessity of avoiding a "central" war between the United States and the USSR or between the two alliances. Even imperialist strategists admit that, "in a nuclear age" such a war would "signify the actual total destruction of our own society."[9] In the course of various treaties concluded with the USSR in the 1970's the United States had been compelled to formally acknowledge this fact. A total nuclear missile war is not, so to speak, considered a "rational method," although some particularly aggressive forces do think it justified in "an extreme emergency." Let us recall the words of Z. Brzezinski, National Security Adviser to the U.S.President, who said he would not hesitate in the appropriate instance to push the button to unleash the nuclear inferno. As we all know the material preparations for this contingency are steadily going ahead at full speed.

A second, fundamental and preeminent conclusion by all imperialist forces concerns the attempt to make military power feasible even more than hitherto as a means to exert political pressure, that is in an indirect manner, just because its direct use has quite definite limits. The purpose of the political use of military power is frankly expressed by the representatives of the bourgeoisie: It is said that armed force "may be useful even if not actively employed, that is used violently. Restrained arms availability acts as a threat or a warning...Military power impresses the nations which see it...It impresses and effects adjustment or, to put it in another way, produces voluntary good behavior in the meaning of the demands of the superior power."[10] Such methods are part of the daily arsenal of imperialism. By its own admission the United States used armed power "passively" (!) 215 times for political purposes in the years 1946-1975, 33 times on the brink of the use of nuclear weapons.[11]

Combination With Non-Military Means

Linked to this is a third conclusion. This concerns orientation to an even closer link between military and non-military forms and methods of the international class conflict. When evaluating his system of alliances V.I. Lenin pointed out that imperialist policy always consists of a "change in the forms of peaceful and non-peaceful struggle on one and the same soil of imperialist connections and interrelations between world economics and world politics."[12]

All significant forces of the bourgeoisie and its political and politological representatives assume the need for "combining military force, political efforts and economic programs" as a "counterweight"[13] to the challenges posed to imperialism by historical progress. In the final analysis this is merely the reflection of the general endeavor of the ruling circles of imperialism--aroused by the changes in the international balance of power--to regain the historical offensive by using the totality of means and potentials.

No sections of monopoly capital or its politicians and ideologues dispute the doctrine that, as a matter of principle, military power continues the "foundation stone" of the politics of imperialism.[14] The issue of the specific relation of military and non-military means of foreign political strategy (that is the specific accents) does, though, constitute the most disputed point among the various groups of the bourgeoisie. (We must note, however, that this is reflected mainly in the politological-conceptual sphere, much less in political practice, and that, moreover, the line is neither rigid nor unchangeable but rather fluid.) While a section of the ruling class assigns priority to the military factor in its direct and indirect use, another pleads for a balanced relation, and a third prefers non-military means without, however, eschewing military means altogether.

It all turns on the crucial issue of what will best serve imperialism in the eyes of the ruling circles in any given situation, whether short-term or long-term, so as to influence the international system, a particular country or a situation; what is "feasible " in view of specific realities. In short, involved is the usefulness of the deployment of military power. A second source of differences within the bourgeoisie (and it is one which poses the question of the relation between military and non-military means generally rather than usefulness in this or that instance) arises from a difference in priorities: If only for material-financial reasons, the group considering the economic internal and sociopolitical consolidation of capitalism the most important issue in the dispute between the systems, is less interested in demonstrations of military power. However, this group is currently very much in the minority; well to the fore are the champions of a more or less strongly emphasized policy of military strength.

A few of the bourgeois politologists are quite realistic. In view of the limits of military power they arrive at yet another conclusion. They wish to assign predominance to political means for safeguarding "security,"that is measures of military and political detente, in order--as FRG political scientist E.Forndran hopes--"possibly from a long-term aspect" to shift "the various political elements of a general security concept toward non-military security." [15]

Speculations on the 'Feasibility' of Wars

A fourth deliberation by imperialist strategists led to the concept of a selective approach to the use of military power. Politicians "should not embark on the frequent or hasty use of military power...abroad; such forces should be deployed only in special cases," advise the authors of a paper by the influential American Brookings Institution.[16] Any decision to threaten or use force should reflect regional, factual (the so-called vital interests) and military considerations. Relevant criteria were drawn up in the United States with the aim, for example, of ascertaining where and how to use the still available scope for the use of military power (especially in its direct forms) without calling forth developments and entanglements undesirable for imperialism, let alone new defeats.

Quite cynically they assume that "war per se has not become useless," and that the destructive force of military power could well be used to settle political conflicts.[17] Of course the imperialist strategists are well aware that, in view of the international--especially military--balance of powers, this would be an "exception," but they are all the more intent on exploring the remaining possibilities of such exceptions and tackling the corresponding conceptual and material preparations. To a large extent these deliberations are dominated by new weapons developments, especially those based on advances in electronics (accuracy, regulation of effect, controllability), which either result in new military-strategic conclusions or are specifically planned and introduced from new military-strategic standpoints. Christoph Bertram, director of the London International

Institute for Strategic Studies, well described the nature as well as the purpose of such developments: "The characteristic of the new weapons...is the advantage of their use in the nuclear-strategic as well as the conventional sphere," the new technology, he says, offers advantages mainly for a surprise attack (!).[18]

In the final analysis the many and various military-strategic conceptions drafted while taking into account constantly new individual aspects are always different variants of a war which is regional or "limited" (as far as weaponry is concerned). The range of war variants is thereby to be expanded with the smallest possible risk for those which start it, while they maintain "control" of the possibility of escalation to general nuclear warfare and the variants remain as effective as possible. Let me indicate here only one of the many such variants--the endeavor to convert nuclear warfare also into an effective tool of foreign and military policy by opening up options and stages.

According to a bourgeois expert in the United States, "an increasing acceptance of the concept of nuclear war" is to be found "among American strategists." "Once again strategists are thinking the unthinkable--they debate the circumstances in which they would begin and dare undertake nuclear warfare."[19]

Nor are we faced merely with a theoretical discussion: NATO, according to a Pentagon adviser, has already taken steps toward providing for itself the appropriate capacity.[20]

The "limited strategic war" doctrine is one of the constructs within the "low risk" nuclear war concept. According to American notions it envisions a first and surprise nuclear strike, aimed especially at particularly important military rather than civilian or economic targets. The speculation runs that this would decisively weaken the military power of the opponent (in other words the USSR), while "generously" leaving him some chance for survival. At the same time it is hoped that, in the aftermath of such a first strike, the opponent would not unleash all counteroffensive weapons but aim for only limited targets.

This clearly demonstrates several points: The striving for a "first strike capacity" and, therefore, greater emphasis on the arms race; the adventurism of the illusions harbored by imperialism as regards its--hoped for--superiority on the one hand and the corresponding weakness of the "opponent" on the other; and, lastly, the unscrupulous misanthropy and danger of this concept. A well-known American defense expert could not help but confess that there are critics in the U.S.camp "who argue that more useable nuclear power represents a potential which makes its deployment more likely."[21] At the same time politicians and military men consciously toy with the risk inherent in this increasing probability. U.S.Defense Secretary Brown (under whose direction intensive work is being done to provide the material-technical prerequisites for this strategy) made this quite

plain by cynically admitting: "It is impossible to be certain that the initial use of nuclear weapons against specific targets--however selected --may not result in escalation up to the exchange of unlimited nuclear blows."[22]

Strenuous Expansion of the Imperialist Military Potential

In the early 1980's imperialism represents itself as the system pressing forward with rearmament and the development of the armed forces in unprecedented qualitative and quantitative dimensions, at a significantly greater speed, and in a comprehensive and worldwide manner. This is to provide the prerequisites for even better, more effectively and, above all, more emphatically using military power in its two main forms as an instrument of imperialist strategy.

The most prominent feature of the endeavors to strengthen and improve defense materiel is the effort reflected in matters of policy and defense to regain military superiority over socialism. It is the attempt to reverse the existing approximate military balance between socialism and imperialism in favor of the latter.

U.S.Defense Secretary Brown made this abundantly clear on 19 September 1979 when, addressing the U.S.Senate Foreign Relations Committee, he announced that the NATO conventional rearmament programs already tackled meant "that the alliance...might achieve a definite advantage by about the mid-1980's" and would then dispose of a potential sufficient to "more than balance" the efforts of the Warsaw Pact.[23]

Many rearmament programs serve the striving for military superiority in the strategic as well as the regional sphere. Strategic superiority is envisioned, for example, by the build-up of a "first strike capacity" using the latest discoveries of science and technology and the emplacement of new medium-range nuclear missiles in Western Europe. Regional superiority is to be achieved by, among others, improved conventional weapons, greater mobility and the modernization of the tactical nuclear weapons arsenal.

All this is justified with the lie--deliberately and more and more shamelessly formulated--of a military threat to the West from the socialist community of nations, especially the Soviet Union. The open claim to U.S.military superiority has changed an important element in imperialist strategy. In the early 1970's we were able to note an at least verbal readiness (in the United States also) to realize a compromise between the various wings of the bourgeoisie on the basis of a certain enforced acceptance of the concept of strategic parity and the principle of equal security.[24] The profession of the principle of equal security was indeed the basis of a certain enforced acceptance of any prospect for the success of the efforts for arms limitation. We must therefore take very seriously indeed the remarks by representatives of imperialism, which actually deny these positions.

Four main aspects characterize imperialist rearmament efforts: To be cited first is their quantitatively new dimension and dynamism. NATO wasted some $2.6 quintillions on arms in its 30 years of existence. In 1979 it officially announced a $211.5 billion arms expenditure; through 1985 the United States alone aims to spend $252.3 billion annually on defense (1981 plan: $165 billion). Plans provide for a 3 percent annual average rate of increase in real terms, that is deducting the rate of inflation. The United States and the Federal Republic of Germany serve as the pacemakers in the NATO Alliance and currently are speeding up this rate, aiming at 4-5 percent! As it is the FRG has rearmed immensely; its defense spending is second only to that of the United States (1980 more than DM60 billion). In the words of Defense Minister Apel this rearmament is "to advance full speed ahead in this and the coming year."[25] Japan also raised its defense budget quite spectacularly, from 1.3 trillion Yen in 1975 to more than 2 trillion Yen (roughly $9.5 billion) in 1979.

The second aspect concerns the totally altered qualitative dimension of rearmament. At the present time this is the predominant feature of the endeavors to expand the imperialist defense potential. Using the achievements of the scientific-technological revolution and enormous financial and other resources, more and more weapons are developed or perfected and taken into service.

At the same time the following crucial trends in imperialist arms and armed forces development are emerging; they are embodied especially in NATO's long-range program and U.S.plans:

-- Modernization of the nuclear and conventional arsenal of all sections of the armed forces and weapons types, especially from the aspect of quality (new weapons systems, improved precision, weapons with controllable effect, and so on--to be specific: MX 1, mobile intercontinental missile, Trident submarine system, Cruise missiles, a new generation of multiple warheads (MARV), precision guided conventional weapons, and so on);

-- Measures for the major improvement of combat readiness (qualitative perfection of weapons systems, greater penetration and firepower, improvement of mobility, expansion of air defense, improvement of reserve mobilization capacity, improvement of important national and international guidance systems, and so on);

-- Deepening of the military integration of NATO regional armed forces (the interlinking and cooperation of armed forces consonant with uniform strategic principles, improvements in tactical and operational coordination, standardization of leadership and deployment principles, and so on);

-- The creation of globally deployable and constantly available mobile sea, air and land forces as interventionist units, in particular against countries of the Third World;

-- Expansion of the infrastructure and command structure as well as standardized logistics;

-- Improving the capacities for transporting reinforcements, especially in the context of worldwide distances;

-- The provision of a better and more comprehensive potential for electronic combat;

-- Efforts to achieve uniformity, standardization and compatibility of weapons and equipment;

-- Effective rearmament cooperation.

A third new feature is the fact that, since the late 1970's, strenuous rearmament for the first time involves all three main centers of imperialism, in other words Japan also,[26] though the NATO sphere continues the most important center of imperialist military power and arms escalation.

The fourth aspect to be mentioned is the steadily more obvious tendency to increase the timespan of the strenuous rearmament by the main imperialist powers. That was most evident in the NATO long-range program. Subsequently every real step toward arms limitation and disarmament was immediately postponed to the distant future if not ruled impossible altogether.

The increased expansion and use of the imperialist potential for threats and intervention with regard to the national liberation movements also represents a hazard to world peace. The upsurge and deepening of the national liberation movements and the new stage of the developing countries challenge to imperialism have obviously caused influential circles of monopoly capital to fall back increasingly on the traditional weapon of military force in its various forms in order to "secure their interests" in the so-called Third World.[28]

Strengthening the Imperialist Military Blocs and Alliances

Imperialist strategy for the conduct of the clash between the systems has lately assigned increased importance to military blocs. That is due in particular to the following fact: Military alliances are an immensely important embodiment and significant instrument of the military power of imperialism. Military blocs are considered an indispensable means for promoting the combination of all the potentials of the capitalist systems required in the interest of the maintenance of class rule. They also are to realize the principle of "total force" which, "controlled by way of military blocs," provides for "the coordinated, proportional and planned development of all military useable potentials of the imperialist system."[29]

Moreover, military combinations also represent a specific type of movement between imperialist contradictions and the changing balance of power. In

its capacity as the major military power the United States can claim leadership in the capitalist world particularly well by way of military blocs. Furthermore it is able to use this advantage in other spheres also, such as in economic relations. At the same time and within the framework of the alliances other imperialist centers, regions or certain key countries obtain greater scope--consonant with their enhanced role--for going after their specific targets. Lastly regional defense pacts have again gained general weight and importance in the defense strategic concept of imperialism. On the basis of the approximate military parity at the "central" level (United States-USSR) the imperialists concentrate on making feasible the conduct of regional wars.

NATO--The Main Tool of Imperialist Aggressive Policy

From the standpoint of imperialist politicians and political scientists NATO continues the most important and strongest politico-military alliance and the main instrument of imperialist policy in the struggle against historico-social progress, especially the socialist community of nations. NATO has become the center of gravity, the pillar of the efforts to maintain and expand imperialist power, the most important coordinator of imperialist policy vis-a-vis the forces of the revolutionary world process.

In the further pursuit of their current policies the ruling circles of the NATO countries--headed by the United States and the FRG--have four main targets relating to the development of the North Atlantic Pact:

a) Combination, modernization, the greatest possible uniformity and, above all, the maximum reinforcement of the aggressive military potential of the allies, in order to be able to conduct the conflict with the forces of the revolutionary world process from a position of strength.

b) The guarantee or achievement of the most uniform possible strategy and policy of all member countries vis-a-vis the socialist nations and concerning central issues of international politics. According to the concepts of imperialist strategists NATO is to be made even more of an instrument by which to manage the extent of detente, regulate the speed and dimension of this process for their benefit and exploit detente in the imperialist interest. Here the alliance is to be used mainly for coordination, and it must be noted that NATO in general displays a strong tendency to block any advance in the process of political and military detente.

c) Realization of NATO's claim to worldwide effectiveness. In the view of important representatives of imperialism it will be especially necessary for NATO to take on a larger role in the struggle against the forces of national and social liberation in the developing countries (in particular Africa, the Near and Middle East). The imperialists are therefore intensively aiming and working for various types (direct intervention, support for pro-imperialist forces, the creation of "accession" pacts, expansion of the NATO sphere), the extension of NATO's field of operation in these regions. NATO here has a coordinating and flanking role.

d) Reinsurance for the state monopolistic rule within the member countries. The leading NATO countries are intent on assigning policy coordination, the build-up and use of a menacing and possibly interventionist potential to the Atlantic Alliance in conjunction with the EEC and other institutions. This has the purpose of repelling the upsurge of progressive forces in their own sphere of power, noticeable in particular at NATO's southern flank.

Of course the implementation of these four targets is not without its own problems. International realities and processes, internal problems and contradictions influence events within the Pact. Consequently the opportunities to carry out the strategies and actions developed affect the shape and dimension of their implementation. However, the outlines sketched here are likely essentially to determine the line and image of NATO in the years to come.

Efforts to Establish Pact Systems in Other Regions

While NATO is the most important military alliance of imperialism its expansion is not the only one to reflect the intensification of military blocs at the present time. Japanese-American defense ties, for example, have increased considerably.[30] For a few years past we have also seen the beginning of contacts between NATO and Japan. The heads of the Japanese defense agencies repeatedly visited NATO headquarters as well as the most important West European member countries. Delegations from the arms industries also exchanged their experiences.

Of prime importance in the imperialist defense strategy in Asia is the alliance between the United States and South Korea, one of the most heavily armed countries in that region, which--from the imperialist viewpoint--is charged with immediate tasks in the confrontation with real socialism in the shape of the Korean Democratic People's Republic. Here also ties have been strengthened; Seoul is more and more acting as a "deputy." Within the framework of a long-range program the Americans are building up and modernizing the South Korean armed forces; in November 1978 a joint American-South Korean supreme command was set up. The plans go even further: "Activated in recent years was the...triple alliance Washington-Tokyo-Seoul."[31] In this connection we see firmer links between Japan and South Korea, transcending the former close economic cooperation so as to involve defense also.

Activated at the same time was the ANZUS Pact involving the United States, Australia and New Zealand. Combined maneuvers are more and more frequent, extending well into the Indian Ocean--and this is something quite new. There are plans for the eventual inclusion of Japan and some Oceanic countries. Also to be noted are regular naval maneuvers transcending the pact by involving British and Canadian naval forces. The fact is also significant that the New Zealand and Australian Naval units may, by an adjustment of strategy and tactics, "in the case of war operate as part of a NATO unit."[32]

Furthermore there are deliberations and efforts aimed at building up or strengthening regional imperialist defense alliances outside of Europe and the Pacific region. Let us recall the efforts to set up a South Atlantic Pact (SATO--to include South Africa, Uruguay, Argentina, Chile), to establish an alliance on the Persian Gulf to replace CENTO, the Rio Pact in Latin America (OAS), or the military aspect of the axis Washington -Cairo-Tel Aviv.

In the calculations of imperialist politics the military aspect of the alliance between imperialism and the Beijing leadership is quite preeminent. Both parties consider this dangerous alliance part of the encirclement strategy against the USSR and the other countries of the socialist community. Following a visit to China U.S.Defense Secretary Brown precisely defined the nature of this alliance: "We have parallel interests in various parts of the world. We intend to initiate parallel operations."[33]

He indicated one such "parallel" action--support for the counterrevolutionaries operating against Afghanistan from Pakistan.

All the most important NATO countries maintain some kind of military contact with Beijing, albeit the intensity varies. Reciprocal visits by military delegations and transactions in the arms sector have become "normal" events. Most advanced are the military relations between Beijing and the United States, though we should not overlook certain contradictions between Beijing and Washington, which set limits to the two countries alliance from defense aspects also.

Imperialism tries with all its might to use its military potential in the most varied forms for its foreign political goals. It will need the full strength and power of the socialist community of nations as well as of all peace loving forces to frustrate these dangerous plans and actions. The peace program submitted in May 1980 by the Warsaw Pact countries points the way.

FOOTNOTES

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5. L.I. Brezhnev, speech on the eve of the elections to the USSR Supreme Soviet, NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, Berlin, 23/24 February 1980.

6. M.D. Taylor, "National Policy Too Lightly Armed," in "Grand Strategy for the 1980's," Washington 1978, p 16.

7. For example K. Knorr, "Power and Wealth. The Political Economy of International Power," London-New York 1973, p 108.

8. L. Martin, "The Benefit of Military Power," in "Sicherheitspolitik, Analysen zur Politischen und Militaerischen Sicherheit" /Defense Policy, Analyses on Political and Military Security/, edited by K-D.Schwarz, Bad Honnef 1978, p 75.

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10. L. Ruehl, "The Benefits of Military Power in Europe," in "Sicherheitspolitik vor Neuen Aufgaben" /Defense Policy Confronting New Tasks/, edited by K. Kaiser/K.M. Kreis, Frankfurt/Main 1977, pp 220, 226.

11. "Force Without War, U.S.Armed Forces as a Political Instrument," The Brookings Institute, Washington 1977, p 251.

12. V.I. Lening, Collected Works, Vol 22, Berlin 1960, p 301.

13. J. Carter in March 1978, AMERIKA-DIENST, 22 March 1978.

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15. E. Forndran, "The Dynamism of the Current Rearmament Process," in "Defense Policy Confronting New Tasks," as before, p 215; from the American aspect especially G.F. Kennan, "Clouds of Danger. Topical Problems of American Foreign Policy," Munich 1978.

16. "Force Without War," as before, p 532.

17. K.-D. Schwarz, foreword to "Defense Policy. Analyses..." as before.

18. C. Bertram, "Security in a Changing World," in "Defense Policy...," as before, p 19.

19. L.V. Sigal, "Rethinking the Unthinkable, " FOREIGN POLICY, New York, No 34 (spring 1979), pp 35, 36.

20. J.D. Douglas, Jr, "Soviet Nuclear Strategy in Europe," EUROPAEISCHE WEHRKUNDE No 4/1978, pp 165/166.

21. C.S. Gray, "Nuclear Strategy: The Case for a Theory of Victory," INTERNATIONAL SECURITY, Cambridge/Mass, Summer 1979, p 64.

22. H. Brown, Department of Defense Annual Report. Fiscal Year 1979, Washington 1978, p 53.

23. H. Brown, WIRELESS BULLETIN FROM WASHINGTON (published by ICA), Bonn, 20 September 1979.

24. See "Friedliche Koexistenz in Europea. Entwicklungstendenzen der Auseinandersetzung Zwischen Sozialismus und Imperialismus" /Peaceful Coexistence in Europe. Trends of the Conflict Between Socialism and Imperialism/, Berlin 1977, pp 259/260.

25. H. Apel, "Topical Issues of Security and Defense Policy," BULLETIN, Press and Information Agency of the Federal Government, Bonn No 26, 11 March 1980, p 215.

26. See W. Klank, "Militaristic Forces Urge Japan Toward Strenuous Rearmament," IPW-BERICHTE, Berlin No 6/1979, pp 58-62.

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30. See especially B. Hamann, "On Some Topical Main Features of the Defense Political and Military Operations of the United States in Asia," MILITAERWESEN, Berlin No 6/1979. From the bourgeois aspect: "Japan and the United States. Challenges and Opportunities," edited by W.J.Barnds, New York 1979, in particular chapters 4 and 6.

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11698
CSO: 2300

FORMER MERCHANT CAPTAIN DESCRIBES ARMS SHIPMENTS, LIFE AT SEA

Bonn DIE WELT in German 21 Aug 80 p 4

[Article by Ruediger Moniac: "How the SED Keeps Its Sailors in Line; the Captain Who Came From the East"]

> [Text] For almost 20 years Captain Peter Rueffer (44) sailed on GDR ships. Three weeks ago he fled to freedom in Hamburg with his 18-year old son Marian, whom he had hidden on board the MS Freital. He left his wife and a 13-year old son behind. Rueffer is now hoping that the family can be reunited. In a conversation with DIE WELT he recounts his experiences in the East German Navy and later in the merchant marine. He describes how GDR ships take tanks to Africa and what he experienced as a representative of the VEB Deutfracht Shipyard. Rueffer is now staying with friends near Kiel and hopes to obtain a position as officer on a West German ship.

Scarcely a year ago, in October 1979, Peter Rueffer, the captain of a GDR merchant ship, was presented with instructions that he had never had before: to ship tanks to Ethiopia. In a conversation with DIE WELT he remembers: "Of course I knew that the Soviet Union and the GDR were delivering arms to developing countries. But I had never experienced it myself." Captain Rueffer's ship, the Albin Koebis (7,500 gross tons displacement), was lying in Rostock harbor. He was informed by his company, VEB Deutfracht, only: "We are loading 'technical transportation'."

The Albin Koebis was to load the freight at night. Rueffer heard that the entire harbor area had been sealed off. Only "politically reliable" dockworkers were on hand. Under the cover of night, open freight cars rolled into the harbor. Their freight: old T 34 tanks, which the Soviets used to fight Hitler's Wehrmacht. Twenty were loaded by crane onto Rueffer's ship. Ten are destined for the Ethiopian harbor Assab, the other 10 for the Fremolino Freedom Front in Mozambique. This hot cargo was to be unloaded in Maputo. In addition, there was "technical equipment" in green

crates. Rueffer knew what that was: grenades, ammunition and Soviet and Czech built rapid-fire weapons. Some 3,000 tons were hoisted on board the freighter. But Rueffer did not have to deliver this "development aid" in Africa. When he boarded "his" ship the next morning to sail, he was no longer the captain. To his astonishment he learned that the company had transferred command to someone else. Why? Rueffer does not know exactly. But he does remember that he said to friends last summer: "Cargoes like that should be refused on principle." Obviously his remark was reported "to the top," to the local SED authority in Rostock and the State Security Service (Stasi). That was enough to relieve a captain at the crucial moment without any explanation. Rueffer had become a security risk for the system. For 8 months after that October day he was not allowed to board a ship. Until last June. The shortage of qualified personnel forced the company to let him sail as first officer. He told himself that a chance like this would never come again. Now he is in the West with his son.

Rueffer has had many experiences in almost 20 years of professional service with the navy and the merchant marine of the GDR. How does the GDR deal with nationals who have to be abroad in the course of their jobs? In an environment which is almost predestined to invite "desertion?" Rueffer can tell a story based on his own fate.

In 1968, when Rueffer had been captain on a freighter in the Mediterranean for only a short time, the GDR began to expand its maritime trading activities under cover of Soviet marine policy. It opened shipping offices everywhere. Rueffer applied for Athens. To prepare him for the "NATO country" he was assigned to the branch in Alexandria on the Nile by the company, which, in the interim, had come under state control. At the time the Russians were still in Egypt. Rueffer was working, unimperiled as it were, on "socialist soil."

The local GDR consul did not like how he behaved. Rueffer says: "I was only polite and open to meeting everyone. As for calling our money 'a joke'--I didn't mean anything by it." The consul was of a different opinion. Without Rueffer's knowledge he wrote to the company's head office: "Comrade Rueffer tried to gain quick popularity in the collective by his overly familiar behavior, behaving like an experienced man of the world who is at liberty to ignore certain principles of living abroad. In practical terms this came out in derogatory comments about our currency (a joke), in critical discussions of the customs regulations in seeking private contact with West German . . . nationals at the athletic club. We consider any assignment of Comrade Rueffer to a NATO country as extremely risky. Comrade Rueffer has not been told about this letter. Socialistically . . ." (Thanks to a lucky coincidence, Rueffer later succeeded in removing this letter from his "cadre file" in Rostock.)

A similar thing happened to him in 1971 in Cuba, where he took over the office in Havana a few months earlier "following good work in the GDR for

the VEB Deutrfacht Shipyard." He had sailed to Havana with his family. A single man is allowed to stay abroad for a maximum of 3 months, usually much too short a time to prepare an escape.

Rueffer recalls: "I had settled down nicely with my wife and children. I was enjoying my work, mostly because, by making an effort, I was getting good orders for the company." Naturally one condition for obtaining them was again "contacts," not only with offices in Havana but with foreigners as well. The GDR wants to turn a profit on currency transactions. According to Rueffer, that means it has to engage in cross trade.

One day in Havana, a businessman from the FRG telephoned Rueffer and asked whether he could arrange a meal for him and some business associates on a GDR ship. Rueffer refused politely but neglected to report this "contact" to his embassy. Two hours after the call the embassy was on the telephone: "Why didn't you tell us that you invited a West German to a banquet on a GDR ship?"

How did the embassy know about it? Rueffer is still asking himself that question today. Was his telephone tapped, did he have a bug in the room? In any case this "tardy contact report" was enough to send Rueffer back to the GDR as being unreliable. Once there he was told: "No possibility of being a foreign representative until further notice."

The informant system has been perfected not only in foreign countries, but on GDR ships as well. Since 1976, so Rueffer reported, a ministerial decree has existed for the preservation of order and security. It appoints the captain as the "political and specialized instructor of the crew." He has to direct their work "according to the resolutions of the party and the government." Naturally the captain has to be in the SED. No one says it straight out, explained Rueffer, but it holds true. The company has to see to it that as many crew members as possible are also in the party. The captain possesses a vital disciplinary tool in his dealings with the crew: a seaman's certification papers. They are not simply documents stating that the owner is a sailor. For him it is as valuable as a passport. Anyone having them withdrawn cannot continue going to sea. The authority to withdraw them rests with the captain. Before the ship reaches a "capitalist harbor" he has to instruct the crew to avoid any contacts. Shore leave is granted only to groups and for a few hours only. Besides, the sailors have so little money to spend (DM 3.50 per day) that they can scarcely afford to buy anything, and certainly not an escape.

The position of "political officer" on the Soviet model has also existed on GDR ships for more than 3 years. According to Rueffer he is the "party's executive organ on board." With his "help" the informant network is working better than ever.

9581
CSO: 2300

BRIEFS

POSSIBLE SEMINARIAN EXPULSION--According to reliable reports from Budapest, 15 members of the Central Seminary [Kozponti Papnevelo Intezet] issued a statement of solidarity with one of their fellow seminarians, Gyorgy Kocsi, who maintained contact with catholic groups not officially recognized by the State Office of Church Affairs. Due to his contacts, the ordination of Kocsi became subject to doubt. Laszlo Lekai, archbishop of Esztergom and Istvan Bagi, bishop-rector, termed the statement of the seminarians "open rebellion" and called for strict punishment of the signators. Allegedly, Cserhati, bishop of Pecs assured the protestors of his sympathy. Facing explusion are primarily the four seminarians who personally delivered the statement to Archbishop Lekai and Bishop Bagi: Jozsef Lanko, Gyorgy Szekely, Zoltan Uzsaly and Janos Wildmann. [Text] [Paris IRODALMI UJSAG in Hungarian Jul-Aug 80 p 12]

CSO: 2500

NORWEGIAN PRO-PRC ORGAN REPORTS FROM GDANSK ON STRIKES

Norway Union Supports

Oslo KLASSEKAMPEN in Norwegian 28 Aug 80 p 0

[Interview with Torstein Arnesen by Arne Jorama]

> [Text] "International workers' solidarity means supporting the Polish workers' demands, not pointing a finger at them and urging 'caution.' Obviously there is a limit to how far the Polish workers can go. The Soviet Union is still hovering in the wings. But I am convinced that the Polish workers themselves know that limit best."

That is the comment of Torstien Arnesen, chairman of the Telephone Exchange Installers' Union, on the highly controversial question of international support to the Polish workers. His union adopted a resolution of support that was reported in KLASSEKAMPEN yesterday.

"A free and independent trade union movement is just as important for the Polish workers as for us. They are stressing that demand as the most important. It is a demand that every shop steward and every organized worker in Norway will understand the importance of and should support just as we support workers in Portugal, South Africa, and South America."

[Question] Half a million workers all over the country are now striking for the same demands, and the strike seems to be quite well organized. What do you think is the explanation for the fact that this can happen in Poland? Such a strike movement seems entirely unrealistic, for example, in Norway.

[Answer] First of all, we are dealing here with the most open society that there is in East Europe. The treatment of opposition groups in Poland seems to me to be a good deal milder than in Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union. In Poland at least they do not land in a mental hospital, but are quickly released as a rule after arrests. It is natural that they react to meat shortages and price increases.

What we in Norway can perhaps learn something from most easily is how fundamental the right to strike is for working people. Union members here in Norway should keep an eye on the forces in this country that want to take the right to strike away from us.

At the same time that there are limits to what the Soviets will stand for, the situation is that they have problems in many other places right now. That does reduce the inclination to intervene.

[Question] The Norwegian LO [Federation of Trade Unions] has its contacts with the state-controlled union movement in Poland. Should those contacts be broken off now?

[Answer] It is hard to say right now. We do not yet know the concrete content of the free trade union movement in Poland. For example, we do not know whether they want a union movement inside or outside of the Polish LO. It may well be that their objective is for the Polish LO to be transformed into a free trade union movement.

[Question] What do you think about the attitude of the LO leadership?

[Answer] I have read that they have decided on a statement of support by the Norwegian LO. But until I know what that statement contains, it seems to me it is difficult to comment on it accurately.

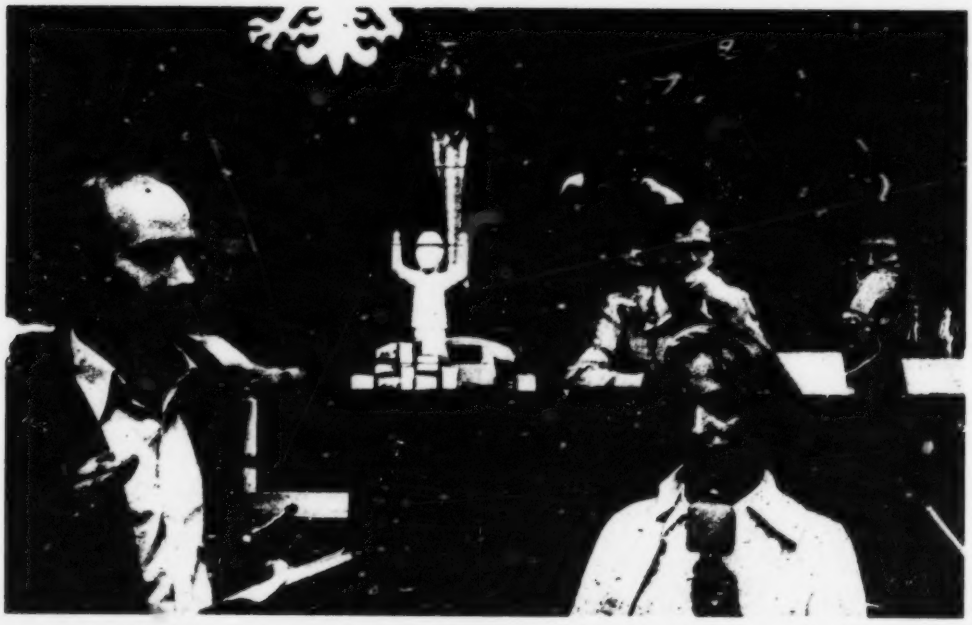
So says Torstien Arnesen, who feels it natural to debate the international parts of the LO's program of action in the light of what is happening now in Poland.

Afghanistan, Czechoslovakia Demands

Oslo KLASSEKAMPEN in Norwegian 27 Aug 80 p 15

> [Text] Well, we have gotten into the world press. Our little performance at the strike meeting in Gdansk was duly--but unfortunately very erroneously--reported in the otherwise well-informed and accurate big French newspaper LE MONDE.

As reported in KLASSEKAMPEN Saturday [23 August], KLASSEKAMPEN's special correspondent was asked to talk on the Lenin dockyard about the demonstrations of 21 August in Norway. We did so; what we were to say was translated and written down in Polish, and the appeal was read out in Norwegian. Lech Walesa, the strike leader, thought the content was a little too political, and asked the interpreter whether he could change it a little. The interpreter immediately put the question to the meeting--which would not permit any changes! And all the resolutions were presented to the meeting --against the occupation of Czechoslovakia and Afghanistan and for the Polish workers' fight. And just behind us sat a calm strike leader, grinning broadly. And what did LE MONDE make out of that? We quote from an article of 23 August:



KLASSEKAMPEN's correspondent, Tuva Gry Øyan, talking at the strike meeting in Gdansk about the demonstrations on 21 August in Norway. In the background, members of the strike committee.

"And then it was the turn of a woman activist from the Marxist-Leninist party in Norway to spout a lot of nonsense and launch into a harangue against the intervention in Afghanistan. It was too much, since the leaders of the MKS [Inter-Factory Strike Committee] had spent the day--as a counteroffensive against the government's propaganda--explaining that it is a trade union movement and not a political movement, that it is not a fig leaf for the opposition, that it is not hostile to the USSR and does not favor changing Poland's alliances."

Well, well, LE MONDE--where were you during that particular meeting?

Local Party Chief Recants

Oslo KLASSEKAMPEN in Norwegian 29 Aug 80 p 16

[Reportage by Tuva Gry Øyan; photos by Leif Gabrielsen]

> [Text] "I swear on the cross that I am with you! I was wrong before, but now I have realized what is right, and have joined the strikers."

The man on the podium is little and short. When he comes forward to swear, we are aware of a small sensation. Our interpreter has just explained

I swear by the cross that I am with you!

that he is a local party boss who has now made common cause with the strikers. He is first secretary in the party in the little town of Pruszcz Gdanski, just outside the strike center of Gdansk. Not one of the real big shots, but snugly placed in the bureaucracy. Now he is on the Lenin dockyard as representative of three striking plants in his town.

While he is talking several workers have gotten up and come forward with shouts that we did not understand a word of. But the applause that follows his speech is surprisingly light.

"I Was a Potop!"

Like the prodigal son in the Bible story of our childhood, he stands there and has to listen while the leaders of the meeting recite before all those present what a "catalog of sins" he has: Delegate from his district to party congress after party congress, a safe position in the party's executive committee in the Gdansk province. "I was a Potop!" he says repentantly. He is likening himself to the principal character in a well-known novel by Henryk Sienkiewicz, the world-renowned Polish writer. In the book "Potop" the author has the Pole Andrzey Kmicic go into the service of the Swedes in the war against Sweden in the 17th century. The aged Andrzey realized that he had been taken in by the Swedes, and found his way back to his own people. For our friend on the Lenin dockyard it was not quite so simple.

Interrogated by the Workers

For as soon as he sat down again among the other delegates, the workers began a regular interrogation: What is your job? What kind of education have you got? Primary school, high school, technical school?

No, he had not gone to any technical school. How did you get the position you have got now? No other worker gets ahead so easy without education. And just what is your job exactly? What do you do when you are working? A colleague of the "accused," in the same delegation, undertook his defense:

"I have worked with him for 10 years, and can guarantee that he is a good fellow."

What job have you got now? How did you get that job? What do you work with? Who are you really? WHAT DO YOU WANT TO ACHIEVE?

"How long have you worked together?"

"Oh, well, 5 years."

"Then no doubt you can say what he works with. Is he in a production line, or does he sit in an office?

"Well, as for just exactly what he works with..."

No, that did not get the interrogation taken care of. The suspicion was sharpened. Was he an *agent provocateur*, sent out by the party to split the workers, or was he just plain dumb? The interpreters cannot entirely agree among themselves; one insists that the fellow is the party's emissary: "The party boss smell clings to him, the way he talks, the words he uses. He apologizes too much. 'I have a wife and children to think about,' he keeps saying. But who hasn't?" Another is less sure: "But most likely spontaneous strikes did break out in the three small plants he says he is representing. And the workers agreed to elect a joint strike committee. The party committee was still on the spot, and it put up opposing candidates and the election took place without anybody's thinking much about it."

Yes, I know, I was wrong, but I had a wife and children to think of!

Three Million Party Members

"But among the three million party members in the country the strike must have some support," we asked.

"Undoubtedly, among the ordinary members. I should think that at least 30 percent of those who are gathered here are party members," is the answer. "But that character is no ordinary member. He is a boss, who has made a very good thing out of his position in the party. That is why it is so hard to believe him when he says he is supporting us all out. For where was he before, when we might have really really needed his support?"

Atheist Swearing on the Cross

And the workers had several touchy questions in store.

"Why are you swearing on the cross? You are an atheist, are you not?"

The answer came straight out and with no attempt at explaining away: "I know that most of the workers are religious, and I counted on their believing me if I swore on the cross. This is the first time I have done it, but I will gladly do it again if you want me to."

"Why should you? Swearing on the cross or the red star is the easiest thing in the world." The formal meeting was over, but around our local "Potop" the waves of controversy still ran high. Should he be allowed to stay there, or be thrown out? Was he a scoundrel, or just dumb? Was he just pretending, or had he broken with the party as he said he had? A harmless opportunist, perhaps, who after serving the party for many years was now changing horses, because that looked like being the safest?

The crowd finally melted away, and he got to stay on the docks. The next day we saw him again among the other strikers, a little red-faced, maybe, but still right there.

8815
CSO: 3108

POLISH-FRENCH CULTURAL RELATIONS NOTED

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 16 Jul 80 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Jean-Philippe Lecat, French Minister of Culture and the Media, by ZYCIE WARSZAWY permanent correspondent Leszek Kolodziejczyk: "Culture Brings Poland and France Closer Together"]

[Text] Prior to his visit to Poland (16-20 July), French Minister of Culture Jean-Phillipe Lecat was interviewed by a ZYCIE WARSZAWY correspondent on Polish-French cultural relations.

[Question] What is the Minister's opinion on the subject of development of cultural relations between Poland and France?

[Answer] Both our countries are nations with a great past, the history and cultural heritage of which are particularly rich. It is obvious that all areas of the arts and cultural exchange developing between our countries make a profound contribution to the friendship which binds them and which leaves numerous evidences in cultural affairs. One is pleased with the role played in Paris by the Polish Institute and in Warsaw and Krakow by the French Institutes, the goal of which is to create and deepen public awareness in both countries toward their cultures. It is my wish that there could develop even broader exchange, which is already quite fruitful, between the youth of both countries. Last fall the French Culture Days in Poland and the Polish Culture Days in France, in various areas -- film, books, theater, recreation, music, and sculpture -- constituted an intensive area of exchange.

[Question] What areas of Polish creative activity were in the Minister's opinion particularly warmly received by the French public?

[Answer] Poland's creative artistic activity and cultural heritage are perceived by the French to be close enough to our own to evoke a strong response, and sufficiently different for this exchange to be received with constantly fresh interest. Among those areas of artistic creativity which found particular favor with the French public, I should like to mention our enthusiasm for Polish music, cinema and theater, as well as Polish folklore

and graphic art, which is so admirably represented by Polish poster art. I should also mention the success enjoyed in France, at the Culture House in Nanterre, by the play by Witkiewicz in a Andrzej Wajda production, and I might also mention numerous showings of Polish films throughout France. We would also like to see more collaboration between French and Polish cinematography. I hope that Andrzej Wajda's projects in this area reach fruition.

[Question] How does the Minister interpret the certain disproportion between French cultural presence in Poland, which is more extensive and deeper than the Polish cultural presence in France?

[Answer] Noting development of cultural relations for the purpose of deepening Polish-French friendship, we are all concerned with the question of what means to undertake in order to strengthen the presence of Polish culture in France. Together with the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, we attach great importance to increasing all forms of dialogue between our two cultures and to making the French public even more aware of Polish culture. From this standpoint the mass media would seem to be very important. Greater film and TV collaboration and publication of modern works of Polish literature in the French language seem to me to be in this respect basic means leading to an increase in interest in Polish culture by the French public. I would also like to see more frequent holding of Polish culture weeks, both at the local and national level, and I would like to see them representative for the culture of both countries. Incidentally, all these projects are being incorporated into a three-year cultural exchange program to be discussed by a mixed commission.

[Question] Mister Minister, what plans for stepping up mutual cultural exchange will you be taking to Poland?

[Answer] Completely separate from the culture week, we shall be presenting important plays, after the model, for example, of the Renaud-Barrault Theater, which took part in the most recent festival of international theaters in Warsaw. The Rolanda Petit Ballet is preparing for a tour in Poland scheduled for June of 1981. In the area of plastic arts exhibits, we are planning an exchange between the Pompidou Center and the Polish museums in Lodz; there are also plans for a future Charles de Gaulle exhibit, to open in Warsaw next fall, as well as a series of events in November dedicated to Apollinaire. I should also like to mention a very important area, that of exchange of information in the area of preservation of works of art and monuments. A seminar of Polish and French experts in this field will be held in Nancy at the end of 1980. I should also like to express the wish that other persons active in Polish culture follow the example of Andrzej Wajda and come to Paris to collaborate with our artistic centers. And I should like to state that my plans include talking with Minister of Culture and Art Zygmunt Najdowski.

[Question] Mister Minister, what role in your opinion can be played by development of cultural relations in the process of détente between European countries?

[Answer] Culture plays an indispensable role in bringing peoples closer together: it arouses interest, which penetrates people's minds and hearts, in the traditions, way of life, in the cultural heritage and creative affairs of other peoples. Thanks to culture a foreigner becomes "one's own," while peoples and societies can learn to know and understand one another better. From this standpoint cultural exchange between Poland and France is of a most highly exemplary character thanks to the outstanding results which have been achieved. I would like to see similar agreements based on cultural ties which are rooted deeply in both of our nations also extend to other European countries.

3024
CSO: 2600

POLISH-FRENCH CULTURAL RELATIONS, PRINCIPAL THEMES OUTLINED

Paris LE FIGARO in French 18 Jul 80 p 4

[Article by Bernard Margueritte]

[Text] Mr Jean-Philippe Lecat, minister of Culture and Communications, yesterday began a 4-day visit to Poland, which should provide a new stimulus to the cultural relations between the two countries. These relations, incidentally, have already developed in a very harmonious manner, especially since the signing, during President Giscard-d'Estaing's visit to Warsaw in 1975, of a "declaration" on this matter, in some respects much bolder than the Helsinki accords signed afterwards.

What are the principal themes brought up during Mr Lecat's visit? There are basically four:

1) Cooperation in matters of restoration as much of works of art as of cities. The Poles have in this domain, and with reason, exceptional accomplishments. This is why, in this year of the patrimony, a French-Polish Congress devoted to restoration will take place in December in Nancy.

2) Exchanges from Poland with the Pompidou Center: a Polish exposition will be prepared in Paris while Poland will organize next year a Charles de Gaulle exposition. The exchanges should also extend to posters, photography, painting, to the theatre and to the avant-garde cinema.

3) Problems of the sale of French books in Poland and of Polish books in France: one of the objectives of the French party is to maintain the level reached by the diffusion of French books. However, the Poles hope in this respect that more translations of Polish works will be brought out in our country. But despite some successes (books by Kusniewicz) we remain a long way off in this.

4) Teaching and spread of the languages: French comes in third place in Poland in the high school, after German and English. According to the reform of the Polish system of education, all young Poles between thirteen and seventeen are now going to study a Western language. It is a matter of

seeing that this does not translate into a weakening of our position. Likewise, an effort is being made in France for the teaching of Polish: in three years, the number of high schools where the Polish language is taught has risen from 3 to 12 while Polish courses are given in 17 universities.

Therefore French-Polish cultural relations are going well. Poland is in second place with regard to the university accords concluded by France (60 universities or graduate schools have contacts with this country) and she is our third partner in youth exchanges. Currently, two thousand young people from each country are participating in these each year. The objective is to reach five thousand in 1983.

An accord in this domain will be signed, moreover, during President Giscard-d'Estaing's visit to Poland in September. In the course of the last two months, a thousand Poles have come to France on cultural exchanges. After all, France devotes to its cultural relations with Poland a budget greater than the one it uses with all of the other socialist countries together, except the Soviet Union.

So where are we heading now?

New perspectives are taking shape which Mr Lecat's visit will no doubt contribute to making concrete.

9508
CSO: 3100

PROTESTANT-CATHOLIC CONTROVERSY OVER TERRITORIAL RIGHTS NOTED

Paris LE FIGARO in French 1 Aug 80 p 7

[Article: "Poland: The War of Religions"]

[Text] A bitter religious controversy has just broken out in Poland which already has enough with which to contend. Polish Catholics living in Warmia and Mazury, in the country's northeast, have, within the last few months, forcibly taken possession of five Protestant churches. Naturally, the Protestant Church has violently protested this action in which it is implicating the Polish Episcopate and even John Paul II himself, and has launched a campaign which some of the West German and Swiss press has taken up.

The inquiry into the facts of the case, however, shows that this campaign is, to say the least, excessive.

Before the war, 800,000 Protestants lived in this territory governed by Germany. Today there are no more than 3,000 or 4,000 and this number each year is dwindling since the Protestants are taking advantage of the move to reunite families to emigrate to the Federal Republic. On the other hand, following liberation, this area was populated by Polish and Catholic families who came from countries east of Poland which the Soviet Union had annexed.

Under these circumstances, the Catholics were left without any church whereas the Protestant churches frequently had no congregation. In 1972, therefore, the Polish Episcopate appealed to the country's authorities to grant acknowledgment that year of the ownership of the property not only to the Catholic Church but also to other religious persuasions. At the same time, the Warmia diocese offered to buy back 10 Protestant churches. It had to wait 5 and 6 years to conclude the agreements in only four cases.

One of these cases was that of the Rozogi church. The sale, however, was not concluded until after the Catholics had taken possession of this church already abandoned and closed and after many refusals to sell or rent it to the Catholics. On the other hand, no agreement was concluded at either Baranow, where the Catholics occupied a ruined church which was being used as a refuge for gangs of ruffians, nor at Spychowo, where the remaining 10

Protestants still refused to grant the 1,000 Catholics there the chance to hold their religious services with them, the church was then finally occupied and the Protestant authorities returned the rent which the Catholics had paid.

According to an official statement from the Warmia See, this lamentable affair also involves a question of pounds, shillings and pence. The Protestant Church has finally proposed the sale of the eight churches for the sum of 25 million zlotys, which is about twice the value which the civil experts estimated. This being so, the Catholic Church has been obliged to negotiate otherwise step by step against considerable odds.

What the Warmia and Mazury Catholics find most exasperating in the case, judging by what has happened in it so far, is that the Protestants apparently prefer to see their churches fall completely into ruins, to be used for potato storage, or if worst comes to worst, to be conveyed to civil authorities rather than to renting them or selling them to the Catholic Church. We can only hope that inspired by the spirit of ecumenism, this distressing problem will eventually be solved. But who, in Poland, in the present instance, is so much as giving thought to this ecumenism?

8870
CSO: 3100

PRINCIPLE OF NON-INTERFERENCE IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS HAILED

Bucharest CONTEMPORANUL in Romanian 27 Jun 80 p 12

[Article by Victor Duculescu: "Non-Interference in Internal Affairs--A Decade and One-Half of Unceasing Promotion of a New Feature in International Policy"]

[Text] The high principles, dynamism, and innovative spirit impressed on Romanian foreign policy by the 9th Party Congress represented, during the last 15 years, constant attributes of the international activity of our country. Romania and its president distinguish themselves as a vivid, effective presence, as one of the most active factors of contemporaneity in the fight for the cause of peace and progress of mankind. The history of contemporary Romania has never known such a dynamic, constructive period in international activity. Already, at the 9th Congress, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stated: "The international policy of our country has as a lasting, steady foundation--the principles of sovereignty and national independence, equal rights, non-interference in internal affairs, mutual advantage. Romania militates for the consistent promotion of these principles in the international arena, considering their observance as essential condition for developing collarboration among states, strengthening trust among peoples, respecting the inalienable right of every people to decide upon its destiny."

Building a new international democratic system based upon respect for the independence and sovereignty of all the peoples, upon the prohibition of the use of force and the threat to use force, requires the strict observance of the principle of non-interference in the internal and external affairs of any country. As a matter of fact, this principle takes on, more and more nowadays, like the other primordial norms of behavior of states, the importance of a fundamental principle of the international law and morality, which has its observance directly linked to the solution of international crises, and the affirmation of a free and independent life for each nation.

Historically, the affirmation of the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of states and peoples is directly linked to the recognition of the idea of sovereignty of states, to the affirmation of the

independence of nations in the contemporary world. As it is known, the prevention of any foreign interference in the internal affairs of a people, its free election of its social or political system, the affirmation of a domestic and foreign policy in accordance with its national interests necessarily derive from respect for sovereignty. Enunciated for the first time in the works of several well-known theorists of the 17th and 18th centuries, such as Wolff, Puffendorf and Vattel, and entered in the documents of the 1793 French Revolutionary Convention, the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of peoples was to be quickly forgotten by those who proposed to build up a European system based on disregard for the peoples' interests and on the balance of the relations of force among the then big powers. Proclaimed as a reaction against a possible foreign intervention on the American continent, the "Monroe Doctrine" was to turn also, in a very short time, into a policy of justifying North-American interests on the whole continent.

Although there were numerous reactions against the policy of intervention, the acts of interference in the internal affairs of peoples characterized a whole historical epoch of conflicts and violations of the peoples' rights, the policy of intervention, interweaving, in the course of time, with the manifestations of force and threats to use force and directly serving the attaining of the hegemonistic or aggressive aims of some powers interested in dominating other peoples. The history of acts of intervention is very long and comprehensive. The Romanian people, located at the crossroads of several big empires, had to firmly defend its independence and national being against many attempts at interference in its internal affairs. The counter-revolutionary attempts of interference in the affairs of the young Soviet state, the failed attempts to impede the success of the Chinese revolution, the neo-colonialist policy of "recouping" the young independent states, etc. are well-known.

In our epoch, the forms of intervention have been expanded and diversified--from political and military intervention to ideological or cultural intervention, from openly proclaiming the right to intervene in the affairs of some states or peoples to the most refined justifications which try to legitimate the interventions by "humanitarian reasons," satisfying various "superior interests" or, what is truly paradoxical, "protecting" the interests of the state which had its affairs interfered with.

The politological theories which start from the primacy of power in international relations and try to substantiate various models of organizing relations among nations based on the balance of the economic, political or military force, leave, in fact, an open door for intervention as a current practice in relations among nations. According to several western authors, "power" and "influence" might, in fact, be related concepts, if not identical ones. Even some "theoreticians" of international law who acknowledge that armed intervention would be prohibited by the norms and principles of law presently in force for relations among nations, do not hesitate to state that the simple "interferences" could, however, be permitted and

accepted! If the principle of non-interference in internal affairs, as such, established by the United Nations' Charter and by many international documents, cannot be questioned as a whole, one tries to demonstrate that certain exceptions to the incidence of this principle should, however, be accepted: those actions which states undertake in order to protect, as they pretend, certain superior interests, the values of civilization and human rights, the fate or belongings of their citizens who live in other countries, where they, supposedly, do not have enough "security" etc. The technique of having other principles of international law running counter to the principle of non-intervention, of attempting to classify the principles of international law as "chief"- and "secondary" ones, with those in the first category (collaboration, human rights etc.) coming before the principle of non-intervention, is widely used.

The attempts to justify interventions are taking on nowadays the most diverse forms; an appeal to domestic forces with non-existent or ridiculous political meaning is often made. The practice of intervention also knows a wide variety of interpretations of the international documents, just in order to justify actions of this sort. But there are many circumstances in which the norms and principles of law which are inconvenient for those who undertake acts of intervention are simply violated without resorting to any sort of justifications. As far as the practical methods of committing acts of intervention are concerned, these are varied and affect the most diversified spheres of the exercise of the national sovereignty of the people. The interventions may, first of all, refer to the domestic and foreign policy of states, trying to divert it from its natural aims of guarding the national interests, and may aim at acquiring economic positions in a certain country--to the disadvantage of the respective people and to create favorable positions for other countries concerned. Extremely dangerous are those interventions which aim at sharpening conflicts among certain countries, usually small- or medium-sized ones and developing states interventions which tend to perpetuate conflict and tension situations in certain regions, to involve the peoples in a policy of arms, preventing them from concentrating on their natural aims of raising the living standards, of building an independent life.

Socialist Romania firmly expresses itself against any forms of intervention in the internal and external affairs of states, since it considers that they disregard the sovereign rights of the peoples to decide their fate independently, to establish their own options for development in accordance with the national interests, since they artificially stimulate conflict situations, endangering peaceful collaboration among nations and peoples. In the view of our country, the acts of intervention represent a negation of international legality, of the democracy which should rule over relations among nations, a brutal violation of the relations of dignity and respect which are the only guarantee of peaceful cooperation among nations in our epoch.

The foreign policy doctrine of Romania, President Nicolae Ceausescu's view of the new international economic and political order, consider the

principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of peoples as one of the pillars of the future international democratic system, based on equality and equity, on the full and final prohibition of force and the threat to use force. The deep attachment of Romania to this principle is reflected in the fact that it is consistently, even without exception, established in all international documents signed by Romania, together with other norms of international behavior which must be observed for establishing a climate of international peace and security. The secretary general of our Party, the President of Romania, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu forcefully stressed that conflict situations which have lead to tension phenomena in the international life, such as those in Africa, the Near East, Afghanistan and South-East Asia must be resolved by respecting the peoples' right to self-determination, putting an end to the interference in their internal affairs, respecting their sovereignty and independence.

In the view of Romania, there is a strong and indissoluble link between non-interference, respect for sovereignty and the right of every people to freely decide upon its destiny. The affirmation of a free and independent life, the protection of revolutionary accomplishments can only be achieved if the great principles of international law and morality which must rule relations among all the nations are strictly observed, if the policy of intervention and interference will definitely be replaced, in relations among states, by a policy of active cooperation, based on respect for equality, dignity and recognition of the sovereign rights of each and every people.

9715
CSO: 2700

BRIEFS

NEW CHIEF EDITOR--The July 1980 issue of VIATA MILITARA, the monthly organ of the Higher Political Council of the Ministry of National Defense, lists Ion Jianu as the publication's chief editor. The June issue and previous issues listed Dumitru Radulescu in this position. The rest of the members of the editorial board are the same: Nicolae Briceag, Ion Capet, Nicolae Dumbrava, Mircea Grama, Adrian Merlusca (deputy chief editor), and Gheorghe Tudoroiu. [Editorial Report]

CSO: 2700

CONCERN EXPRESSED OVER FINANCING OF FEDERAL OPERATIONS

Effectiveness of Expenditures Questioned

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1543, 27 Jul 80 pp 8-10

[Article by Dragos Ivanovic: "How Does the Federation Husband Its Funds?"]

[Text] It is from the Federation that come our constitution, laws, decisions, resolutions, conclusions and an abundance of various sublegal acts. These enactments prescribe, advise or demand--especially in this time of stabilization--that we all behave more reasonably so that the economy as a whole and every individual at his work station conducts a more stewardly business operation.

Yet how does the Federation husband its funds? Whereas the talk and the writing go on at great length about the mistakes in enterprises, self-managed special-interest communities, and even opstinas, very little is known about the operation of federal bodies and agencies. In fact our knowledge about how funds are actually husbanded in society decreases as we climb up toward the "top."

Moment of Confrontation

But there is one moment during the year when the talk is more frank in this area. This is the assembly's examination of the final statement of the federal budget for the past year. Whereas the previous examination of this document was mainly routine and a formality, now examination of the final statement is a studious and critical examination of how federal bodies, agencies and organizations have been spending the money they get from the budget.

The assembly's examination of the final statement arouses interest and instills confidence above all because of the way in which this job is approached. The budget committee set up several working groups of delegates which for months has examined the accounts of several federal bodies, agencies and organizations. To that extent these will certainly have a stronger

response from the public when they are published, because they are authoritative.

Pictures and Works of Art

As is to be seen from these reports, the Federation possesses a considerable number of pieces of movable and immovable property. Though this is not exactly something one does not know, it is not a bad thing to insist on it once again, since the value of federal "property" is growing steadily, every year huge funds are allocated from the budget, as can be seen from the extensive programs for construction and modernization of various services. Merely the value of the fixed capital managed by the service for entertainment exceeds 100 billion old dinars, and this sector is by no means decisive to the economical business operation of the Federation.

Many of these items represent important historical, cultural and artistic value. Our attention is caught by the large "repository of pictures and other works of art," as stated in the report. It is quite natural that institutions at that high level should have works of art, but the trouble, and this also caught the eye of the delegates, is that the records on these items are poor, and they are not kept in exactly the best manner.

Nor is there any code of regulations on who and in what manner can make use of these rare and valuable items, and this gives rise to odd situations, to put it mildly. When certain officials change offices, they demand that the pictures and works of art be moved along with their desk!

Fine, that might even be a bizarre aspect of this serious issue. But what is most essential in all this, the thing that the delegates also emphasize, is that "there is a need in general to study the purpose for keeping this treasury of art in offices and basements, inaccessible to the public and to culture." And what is most important, there is a need in the end to state exactly who can acquire these valuable things and under what conditions.

Vehicles Running Around--Expensive

Or let us take the way in which vehicles are used. The garage of the Federal Executive Council has 74 models of automobiles belonging to 19 different makes, and two-thirds are big cars. In this period of dizzying price rises of gasoline and of expensive spare parts, all of this is becoming extremely uneconomical. That is why a law has been prepared which but for exceptional cases prohibits foreign cars to be imported for federal bodies and agencies, but certainly other economy measures will be needed in addition to this.

There is still no social compact which would regulate the manner of use of vehicles for all bodies, agencies and organizations in the Federation. Vehicles are used at personal discretion and for long trips, though there are trains and airplanes. Some chauffeurs complain that they are frequently

forced to wait for officials a long time at airports or in front of buildings where meetings are being held. Some drivers even work 15 hours a day for this reason.

So long as we are talking about cars, the following detail also attracts our attention. The garage has 19 buses and 5 minibuses which are mostly used to carry 1,200 office workers (which is only 7 percent of those employed). They "bring in" 5 million old dinars, but they cost about 650 million old dinars. They are also used frequently for trade union outings.

We Are All Suffering From the Same Disease

All these cases, though utterly different in domain and forms of use of the funds, have something in common: there are no optimum programs or clear regulations or agreements containing precise criteria as to when various things can be done or purchased. The reader will easily recognize this pattern for an ailment which is common everywhere. Almost all our enterprises and various other organizations also suffer from a lack of such documents, and there is public discussion, often backed up with arguments, to the effect that this is a breach through which tremendous public funds are madly leaking away.

The fact that improvisation is so widespread is certainly no justification for anyone individually.

It seems, nevertheless, that the consequences of the unregulated relations are felt most seriously in connection with the allocation and use of dwellings. Since the use of the dwelling for official use has not been clearly defined, some people hold on to them even when they no longer hold their position, though their family has a dwelling which is public property at their place of residence. "It is a rather widespread phenomenon to get more than one dwelling," it was said in the debate, "and for dwellings to be allocated to meet the needs of the extended family at the expense of the budget, which makes it difficult to resolve personnel issues."

Some Have More Than One Dwelling Unit

A goodly portion of the dwellings are allocated without going through the special-interest community for housing, and dwellings are also adapted without going through the community. The striking discrepancies are also noted in construction. Federal bodies and agencies fulfilled the 5-year program for housing construction at a level of only 17 percent, while the special-interest community of the Yugoslav People's Army fulfilled its program at a level of 104 percent. Both of them federal entities, but such a difference.

It seems equally strange that individuals should have a different status from one community to another. The rights and obligations of tenants are one thing in military housing, something else in a special-interest

community of federal bodies and agencies, and still something else in the housing community of Belgrade. Even in the same building there may be differences in rights and obligations which tenants are to exercise and discharge to the housing community. And how then is it with those who have their housing in the capitals of the republics?

The list of oversights established in the handling of funds might also be considerably longer. The programs for noneconomic investments of federal bodies and agencies was not, however, taken up on this occasion. This was left to later, but one can suspect that there are irregularities here as well from this clearly formulated remark:

"If associated labor knew how certain consumers of the budget are husbanding their funds, they would soon demand that all the laws be amended that hold those responsible for noneconomic investments in a privileged position."

A Welcome Coincidence

It was quite a random coincidence that the rebalancing of the budget for this year happened to be on the agenda the past few days in the bodies of the assembly at the same time as the year-end budget statement for last year. The coincidence, however, turned out to be a welcome one, since it afforded everyone a very worthwhile chance to supplement their knowledge on a topic that is always relevant--how does the Federation actually husband its funds?

Of course, the sponsor of the rebalancing of the budget was the Federal Executive Council, and this entire matter, according to the original explanations, appeared to be so indisputable and simple from the accounting standpoint that abbreviated procedure was even sought for amendment of the budget. It is a question of increasing the federal budget, which for this year amounts to about 130 billion dinars, by 21 billion, the amount by which the federal treasury has been left "lighter," partly because of the recent devaluation, but to a greater extent because of the drop in certain federal revenues.

But the delegates have made a fundamental political issue out of what might have appeared to some a more or less routine step. When a clear commitment has been made against everything lost through devaluation being made up in the economy through higher prices, why should the federal budget be allowed that privilege? So long as enterprises are economizing, let there be equal economizing in the Federation. Certainly they will in some respects feel the shortage of budget funds, but a new budget equilibrium can be established by restricting expenditures on the other side.

The proposal for rebalancing the federal budget was postponed for September, when it shall be taken up under the regular and not the emergency procedure!

This episode is certainly characteristic of the atmosphere at the moment in society, which can be expressed most easily by asking these questions which, to be sure, are constant ones: Are we all prepared to bear equally the burden of the inevitable stabilization?

Analysis, Statistics

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1543, 27 Jul 80 pp 8-9

[Article by Velizar Zecevic: "Budget Under the Magnifying Glass"]

[Text] When there is a particular liveliness in the benches of the assembly, it is the budget on the agenda. The accounts of the government have never been small, and the dilemmas are large. There are many people who are striving to find a more comfortable place in the shade of the government budget, but at the same time everyone wants the budget to be as small as possible and to be spent as optimally as possible.

This is just the third year since the new principles went into effect for shaping the federal budget under the new constitution and the Law on Financing the Federation. The system for financing the Federation is based on the principles of community unity, the needs and interests of all republics and provinces in performance of the functions of the Federation. The republics and provinces have a decisive impact on all budget revenues, as do expenditures determined in advance by specific laws. To be sure, the budget does have its own revenues (customs duties, a portion of the turnover tax), but if they prove to be inadequate, and this has always been the case in the last 3 years, the republics and provinces have to make up the difference through their contributions.

The system for financing the Federation, then, is clear and in conformity with its functions. The budget's revenues are precisely set forth and reliable. Everything is agreed on and established concerning expenditures. Nevertheless, whatever there is is spent, revenues are always greater than expenditures, and the so-called deficit financing of the budget has become a rule that has known no exceptions for some 10 years now.

This kind of situation with the budget is an expression of economic instability and inflation, but the budget itself, with its constant deficit and in view of the tremendous amounts involved (about 13 percent of the gross social product) is also one of the serious causes of instability. For years now the prevailing conviction has been that all budgets, that of the Federation above all, should not be increased, as it is put, faster than the growth of the social product. The endeavor to implement that principle has been set down in law for two sizable items of budgetary expenditures--the financing of the Yugoslav People's Army and supplemental financing of the underdeveloped republics and Kosovo--while other expenditures are limited by the level of total budgetary revenues, which are established every

year. However, the budget is adopted in advance, and not after the fact, so that differences between what has been planned and anticipated and what has actually taken place must be settled subsequently.

For that reason, but not for that reason alone, a budget deficit comes about which usually is a main topic of assembly debates when the budget is up for adoption. The deficit financing of the budget is not a new phenomenon in the world; many governments resorted to this solution several decades ago. Of the two possible ways of overcoming a shortage of budget funds--either from existing social accumulation or from future accumulation, by spending in advance--we, involuntarily to be sure, but almost regularly, have used a third--a portion of the budget, often as much as half, comes from the primary issue of money, that is, from that money which is issued to cover augmented production and the rise of prices.

The deficit, then, remains what it is. It can either be replenished, and that creates new budget expenditures for which one must set aside a larger share of the social product, or one must curtail some of the rights of those who live on the budget.

The order of magnitude is such that payment of what has been postponed or not settled up to now would so augment the budgetary spending of the Federation that more than 13 percent of the social product would be required to cover it all. And this would then signify that the principle that budget spending ought to grow slower than the social product would turn into its opposite: 7 years ago the federal budget took away 11.5 percent of the social product, though certain obligations of the Federation have in the meantime been passed on to the republics and provinces.

"The principal cause of problems in balancing the federal budget and deficit financing should not be sought in the system of financing the Federation, but in its practical application," engineer Petar Kostic said at a recent meeting of the Federal Social Council in Belgrade. At the same time, the federal secretary for finance conveyed to members of the council the position taken by the Federal Executive Council, to the effect that it is "indispensable to examine the division of the social product as a whole and the share of the federal budget in that context."

What can be done in this respect?

Without touching either the principle that the federal budget has its own revenues nor the arrangement embodying the system whereby the republics and provinces supplement the budgetary revenues of the Federation, it is obvious that the first reflections come down to two ideas--how to avoid deficit financing and in general to bring budget expenditure into line with capabilities?

Let us look at the breakdown of budget expenditures:

(in percentage)

	1977	1978	1979	1980
Financing the Yugoslav People's Army	40.3	41.8	42.7	45.6
Supplemental funds to the underdeveloped republics and Kosovo	6.6	6.9	8.1	8.6
Welfare of disabled veterans (military pensions)	14.6	16.1	15.1	14.9
Promotion of foreign trade	23.8	19.4	20.8	20.2
Personal incomes in federal bodies and agencies	3.8	6.1	6.3	6.0
Noneconomic investments	1.7	1.9	1.8	1.4
Obligations from past years	5.0	4.5	4.0	2.3

The very fact that 1 dinar in 10 of the social product created annually goes into the budget represents a serious reason for some serious talk about the federal budget. Otherwise any stabilization program will be incomplete or almost unrealizable.

7045
CSO: 2800

BRIEFS

ACCUSED OF WAR CRIMES--The district court in Sarajevo issued a decision to investigate three persons on suspicion of war crimes committed against the civilian population during World War II, as based on Article 142 of the SFRY Constitution. Investigations have opened against Ibra Mehovic, born in 1912 in the village of Otricevo in Rogatica Opstina, Jakub Smajilovic, born 1921 in the village of Kukavice in Rogatica Opstina, and Dusan Koponja born in 1921 in the village of Gravljiva Njiva in Vogosca Opstina. [Excerpt] [Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 29 Aug 80 p 14]

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END

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East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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CONTENTS

ALBANIA

Isai Stresses Role of Party in Solving Economic Problems
(Hekuran Isai; RRUGA E PARTISE, Jun 80) 1

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CPCZ Official Gives Details on Nomenklatura Cadres Evaluation
(Jaroslav Bunata; ROVNOST, 19 Aug 80) 14

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Armed Forces Political Administrator on Warsaw Pact Members
(Ernst Hampf; HORIZONT, No 35, 1980) 18

Improvements Noted in Soldiers' Living Conditions
(Joachim Goldbach; VOLKSARMEE, No 21, 1980) 24

HUNGARY

Political Committee Approves Resolution on Party Training
(PARTELET, Sep 80) 29

Party Tasks in the Economy Examined
(Istvan Latos; PARTELET, Sep 80) 36

Central Committee Releases Figures on Education, KISZ
(KOZNEVELES, No 16, 1980) 44

ROMANIA

Need To Improve Teaching of Social Sciences Cited
(Olivia Clatici, Ion Rebedu; ERA SOCIALISTA,
20 Sep 80) 48

Members of Committee for People's Council's Problems
Listed
(SCINTEIA, 13 Sep 80) 55

YUGOSLAVIA

West German Comment on Aid to Yugoslavia
(Johann Georg Reissmueller; FRANKFURTER
ALLGEMEINE, 22 Sep 80) 60

ISAI STRESSES ROLE OF PARTY IN SOLVING ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

Tirana RRUGA E PARTISE in Albanian No 6, Jun 80 pp 5-16

[Article by Hekuran Isai, Politburo member and member of the Secretariat of the CC of the AWP: "For a Comprehensive Evaluation, Monitoring and Solution of Economic Problems, and Their Full Resolution"*]

[Text] In this session you have presented a number of problems and have discussed the ways to solve them, therefore, there is no need to wait for further incentives to put into practice some of the issues which have been discussed. Of course, problems which must be studied more profoundly and approved by the responsible organs in the districts and at the center were also presented here. Work therefore should start right away, planning and programming these studies and establishing the order of solution. Otherwise, if they are not acted upon in this manner, the result will be endless talks and discussions, problems will not be solved, and the situation will not change according to the party's guidelines and demands. If we permit irregularities in solving the problems, then the result will be manifestations of bureaucracy, liberalism and an academic attitude in scientific and study work, something which would harm the progress of work.

You are all aware that, as has always been the case, in recent years too, the party has devoted special attention to the problems of the economy. Comrade Enver Hoxha has submitted, analyzed and solved a host of problems in this field, and has opened to us new and broader horizons to understand and to solve the questions of our socialist construction and of the development of the economy with our own forces. You have studied these very important materials of the party and are familiar with the struggle and efforts being carried on everywhere to put them into practice.

We all can ascertain and note the great successes of our economy. At a time, when, in the capitalist-revisionist world, there are occurring all those

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* Speech delivered to the scientific session on problems of the management and organization of the economy, organized by the Institute of Economic Studies attached to the Academy of Sciences of the People's Socialist Republic of Alganitt, and by the Economics Department of the Tirana University, held in Tirana 16-17 May, 1980.

regressive phenomena of the deepening of the general crisis of capitalism, of the profound economic crisis, of unemployment, inflation, of the energy crisis and so forth, our economy is healthy, stabilized and is continually and dynamically developing at high rates. It is successfully confronting the encirclement of the fierce imperialist-revisionist blockade. This is clear proof of the justness of the party line and of the lessons of Comrade Enver Hoxha; it shows the vitality of our socialist economic and social order, and of the clear and certain prospects for our development on the road to the complete construction of the socialist society.

But at the same time, you, along with all the cadres and the workers, are also familiar with the difficulties of growth and those of the fierce imperialist-revisionist blockade, with the important problems which the party has submitted to us, some of which you also have treated here. The aim of the work of the party and of all its levers in the economy, is for us to have the strongest possible economy to increase its effectiveness, to protect it from every negative phenomenon, or anything which could become a cause for the destruction of the necessary relationships which exist, and to further perfect these relationships.

The source of successes or of non-fulfillments, of course, is to be found in the cells of the economy, in economic enterprises and agricultural cooperatives. Therefore, it is there that work must be further strengthened.

No negative phenomenon, or anxiety over the development of the economy can occur if the demands of the economic laws of socialism, as well as the legal laws, the decisions, the decrees and regulations which the government has issued and issues in accordance with the party guildlines and directives and the demands of the objective economic laws of socialism are kept in mind and carried out. Therefore, comrade Enver Hoxha recommends that "The government has justly demanded and must demand with greater force the full implementation of decrees and decisions which it has issued, but they must be put into practice and control must be exercised by the grassroots, the section of the executive committee, the enterprise, the unit, the place of work, the individual, and so forth. Whoever is not familiar with them should study them, and the party and the administration must control their full implementation."

The work of the economist does not consist merely of raising the problem, and then sitting down and watching. When we say that class struggle is waged in the economy too, it means that all must wage this struggle better, including you, the economists, and we must not tolerate violators of laws, of decrees and decisions. Even when some manager declares: "Do as I say, because it is my responsibility, if you want I will give it to you in writing," and so forth, when he is mistaken, do not do what he says, but act according to the rules, laws and decisions of the party and of the government. But the economists, the specialists and the cadres fail to act precisely in this manner. Therefore, the Seventh Plenum of the Party Central Committee reiterated the need to improve the feeling of

personal and collective responsibility in carrying out the tasks, as a very important issue which must be put in the place that it deserves. Comrade Enver Hoxha has pointed out that "when you fail to implement the assigned tasks and rights, and when others adopt them, and, in a careless way, work in an irresponsible and routine manner, then you have caused, in the same way, damage to work and show incompetence in handling the assigned task."

Scientific research institutions, the higher schools, the cadres and the specialists at the grassroots and the central ministries, have carried out useful studies which have helped the party. But the issue is that those economic problems which appear as the most serious must find a greater reflection in scientific-study work, plans in the dissertations of the scientific workers and the theses of students, which are in the hundreds. No one has prevented our institutions from getting more deeply involved with these problems but they shirk, in one way or another, from difficult tasks, sometimes out of laziness, or according to the mistaken concept that "by keeping quiet, our names will also not be mentioned, hence we can avoid headaches," and so forth. All these ideas and attitudes must be severly opposed, and we must all put our minds and efforts in the service of the development of the economy, today and in the future. Among other things, it is imperative to draw the necessary conclusions from the recommendations of Comrade Enver Hoxha that "We must guard ourselves from narrow habitual practices, as well as from an academic attitude in scientific study activities, otherwise, if such manifestations are permitted, then one is dealing with everything, but not with science and study work."

You are working concretely, together with the working collectives, in drawing up the draft Seventh Five-Year Plan, therefore I will not present here all those great objectives which are expected to be achieved and which the party Central Committee and the government have made clear to us. But I will draw attention especially to the seriousness of the great tasks facing us in our intensive economic development in all directions.

First: we must continue the development of our economy by relying totally on our own forces, surely at high rates, much higher than the rates of population growth, and under very complicated international conditions.

Second: we must make a great leap forward, as never before, in the field of accumulation and expanded socialist reproduction, by aiming to secure material, financial and foreign currency resources necessary to realize capital investments of great proportions, about equal to those realized during the four 5-year plans (1951-1970) taken together.

Third: we must create over 185,000 new jobs, at a time when the average value of funds to create a new job position is increasing, and when 50-70 percent of the increase of social product is expected to be insured through the increase of the social productivity of work.

Fourth: we must make considerable steps forward to further increase the effectiveness of production expenses, in particular in industry, agriculture

and construction, by aiming for a more rapid increase in the national income than in the social product, so that the further intensification of the economy will be accompanied by the reduction in cost per each unit of the products, and due to this factor it will be possible to achieve close to 65 percent of the increase of net income of the economic enterprises so that out of the existing production capacities, along with their reconstructions and modernizations, close to 85 percent of the increase of the social product can be ensured, and from the increase of the yields of farm crops and of the productivity of livestock, about 90 percent of the increase of the total farm and livestock production can be assured.

Fifth: we must further develop the technical-scientific revolution during the next 5-year plan period. It will be faced with tasks whose dimensions will be larger than ever. We will have to design ourselves all construction projects; we must broadly launch the machine building industry, we must carry out a true revolution conserving and replacing scarce raw materials and those which are imported, with better and cheaper domestic materials, we must make extensive improvements in technology and in other fields of scientific and technical progress.

We, and our entire people, are rightfully proud that today our country, our socialist economy, our workers, are in a position to start and successfully complete such impressive projects. But we all must be extremely aware that these objectives and great tasks also require the mobilization, creative thinking and revolutionary initiative, of all the workers as well as of the economists, where ever they work and manage. There is, throughout, a need for mobilization and greater responsibility, effective sifting and utilization of the mental and physical forces and energies, the maximal utilization of internal resources.

The party reminds us that the better involvement of the engineering-technical personnel in the economic and financial problems of production, must be correctly understood, as a great question of principle, in the same manner that the economist too must sufficiently know the technical and technological aspects of production. "In our country,"--Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches--"the technical and technological problems are not separated from the economic aspect, in the same way that the latter must never be seen as detached from the political, social, material and technical aspects, otherwise the danger of succumbing to technocratism and economism could be quite real." The economists and the economic sciences should speak up more about the directions of the development of the productive forces and or production in every link and unit of the economy, about the necessity and profitability of the projects which are planned, designed and built, of new lines and sections, about how reasonably and how scientifically based are the tasks of the plan, and so forth.

The party has worked with and will work more closely with the engineering-technical cadres, with the agronomists and with the other specialists of production, construction, transportation, so that they too can understand and solve these problems increasingly better in cooperation with you.

But this scientific session is being attended by economists, therefore I will touch upon some problems which have to do with the work of the economists and on the necessary improvements which must take place in their work.

We justly demand the cooperation of the economists with other specialists and vice versa. But the question arises: how is the cooperation between the economists themselves of various professions, between the economists in planning, finances, accounting, and statistics within the economic enterprise or the agricultural cooperative, at the district level and throughout the country? Of course, such a cooperation exists and there are results, and this is the general characteristic of our entire activity. But the question is how to further improve the work, how to better and more effectively use those great possibilities which have been created.

If we are confronted with cases when the planning branch or sector is considered decisive in drawing up and monitoring the execution of the plan, whereas the other branches and sectors, such as those of finance, work organization, of material-technical supply and others, do not show the same concern for these tasks, if the financial problems are considered to belong only to the finance and accounting branch, if the economists supply copious reports periodically but fail to use them themselves in managing the work of the enterprise and of the cooperatives, if the figures of the plan and those of finance and accounting are at variance, let alone when "maneuvers" are tried to, at all cost, achieve plan fulfillment in global terms, and in three figures, and so forth,--then these all show that we have to do here with breaches in the implementation of the single management of economic problems in the enterprises and cooperatives, we have to do with closed work practices which, instead of helping us, they divide the forces and harm the work. Here, too, we must seek the source of differences which exist in some cases between the economic and financial indicators, in planning and in execution, something which then leads to erroneous data, as happens sometimes, for example, with the fulfillment of the task reduction of cost and of net income, or with some other indicator, when the data issued by the plan branches do not coincide with those issued by the branches of finance and accounting.

Of course, this lack of coordination and cooperation between the various sides of economic management in some enterprises and cooperatives, is not only the result of the inadequate work of the economists. It is also fed by the unhealthy work method of quite a few managers in enterprises, cooperatives, districts, and even in central ministries. If the director of the enterprise, the chairman of the cooperative or any other manager will continue to manage with a chain in hand, or by appeals and aimless running here and there, then he does not feel the need for the levers and organisms of our administration, nor for the information and the data which they glean. Whereas a true manager must thoroughly and daily request from you, the economists and other specialists (and it is your duty, too, to glean data), as to how the plan fulfillment is proceeding, how the distribution of products is proceeding, how the supply activity is proceeding,

how the norms of work and of materials are being realized and so forth. All these must be provided daily to the manager. In addition, according to established rules, every 10 days and at the end of every month, other data must be provided, for example about cost, productivity, income, the effectiveness of expenditures and so forth. In this way, one passes from general to concrete management, with pencil in hand, in level-headed and not aimless management. This will also improve the role of operational, statistical and accounting records, as very important factors for the scientific management of production. And here we are not talking about a stale accounting which is carried out just to be in order with the superior organs and then remains in the desk drawer. Comrade Enver Hoxha reminds us to tackle seriously the perfection of record-keeping, without drowning it with unnecessary things and without placing it in a dead-end street, but to have more complete presentation of a realistic and on schedule of the economic-financial situation of the enterprise, of the cooperative, of every institution and work center.

The party Central Committee and Comrade Enver Hoxha have criticized the basic party organizations for not sufficiently occupying themselves with economic and financial problems, and have asked them to get more deeply involved and to treat these problems better within the framework of the entire work and struggle which is carried out for the fulfillment of the plan tasks. But on which issues should the bureaus and the basic organization be informed and with which problems should they get involved more and better? Of course, it is up to them to concern themselves with and to assess these problems. But it is also the task of the economists of the planning, finance, accounting, and statistics factors to try a little bit harder and to get more involved so that, without burdening the party organs and organizations with unnecessary information and data, they will provide them on schedule with data regarding crucial problems, regarding the most important and most disturbing ones, and so they will know and monitor, better than heretofore, not only how the plan is realized in global terms, but also the quality, how the basic resources and materials are used, how much should be spent and how much has been spent to complete a job or a product, whether the finished product has reached its destination or not, and so forth.

It is a positive fact that many cadres and specialists are familiar with the data on the principal indicators of production. But to know the data in general terms is one thing and to discover what they stand for is another thing. Each figure is related to another, and each one has a reason, has a justification, with its own problems. For example, the cost is reduced but the net income of the society is not realized. Why does this happen? The wage fund is not met as a whole, but the average wage is over-fulfilled and at the same time labor productivity is realized. What are the reasons for this? The investment plan is fulfilled but not its financing. Where did the enterprise find the financial means to meet the expenses? And in order to provide an answer to these questions it is not enough to provide only a few stale data, but some explanation and conclusion is also necessary, and suggestions must be made for a solution, and so forth.

The party leads the life of the entire country. But for the management and development of the economy and culture, the party has its own levers, such as the state and economic organs and other organizations, employing a broad army of managers and economic specialists which it has trained. Therefore, you comrades must get more involved in the role and the great responsibility which you have. You should seek help from the party and the working masses, but you must also be accountable and answerable to them. You are familiar with the objective economic laws of socialism, the directives and the decisions of the party. They are reflected also in the state laws and ordinances, in the daily norms for circulating assets, in the norm of accumulation and productivity, in contractual relations. We maintain, even for simple things, detailed rules. There are, nevertheless, cases of violation of planning and financial discipline, careless and indifferent attitudes in the use and administration of socialist property, acts of negligence, including cases of violations of laws.

Somewhere, the quality of products breaks down and is damaged, and rejects are produced. In these places, however, in addition to the technologist we have also the economist who calculates and controls the work, we have also the accountant who calculates and controls the wage, and in order not to permit the marketing of such products, we also have over 3,000 people who are charged with the control of the quality of goods. But then, why are goods of poor quality produced? Somewhere, goods are produced without destination, which remain in storage, somewhere the goods are shipped to their destination, but are not accepted by the receiver, somewhere the goods are accepted and are used, but the bills are not paid, and so forth. And where such practices occur, we have economists, financial experts and accountants. Then, who acts this way and who permits such behavior? Somewhere, the goods are produced according to plan and in accordance with the standards and technical conditions, but still, someone is supplied with these goods above the plan and others below the plan, and still others, entirely outside the plan. Or investments are carried out and their financing is not on a par with the volume of works actually realized, or expenses above the plan or "expected" level are incurred, there is a lag in the work schedule, farm crops are not provided with fertilizers according to the plan and another farm crop is supplied above the plan, and so forth. How and why do these things happen, who acts in this manner, and why do the economists, the financial experts and the accountants permit them?

We have, in every enterprise, a planning branch, finance branch, supply and distribution branch, production branch and in every district we have planning and finance sections in the executive committee of the people's councils of the district, we have branches of the State Bank and of the Agricultural Bank, we have 17,000 high and middle-level economists. Where is their active role, their controlling role? It is their duty not only to ascertain these manifestations, but also to prevent them as soon as they are manifested and to stop them when they happen. "The planners and the financial experts in the enterprises and agricultural cooperatives,--reminds Comrade Enver Hoxha,--must not act simply as monitors, but they should turn

into unbreakable barricades against all violations of laws and of planned norms, by monitoring their expenses up to their final destination."

Of importance is to understand that none of us, the cadres and the specialists whom the party has trained, can escape part of the responsibility for the shortcomings and weaknesses evident in some economic enterprises or agricultural cooperatives. If the issues are understood this way, then, in the future, we will have four problems on this issue. Consequently, we will expect more from ourselves, we will provide greater help, and a stop will be put to violations and to damage to socialist property. As the people's saying goes, the wrong-doers and dishonest people try to fish in troubled waters, precisely where there is lack of order and control. The establishment of order and of firm control throughout and over the work of everyone, is what we need. We have no need to know the economic laws in terms of slogans, and in schools, too, they should not be taught to the pupils and to the students in a scholastic manner, but they must be closely related to our economic and social life and in the service of its progress.

The improvement of the scientific level of the management of economy makes the proper and daily monitoring of the economic issues a necessity. This alone, however, is not enough. The daily and operational work can never be effective and far-sighted if it is not based on actual and long-term, special and complex studies. "Our perspective,--teaches us Comrade Enver Hoxha,--is the complete construction of socialism and communism," therefore, "we must never proceed thoughtlessly, blindly, without weighing the possibilities and without setting clear objectives for the present and for the future."

Everywhere, in all fields, there are many problems to be studied. But it is also of importance, however, to decide which problem to tackle first, where to concentrate the main energies, with whom to cooperate in completing the study and from which point of view to analyze it and to study it, so as not to take a partial stand, but to view it in its complexity, from the economic, political, ideological, social, technical and organizational aspect.

It is known that the long-range development of our economy is realized on the basis of 5-year and long-term plans. The party Central Committee and the council of ministers, prior to issuing the guidelines to draw up the new draft five-year plan, made a series of studies. However, has the same practice been followed also in the districts, enterprises and agricultural cooperatives? Because it is true that the draft plan is already being drawn up, but we all know that study and preparatory work should have been carried out on time in order for this study work to precede the drafting of the plan on increasingly scientific bases. I stress this because of a lack of this type of work in the past, there have been cases where, as soon as a new enterprise has been set up or a reconstruction has taken place, additions or other changes have been sought, which if they had been properly foreseen, on the basis of a clearer prospective, could have been carried out, and considerable investment funds could have been saved.

On the basis of the guidelines of the party Central Committee and of the government, over four-fifths of the increase of industrial production in the coming 5-year period will be obtained from the existing enterprises, by better exploiting their productive capacities and by carrying out important reconstructions. In the agricultural cooperatives, a labor force of about 25,000 people will be added each year. How will these tasks be realized and how will these problems be solved? Precisely for this reason, every enterprise and agricultural cooperative must make studies for the long-term development, even for longer periods than 5 years. Prognoses and plans with real possibilities for implementation are imperative also for the districts and for various branches and sectors of the economy.

The problems of effectiveness are among the most sensitive problems of the economy, are broad and not easy to solve. Therefore, the studies must play a greater role in this field, and not only economic studies, but also studies in other fields. Greater attention must be paid to the effectiveness of production expenses and capital investments, in the entire study and planning work for the fulfillment of the programs of the deepening of the technical-scientific revolution. The object of special attention must be the enterprises and production activities which operate with losses or are subsidized, so as to lead them out of this situation, but without reducing the attention to the other enterprises and activities, which, although profitable, have and create reserves which must be discovered and utilized in raising their effectiveness. Such internal reserves are hidden behind inflated or outdated costs and budget allocations, behind irregularities observed in some cases in the administration and in the use of material, monetary and manpower assets, behind the fulfillment in global terms of the plan tasks and so forth.

When we speak of the problems of effectiveness, a problem which in this scientific session was correctly treated, it means that it should be seen as closely connected with the tasks for the continuous increase of production, because as the party stipulates, and you surely understand it this way, the effectiveness of the economy is based on the growth of production, on the fulfillment of plans, on the increase of labor productivity and on the reduction of the cost of production and of turnover expenses.

Therefore, we must always treat effectiveness on the basis of the economic policy of the party, by having as a basis the increase of production, the fulfillment of our plans. But, at the same time, we must calculate the amount of expenses to produce this or that commodity. We do not have and should not have obstacles along the paths of increasing production. In order to increase the planned production in agriculture, the labor and the specified materials must be used according to plan. We must not "conserve" them, as some people think and do, by not using them. The problem is to use them fully and on scientific bases, so as to increase the productivity per hectare and to increase production, because, in this manner, effectiveness also increases. This is the duty of all,

therefore yours, too, as economists, so that, where you work or away from your work, you will fight and help with all your strength to find and suggest various ways to increase production. However, when we are talking about effectiveness, we must keep well in mind the fact that in our economy a fixed price policy is practiced, which for some products creates the impression that allegedly they are unprofitable, but, in fact, this is not the case. Take, for example, the price policy of the party regarding children's wear, for some consumer goods, of for the assessment of a part of the means of production, and so forth. Even if production in some hilly and mountain zones may lack great effectiveness, we will and must continue increasing production in these zones too. The effectiveness must also be seen closely related to the necessity of securing a number of products locally and not simply according to their profitability.

We will continue reducing expenses for the production of poultry and pork and for the production of cotton, but this will occur while increasing production, surely, in the first place, while increasing yields. If we obtain 20 quintals per hectare of cotton, as is the case with the Lapardhase agricultural cooperative, or even 16 quintals per hectare, as is the case at the district level in Berat, instead of 11 quintals per hectare which was obtained last year on the national level, or 9 quintals per hectare in Durres District, then the production of this crop would surely be quite profitable. We could say the same thing also for the profitability of the production of pork, that is, if 10 quintals of pork can be obtained from every hog, or more, as is the case with the Roskoveci agricultural enterprise, and not only 2.5-3 quintals, as is the case with some agricultural cooperatives.

Of course, in the better results which we mentioned in the above two examples, the harmonized use of all the factors of the increase of productivity and production have had an influence; these factors are not necessarily the same everywhere, therefore it is also necessary to assess their level in the enterprises, cooperatives and other districts and what and how much can be done to create and mobilize these factors in a harmonized manner. But, if we are confronted with situations like that of the shoe plant in Korce which produces at a much lower cost than the other shoe factories, or the glass factory in Tirana which has fewer rejects and a lower cost than the other two glass factories, or if we are confronted with other examples of this nature mentioned during this session, then there should be no reluctance or delay in disseminating these positive experiences to other enterprises of the same kind. A positive role would be played here by the unified planning of the production and economic-financial indicators on part of the responsible ministries, by using as a basis the indicators of the progressive enterprises. It is necessary to make this one of the daily tasks of the central ministries, so that in the enterprises of the same type of production, when the conditions and the structure of production do not differ, they can find the ways for the most progressive experience to be carried out, of course by the others also, by unifying the production indicators during the planning stage.

When we talk about the conditions of production we have in mind among other things and above all, the technical and technological conditions. In order to increase the effectiveness, it is necessary to pay proper attention to the realization of the improvements in these directions. It is a fact that these, and, in particular technology, are not on the same level everywhere. There are some enterprises which use a more progressive technology than the others. The question is for this technology to be acquired and to be applied as soon as possible by the other enterprises which produce similar goods in the most varied and suitable ways possible. This should be kept in mind now during the drawing up of the draft 5-year plan, in particular for the reconstructions and new constructions which will be planned, by rigorously preventing expansion and reconstructions and new constructions based on a backward technology, as has been the case on certain occasions in the past.

A greater number of studies are necessary for the increase of the effectiveness of production, of investments and of expenses. Also for the quantity and quality of the performed work, for the techniques and technology which are used, for the effective and more complete utilization of the production capacities, for the effectiveness of the material expenses of production, of turnover, and so forth. The question is for us to make good calculations in all these fields, as Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us, "with pencil in hand, preferably with a sharpened one." These and other problems which are related to the increase of economic effectiveness express basically, among other things, that fundamental demand which Comrade Enver Hoxha makes in his speech about the pre-draft 5-year plan, namely that before we think about where we will assign the various funds, we must think about the securing of the resources of accumulation and of foreign currency, because "Only in this manner will we march and continue to march with confidence, by setting first the head and then the feet."

The Seventh plenum of the Party Central Committee stressed that one of the crucial links for solving current and long-term problems is also the further perfection of the various aspects of the managing and organizational work of all the organs and organizations at the center and the base. Surely, there are a number of questions which the party has clarified, but I wanted to stress some problems which deserve to be viewed and studied with care. Thus, for example, are all the organizational structures of economic enterprises and of agricultural cooperatives in order everywhere, are the problems of concentration, of specialization and cooperation studied and solved properly within and without, and do problems rise in the field of competences? Or, in which directions should planning, study and use of new scientific methods in planning be further perfected, and record-keeping and accounting, of information and of statistics be improved, to simplify, and supplement them and to make them more accurate, making them more comprehensible for the cadres and the masses? Is it proper that, with the setting up of the Agricultural Bank, the sections of finance attached to the executive committees of the people's councils of the districts, should sometimes not occupy themselves with problems of agriculture? Or is it proper that in some districts the sections of finance and of control should

work together, that the planning branch of the agricultural cooperatives and in some economic enterprises also concerns itself with problems of supply and distribution, and that these matters take up 60-70 percent of the time.

The questions of the distribution of the social product and especially of the product itself, constitute a wide field of studies. Today we distribute, on the basis of the principle of compensation according to work, billions of lek. The question is that wages should be paid for work and sweat, not for working 6-7 hours per day, but 8 hours and with high productivity, so that wages are received always for useful products and services, and not to create jobs and to produce the kind of goods simply to justify the wage. The guideline issued for 1985 which calls for work norms to cover 95 percent of the work processes, and in the case of technical norms, no less than 75-80 percent of the work time with norms, make it necessary to better organize the work in this field.

The covering of the buying power of the population with goods and the necessary services, is an essential condition for the ever better satisfaction of its needs and for the speedy turnover of goods and of currency. Studies are made in the districts about the buying power, and a host of data and facts are issued in this connection, but, at times, they are inconsistent, and full and correct conclusions are not always drawn.

Problems to be studied may also be found in regard to the prices which are established for some type of commodity or product. But who can raise these problems before the competent organs better than you? The studies and the concrete proposals in these directions must be based strictly on party policy and on the pursuit of the problems according to the dynamics of life.

We must be aware that the problems of distribution are not resolved easily and by themselves. In order to solve them correctly and well, it is necessary to have scientific studies and planning, and confrontation, too, with foreign manifestations, and to wage a class struggle on the economic front. Therefore, the economists, no matter where they work, should fight with greater determination for the implementation of the party policy, they must become a barricade against all those who try to violate the laws and the rules of the state, who want to receive more than they give to the society, and so forth.

These are but some of the directions where research and study work can and must be directed, only to have an idea about the scope, the depth and the acuteness of the problems which require study and optimal solutions, as well as about the method of the management and study work in the field of the economy. The economy, in the dynamics of its development, entails, continually, a host of problems which have to do with the development of production forces in industry and agriculture, in construction and transportation, with the procurement of the accumulation of resources, with the increase of the export of goods, with the perfection of relations of ownership, of trade and distribution in the city and village, with

the strengthening of the cooperativist economy, with the narrowing of the differences between the village and the city, with the ways to increase the well-being of the people, and so forth.

These and others are problems which must be reflected in the tasks of the Seventh Five-Year Plan and which require a better concentration of attention and concern of all the economists.

The general characteristics of our economy are its successes, development at high rates, stability and clear prospects. It is the duty of all to see that, under the party leadership, with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, these characteristics of our economy, which constitute the principal front of socialist construction, are further strengthened and are always led forward, in the interest of the construction and defense of socialism in our country.

5111
CSO: 2100

CPCZ OFFICIAL GIVES DETAILS ON NOMENKLATURA CADRES EVALUATION

Brno ROVNOST in Czech 19 Aug 80 p 4

[Article by Jaroslav Bunata, director of the Personnel Section of the CPCZ Regional Committee: "Prior to Comprehensive Cadre Evaluation"]

[Text] "In view of the growing tasks of economic development and social evolution," emphasized Comrade Gustav Husak in his speech at the 15th party congress, "we must significantly increase, in the near future, demands on the political and professional maturity and preparedness of managerial personnel, on their moral excellence, and on their ability to lead a collective, to creatively develop, and to consistently carry out party policy in the real world, in the sector entrusted to them. This requires the regular and rigorous evaluation of managers according to the results which they achieve in their work, to pay attention to their growth, and to provide them with aid and support."

As a component of an examination of the fulfillment of the congress conclusions and resolutions of the CPCZ Central Committee, the Presidium of the party Central Committee decided in its discussions in April of this year on the conduct of a comprehensive evaluation of the nomenklatura cadres of party agencies in 1980-81. Its goal is an evaluation of the role of managerial personnel in the fulfillment of the conclusions of party agency discussions and the objectives of the Sixth Five-Year Plan, as well as the further improvement of cadre training, the more effective assignment of people to specific management levels, but especially the guaranteeing of the tasks of the Seventh Five-Year Plan. It was decided to conduct the evaluation in two stages, in the interest of the unified conduct of the comprehensive evaluation of the nomenklatura cadres of party agencies, and increasing its role in the system of work with cadres.

The resolution of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium providing for implementation of the comprehensive evaluation, and assuring its political organization in the South Moravia Region, where the Presidium of the regional party committee approved it in June of this year, stem from the experiences of party, federal, and economic agencies from its conduct to date. The existing system of a regularly conducted comprehensive evaluation is, as experience shows, one of the means which assist in the development of cadre work, in the improvement of the performance of managerial personnel. In spite of the overall positive contribution of the comprehensive cadre

evaluation, it is possible to say that certain shortcomings have also persisted in its practical conduct. The substance of these has been, above all, that the evaluation has not always been perceived as an inseparable component of efforts directed at an increase in the level of the administrative activities of management personnel, that matters have led to an overestimation of the formal aspects of the evaluation, to the concentration of the evaluation into a relatively small time period, to its extension even to line workers, and especially that the method of critical rigor has not become the generally accepted criterion for the judgment of cadre work.

The starting point for the organization of the comprehensive evaluation this year and next will be the Principles for Implementing Comprehensive Cadre Evaluation in State and Economic Administration, which were approved by the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium in January 1972, and which are still in force. These principles have been revised in past years in detail by relevant state and economic agencies and organizations to conform with their particular conditions, and have been implemented in day to day operations with lesser and greater degrees of success.

In addition to the temporal division of the comprehensive evaluation into two stages, there are two additional new aspects in comparison with previous practice:

--In 1980-81 the comprehensive evaluation will be carried out only on nomenklatura cadres of party agencies, i.e. on those managers whose function is included in the cadre organization of central, regional, district, enterprise, all factory, city, and local party committees and in the directory of functions of the fundamental CPCZ organizations in production, transport, and commercial factories and enterprises;

--In 1980-81 the comprehensive evaluation will be conducted strictly according to functional hierarchy, i.e. from the top down along a direct management axis (in a region, for instance: the general director--enterprise director--factory manager; similarly as well in other sectors of activity).

An unambiguous and permanent requirement for all party agencies and organizations in the region is that a rational approach be applied both to the preparation and the conduct of the comprehensive evaluation, and that all forms of unnecessary administrative activity be reduced. All efforts will be concentrated on the content side of the evaluation, and on private, frank personal conversation with management personnel of specific management levels. At the same time it will always be necessary to judge objectively the implementation primarily of the conclusions of the 14th and 15th sessions of the CPCZ Central Committee, but also those of regional or district party agencies which have been directed to specific sectors of activity in the federal and economic spheres.

The principled cadre policy of our party demands the objective and just evaluation of people. Being able to evaluate people means above all to know their abilities and talents, to place them in those positions and in those functions in which they will be the most useful for society. This year and next the comprehensive evaluation will be an instrument for inspecting the work of specific managerial personnel with the expectation that it must lead as well to the imposition of greater responsibility for given tasks. Practice shows that without systematic supervision certain good managerial personnel begin to be lax in their activities, fall into self-satisfaction and mediocrity, and then, logically, come to tolerate shortcomings even at the workplaces which they manage.

Experiences of party agencies and organizations from all of the previously conducted comprehensive evaluations in past years confirm the need for constantly and comprehensively evaluating the preparedness, commitment to work, political participation, and especially the achieved results of cadre activities. But findings also caution us that there is not always a full understanding of the importance of a comprehensive evaluation as a supervisory instrument given the simultaneous increase of demands on cadres, because a number of people feel, as it is said, offended. But life unambiguously shows that a capable, honest, and responsible manager cannot be offended, because just and objective evaluation of good managerial personnel only reinforces their authority and importance. After all, it is impossible not to see that differing results in the implementation of party policy exist and continue to persist among individual enterprises, factories, cooperatives, research institutes--simply put, in specific sectors of activity.

The difficulty and complexity of the management of political, economic, and social processes in the building of a developed socialist society necessarily raises the demands for the sophistication and quality of cadres in all areas of life. The objectives of the contemporary period can be mastered only by those people who have the necessary knowledge and wisdom, who have a well rounded political and professional preparation, and who are capable of executing party policy in the sectors entrusted to them.

Connected with this, for example, is also the necessity to comprehend fully that the Set of Measures for Improving the Planned Management System of the National Economy After 1980, as a plausible path to the overcoming of the difficulties being faced now by our economy, also means greater demands on cadre sophistication. We must always and everywhere recognize that not even the most perfect instruments for the resolution of social processes can be omnipotent. People are always the decisive factor. For management this means the managerial personnel at specific levels: how they understand the basis of the new requirements, and how consistently they begin to resolve work in the sector entrusted to them. Not only the conceptualization, but the efficient organization and smooth flow of production, order and discipline; the creation of a proper atmosphere for quality completed work and its just evaluation according to the merits of specific collectives and

workers--all this depends above all on the supervisory staffs of general directorates, enterprises, factories, cooperatives and other organizations.

The course and results of the current evaluation have only confirmed the correctness of the practice of establishing concrete goals and requirements for each stage in accordance with the main objectives of party work. Regional and all district party committees in the region have mounted impressive efforts for the timely and thorough preparation of the comprehensive evaluation for this year and next. An example of this is the thrashing out of the sense and goals of the prepared comprehensive evaluation at seminars of the chairmen of fundamental party organizations, meetings and discussion groups with the chairmen of all factory CPCZ committees and the managerial personnel of economic and federal agencies at which a unified approach within the framework of the whole regional party organization was at the same time agreed upon.

The imposition of the conclusions of party agency discussions, the orientation toward the qualitative aspects of social development, depends to a great extent on the sophistication of managerial personnel. It is then only logical that the emphasis of the comprehensive cadre evaluation will be greater demands on work results and the personal responsibility of managerial workers for the meeting of objectives and the imposition of societywide interests in the sector entrusted to them. At the present time it is necessary to support unambiguously such qualities of managerial cadres as the ability to organize the work of people, consistency in the elimination of shortcomings and disorder at workplaces, full application of devotion to the party, and professionalism in the management of their sectors. It is well known to the whole broad group of devoted party members that these are not completely new and unfamiliar requirements. But as the practice and experiences of party organs and organizations indicate, they remain very topical and pressing.

The party values committed, honest, and diligent people. In all its activities it creates the prerequisites so that they may have the possibility to obtain ever greater political and professional knowledge, and supports them with all its authority. With the comprehensive evaluations it stimulates them to additional growth, to political and professional education, to an increase in their role in the implementation of the economic and social program of the party. The fulfillment of the objectives which stand before us today will become a verification of the level of the managerial work of party, federal, and economic agencies. This first of all concerns the meeting of the objectives of the final year of the Sixth Five-Year Plan, the preparation of the plan for 1981 and the whole Seventh Five-Year Plan, and the conduct of the comprehensive evaluation of nomenklatura cadres of party agencies this year and next.

9276
CSO: 2400

ARMED FORCES POLITICAL ADMINISTRATOR ON WARSAW PACT MANEUVERS

East Berlin HORIZONT in German Vol 13 No 35, 1980 signed to press 25 Aug 80 pp 8-9

[Article by Lt Gen Ernst Hampf, deputy chief, Political Main Administration, National People's Army (NVA): "Supreme Goal of Socialist Comradeship-in-Arms--Determined Defense of Peace; 'Comradeship-in-Arms 80'--Maneuvers in the Service of Peace; Salutary Demonstrations of Unity and Cohesiveness; Military Mission: No Chances for the Aggressor: Solid Front Against Imperialist Course of Confrontation; Comradeship-in-Arms--Decisive Factor of Combat Strength"] -- Passages within slantlines in bold face]

[Text] At the session of the Political Advisory Committee of member states of the Warsaw Pact on 14 and 15 May 1980 in Warsaw, the fraternal nations struck a balance of the 25 years of existence of their defense alliance in the service of peace. Their declaration reads: "Whatever side one may take in the relations between nations, the Warsaw Pact states have always fought in the forefront for peace, detente and international cooperation... .

"But as long as the NATO bloc exists and continues to enlarge its military potential in the effort to gain military superiority, the Warsaw Pact nations will take all measures necessary in order to maintain its defense force at the necessary level."

This is a clear and decisive word, and we accept it. It reflects the intrinsic humanism and the essence of the foreign, security and military policies of the Warsaw Pact states.

Also in the service of peace will be the "Comradeship-in-Arms 80" maneuvers, which will take place during the first half of September of GDR territory.

Participating will be troops of the Bulgarian and Hungarian armies, the GDR's NVA, of the Polish and Romanian strike forces, of the Soviet army and the Czechoslovak army, as well as units of the united Baltic fleets. In these maneuvers, the united strike forces of the Warsaw Pact states will prove their increased military strength and their unity in political and military actions.

NATO Confrontation Strategy Getting the Appropriate Rebuff

Gen Heinz Kessler, deputy minister and chief of the political main administration of the NVA, explained at the 12th Congress of the SED's Central Committee: "Joint maneuvers of the NVA, the Soviet army and other fraternal armies are...of great military importance, because they document on the battlefield that the alliance of our parties, peoples and armies is invincible. They demonstrate the strength and power of the socialist international military organization and give the warmongers in NATO the clear message: We are prepared to defend peace and socialism with dedication and reliability."

"Comradeship-in-Arms 80" will show the world that peace and socialism are reliably protected. This is especially important at a time of increased international tensions. Everyone--be it friend or foe--should know that the policies of the socialist community of states, which strives for peace and social progress, also includes military measures which are necessary in order to rebuff the aggressive confrontation and power politics of imperialist circles. For that reason, the united strike forces of the socialist military coalition guarantee high combat strength and combat preparedness at all times.

Certain influential imperialist circles still have not reacted with positive measures to the great peace initiative of socialism for continued detente, for a stop to the arms race, for disarmament and for a future for mankind without the danger of a nuclear-missile war. They insist on their long-term aggressive strategy. Many facts prove this, among them especially the NATO long-range program, the Brussels missile resolution and the smear campaign against socialism which has been going on since the beginning of this year.

In view of NATO's aggressiveness and the dangerous international developments connected with it, sudden turns in the situation are possible at any time. Socialist nations take this into consideration. They keep their defense strength at the necessary level. Members of the NVA, under the leadership of the SED and at the side of the Soviet army and the other fraternal armies, make every effort to be prepared for defense against aggression on all sides.

With "Comradeship-in-Arms 80," the united forces of the Warsaw Pact will demonstrate that they are capable of successfully spoiling all variations of NATO confrontation strategy. Scare tactics are alien to socialism, socialism threatens no one. But in the 25-year history of the Warsaw Pact, it has always proven to be beneficial to demonstrate to the enemy the strength and cohesiveness of the socialist military coalition at the proper time.

The Peace Policy of Socialism Demands High Defense Capability

Erich Honecker, secretary general of the SED's Central Committee, warned at the 12th plenary session: "When peace is threateneed, it becomes a duty to fight even harder for its guarantee."

This is in accordance with the line decided upon by the Political Advisory Committee of the Warsaw Pact Organization: The countries of the socialist community continue their peace policy with persistence. Nor will they allow any military superiority of the NATO bloc. Leading representatives of the Warsaw Pact nations are appealing to the peoples and the governments of Europe and the world to do everything in order to solidify peace and to strongly oppose those whose dangerous arms-race and confrontation policies bring incalculable dangers to all mankind; the seven-point Warsaw action program clarifies this.

/The fight of the socialist nations to remove the danger of war has only one choice in the present situation of the class struggle between socialism and imperialism: to pursue a dialectical unity with measures which allow socialist defense capability to stay on top of its mission./ "Comradeship-in Arms 80" will be a practical example of the fact that this Marxist-Leninist realization is absolute and is finding its logical expression. The united strike forces are ready and capable of fulfilling their joint military class mission for the protection of peace and socialism. Therefore, the motto of this maneuver is: "Comrades-in-Arms--united for peace and socialism--no chance for the enemy!" This is the goal and the great political significance, not only of the maneuver, but also of any additional efforts of the joint military actions of the socialist armies.

Socialist Defense of Country--A Coalition

The fundamental concern of the military policy of the Warsaw Pact nations is the defense of peace, socialism and communism. Thus they wage a decisive battle for the vital interests of all peace-loving mankind. It is up to the united strike forces to guarantee an always high combat readiness in solid comradeship-in-class and comradeship-in-arms, to meet any and all provocations of the class enemy at all times, and to reliably protect the socialist fatherland. This is their contribution in the international class struggle.

Military service in socialism is a just and deeply revolutionary mission. It can be guaranteed only in close, always strengthening comradeship-in-arms with the Soviet army and the other allied armies. With "Comradeship-in-Arms 80" we emphasize the military protection of socialism and the defense of world peace is possible in the solid community of the fraternal nations. Guarantee for the victoriousness of socialism and communism and of its secure military protection, is the leadership by the fraternally united Marxist-Leninist parties, is the solid alliance with the Soviet Union as the main force behind the socialist community of states.

Socialist defense has become more important than just the concern of one nation. It has a new dimension, it has the character of a coalition and its responsibility has increased tremendously. This is becoming clear as

never before at the beginning of the 1980's, as mankind faces decisions on which the peace of the future depends. Peace is at stake. Also at stake are the protection of the progressive social order which determines the development of the revolutionary world process more and more. Also at stake is the reliable support of the nations fighting for national and social liberation. For that reason the Warsaw Pact presents to the imperialist nations a forceful, consistent front--politically, economically and militarily.

This presents itself as a historical necessity growing out of the socialist revolution, out of the character of the epoche.

/Member nations of the Warsaw Pact have a uniform military strategic target: the collective defense of peace and of the accomplishments of socialism./ They and their communist and worker parties conform in the effort to further consolidate and improve their political and military alliance in accordance with the principles of socialist internationalism. In this they see the guarantee for a successful fulfillment of their magnificent plans and programs. It is one of the permanent merits of our party to have made eternal friendship with the socialist brother nations, especially with the Soviet Union, the guideline of GDR policy. Members of the NVA are trained in this sense.

Comradeship-in-Arms--Emphasis in Ideological Education

The NVA is conscious of this great responsibility at the boundary between the two social systems, between the two military alliances in Europe. It is fulfilling its duty to the alliance, to the collective military protection of socialism loyally, on the basis of the resolutions of the Ninth SED Party Congress. Constant combat readiness and true comradeship-in-arms are for members of the NVA the decisive criteria for the realization of the military class mission decided on by the Ninth SED Party Congress. This is their most important contribution to a worthy preparation for the 10th SED Party Congress.

It is obvious that the missions and activities of the NVA as part of the coalition place high demands on all members of the army in every respect. For that reason, we strive in political training in the NVA for a qualitative increase in socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism, which are realized in the solid comradeship-in-arms with our fraternal armies.

Superiors, party and FDJ organizations emphasize the following points in order to solidify comradeship-in-arms:

1. They explain to members of the military the meaning, the character of socialist internationalism, make it conscious and create a love for it. In accordance with the demands of the SED party program, with patriotic and internationalistic education, they are shown both in theory and in practice that the relations of the fraternal socialist nations are based on unshakable foundations: sharing the great cause of socialism and communism, the

common ideas of Marxism-Leninism, the political unity of the parties, the involvement of their economies, the closely coordinated foreign policy, the cultural ties, the vital relations between the workers of our nations.

2. The realization that the Soviet Union is doing enormous pioneer work for social progress is deepened in members of the armed forces. Erich Honecker stated at the 12th plenary session: "Thirty-five years ago, the Soviet Union brought liberation to the people through its victory over Hitler fascism, and introduced the longest period of peace in Europe in this century. Today it also shows itself as the most powerful and the most influential champion of a peaceful world. It is the center of our alliance in the Warsaw Pact."

The GDR, our socialist fatherland, would be unthinkable without the Soviet Union! For that reason, as Gen Heinz Hoffmann emphasized in MILITAERWESEN, "the patriot and internationalist is measured according to his attitude to the Soviet Union and to its armed forces. We want to, and shall in future also, be among those who do so precisely." True to the legacy of Ernst Thaelmann, we will in future also consider our attitude to Lenin's country and to the comradeship-in-arms with the Soviet army, which has already become dear to us, as the political foundation of communist thinking and acting, of the entire spiritual life in our army, and always act accordingly.

3. Comradeship-in-arms influences all military life deciseively. For the sake of unity between word and deed, optimal conditions are created everywhere so that comradeship-in-arms can prove itself and be solidified on the battlefield and in combat training. With the Soviet army's creative transposition of training principles and standards in the most important branches of training, possibilities to organize joint training measures, especially with those Soviet units stationed in the GDR, to have an immediate exchange of experience, to utilize training bases more effectively and to make direct comparisons of the accomplishments, are given.

4. Commanders, leaders, party and mass organizations have close contacts with the "next regiment." The great and glorious experience of the Soviet army in class education, in the political and moral, physical and psychological preparation for combat, the Soviet military know-how in preparation for carrying out combat training or in developing new principles of leadership are an invaluable help to us in political and military education and training.

5. The expansion and strengthening of military technical cooperation plays an important part in strengthening relations to the comrades-in-arms. The NVA, like all Warsaw Pact armies, is equipped with modern combat technology, especially of Soviet construction. This uniformity in arms and equipment is an important factor of socialist military strength. In order to make it fully effective, in order to take the greatest advantage of modern technology, the comrades of all the individual armed forces, of all branches of service, of special troops and special services exchange experience with their parents.

6. Knowledge of Soviet military science is used intensively in the further strengthening of the comradeship-in-arms. Soviet military science discovers new military developments. An abundance of materials is available: military regulations, scientific books and articles. The memoirs and publications of renowned Soviet military leaders, soldiers and military historians have stirred up interest in members of our armed forces. They make an essential contribution to the development of socialist soldier personalities. The memoirs of L. I. Brezhnev receive special recognition. They are not in the traditional sense of the word, but rather contain the experiences of his entire life for the communist education of Soviet citizens, especially of youth. For example, the words from "The Small Land" have become an entire program for the political work in the NVA: "A real political worker in the army gathers people around himself, knows their moods, needs, hopes and dreams, leads them to self-sacrifice, to the heroic deed. And if one considers the fact that the fighting spirit of the troops is always called the most important factor of their steadfastness, then the political worker was in charge of the most important weapon during the years of the war. He steeled the spirit and heart of the warriors. Without that, neither tanks nor cannons nor planes would have brought us victory." The NVA always lets itself be guided by this high appreciation for the party workers and the political work in the armed forces.

Guarding the Peace with Discipline, with Initiative, without Compromise

Under these and other aspects, the political-ideological education in our army aims at absolute preparedness to fulfill the military class mission of the NVA, shoulder to shoulder with the Soviet comrades-in-arms and those of the other armies of the united strike forces. /Through the development of the socialist comradeship-in-arms, the enemy will again and again meet with the sobering truth: Socialism has strong, uniformly acting units./ The socialist armies have the best possible equipment for a possible military encounter which might be forced on them. They are trained thoroughly, hard and according to common principles. The soldiers of socialism together guard peace and socialism with discipline, initiative and without making compromises. They shall be victorious!

The "Comradeship-in-Arms 80" maneuver will testify to this. It emphasizes that the great socialist peace initiative of May of this year rests on a good military foundation, that it will ultimately meet with success. The "Comradeship-in-Arms 80" maneuvers are a real trial for the NVA. Through them the NVA will prove that it is fulfilling the military class mission given to it by the Ninth SED Party Congress, and becomes a part of our people's mass initiative kindled by the 12th plenary session of the Central Committee, under the watchword: "The best for the 10th SED Party Congress! Everything for the welfare of the people!"

9328
CSO: 2300

IMPROVEMENTS NOTED IN SOLDIERS' LIVING CONDITIONS

East Berlin VOLKSARMEE in German No 21, 1980 signed to press 19 May 80 pp 4-5

[Article by Lt Gen Joachim Goldbach, deputy minister for national defense and chief, Rear Services: "Working and Living Conditions--Factors of Combat Readiness"]

[Text] The planned improvement of working and living conditions for members of the armed forces is an expression and permanent part of the successful realization of the course decided on by our party at the eighth and ninth party congresses.

Comrade Erich Honecker, secretary general of the SED Central Committee proved convincingly at the 11th session of the Central Committee as well as in his speech before the kreis first secretaries that the GDR's economic strength has grown since that time and that the working conditions and living conditions of our people have been improved considerably. This also applies to the NVA; the working and living conditions of members of the NVA is not only talked about and written about, but is treated and carried out as a high priority question.

And rightly so--because it is important to create, i.e., continue to improve the kind of conditions which enable our soldiers to at all times honorably fulfill the military class mission which they have received from the party of the worker class.

Socialism Does Not Exclude the Barracks

The motto typical for socialist politics--to do everything for the benefit and happiness of the working people--has dual significance for us in the armed forces. For one, as members of the armed forces of our socialist state we create significant prerequisites for the realization of our economic and social policy by carrying out our military class mission. As the National People's Army, we safeguard the peace with the indestructable comradeship-in-arms with the Soviet army and the other fraternal armies of the socialist community. With this we take part in guaranteeing the most important living conditions there are, because any additional successful development of our socialist fatherland depends primarily on the guarantee of peace and security.

Secondly, our policy's basic aim takes shape more and more from year to year, outside of the military. Our comrades feel ever more clearly that the often cited words: "Socialism does not exclude the barracks" are not spoken in vain. They are backed by solid social political measures and initiatives, from which each one can see our party's and our government's constant concern for the army.

The realization of the military class mission often means sacrifices and hardships for members of our army and its civilian employees. According to General Hoffmann, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the SED and minister of national defense of the GDR, this will also "remain this way in the future, as long as there are strong imperialist armies and fleets under arms--even if we succeed forever in securing a reliable peace."

The demand for preparedness every day, at every hour, to meet the class enemy in hard confrontation, is without a doubt very high. But it is for that reason that our party's mission to struggle persistently for improved working and living conditions for our soldiers is a personal obligation for every one of us. And we do not overlook the fact that improvements in working and living conditions alone do not bring about a socialist way of thinking or acting. Factors such as consciousness, creativity and initiative are developed and stabilized only if based on the totality of all the effects of our political-ideological, spiritual-cultural, military and material achievements.

The Military Class Mission Determines Our Thoughts and Actions

Whoever thinks of working and living conditions primarily in terms of leisure time activities, or whoever considers improvements as such only if more time or better food is available, will be dissatisfied and will feel misunderstood, because one must truly understand the character of our army and of its mission in order to effectively deal with the problems of improving working and living conditions. Our thoughts and actions are constantly determined by the military class mission, and everything serves its realization.

For that reason, it is the prime objective to pay attention to those factors of the entire complex of working and living conditions which are most important for the fulfillment of our mission.

We fulfill our responsibility by creating for our soldiers and the civilian employees of the military the kind of conditions which enable them to fulfill their tasks more efficiently. If one looks at the socialist soldier's everyday life--the environment in which our younger, but also the older soldiers live, are shaped and educated, then we can note that the needs of our comrades do not grow unilaterally, e.g., not only materially. When our soldiers carry out their military mission with great personal sacrifice, they have a right to see that their knowledge and ability, their deeds and their skills are utilized intelligently, and that their intellectual and physical strength is regenerated and increased in the socialist fashion.

New arms and complicated combat technology categorically require better combat training. But this can only be achieved through greater effectiveness, not through increased material expenditures. Successful experiences are created for our comrades only through more effective combat training, which both requires and leads to achievements. This also furthers a readiness for the fulfillment of daily duties to our socialist fatherland and the joy of serving which, combined with the significant factor of conscious military discipline and order forms a basic prerequisite for the continued development of living and working conditions. This even affects leisure time; it is not the purpose of leisure time to continue with an already difficult training day. Here, our comrades must have the opportunity to regenerate their strength and to relax with a meaningful activity.

Finding Pleasure in Work is also a Form of Combat Strength

Although the relationship between the two is recognized more and more, there are still elements influencing efforts to do away with unnecessary stress and unnecessarily high demands. For that reason, it is more important than ever to secure to a greater extent the complex interaction between high level combat training, a highly organized military life, socialist relations and improving working and living conditions. It is important that our soldiers fulfill their certainly not easy tasks happily, with initiative, and conscious of the fact that they are doing their best for a good cause. They should be able to work and live and fulfill their duties in a cultured environment and thus be able to bear up under great stress and deprivation. Seen in this light, the question of working and living conditions as factors of increasing combat strength and combat readiness gains ever more significance. It is indeed a fact that arms and technology alone, no matter how good, do not automatically produce combat strength and combat readiness. People, above all, with their readiness to achieve and to serve, with their initiative and creative urge--but also with their wishes, needs and individual desires--are a part of that.

Everyone should enjoy his service and its results and, under the most favorable conditions possible, be able to gain new strength for the successful fulfillment of his mission in the sense of a further increase of combat strength and combat readiness. And we do not overlook the fact that their demands for improved working and living conditions are not unchanging. As our society and its people develop, as demands increase, demands for working and living conditions also change. Experience has shown that once needs are fulfilled, new and greater needs arise. For that reason, the still popular slogan: "We did not have that when we were young," i.e., the past, cannot be the criterion for our efforts, but rather the present factor of increased combat strength and combat readiness. Problems of sharing quarters in military collectives and the relations between superiors and subordinates in their entire complexity are also part of this.

Ready to Go Through the Fire For His Comrades

Who would be enthusiastic if he could not live in harmony with his buddy, on whom he has to be able to depend completely in every situation, and who would go through fire for his buddy if he were not convinced that his comrade, in turn, would do the same for him!

Just as a good fraternal, socialist relationship between our soldiers is simply a part of our working and living conditions, iron discipline and order also influence this complex process. It is undisputed that whenever people relate in a matter-of-fact, reasonable manner, where people live together in an atmosphere of trust, mutual respect and discipline, tasks are solved quicker and better and success is greater. But this side of the problem, as well as all others concerning military life, is not simply a matter which concerns only superiors. That means it concerns everybody. Each individual must do his share in accordance with his capabilities and, as experience has shown, these capabilities are as varied as the demands, expectations and wishes concerning duty and life within the military as well as outside of it.

Success reached in recent years shows what joint efforts can do. It is an expression of our economy's greater potential, as a result of which our state has been able to make considerable improvements in working and living conditions, especially since the eighth and ninth party congresses. Every one of us is the beneficiary of such social-political measures, which find their expression in more money and more leisure time. We are happy about the increase in the number of vacation spots offered and about more effective medical care for members of our military. The residential building program will also affect us, and renovations as well as additional club facilities contribute to the well-being of our military and their families.

Changes are clearly noticeable even in other ways. The periodic modernization of our combat technology, the continuous perfection of training bases, the building of new housing, etc., are important steps in the improvement of working and living conditions leading to greater combat strength and combat readiness.

Of course there are many possibilities in organizing our joint efforts in the military as well as the social field more effectively, more rationally and better, primarily, of course, as concerns the fulfillment of our mission, and this concerns even the family. The growing attention given to this aspect is expressed by the Conference on the Family and the meetings of the minister of national defense and his deputies with young officers and their wives. How quickly and to what extent we take advantage of this potential and discover additional resources depends on the initiative and the devotion of all.

Rear Services--Means Half the Victory and More

Members of the Rear Services also strive to make their contribution to further improvements in the working and living conditions in accordance with all additional wishes which, without a doubt, still remain. They know just how much and what all depends on their work, and they understand the well-known words spoken by Soviet Marshal J. Ch. Bagramyan: "The Rear Services, that is half the victory and more" primarily as a call to duty.

Members of the Rear Services know that working and living conditions influence combat strength and combat readiness and affect immediate interests and needs, raising of awareness, devotion to duty, and capabilities of the soldiers. For that reason they attribute great importance to rear area security in all its aspects, including the further improvement in working and living conditions.

Preference cannot be given, because we need high-grade food service as well as medical service, we need timely supplies of fuel and lubricants, and even the issuing of uniforms in the proper size is important.

In all questions of supply appropriations, it is important to be thrifty with the material and financial means which have been gained by our workers in industry and agriculture, i.e., to achieve maximum results in military supplies. There can be no "either," meaning much money and good working and living conditions, and "or" (less money and less favorable conditions).

Just as in all other areas, our party urges us to achieve more with fewer means, to use the existing means sparingly and effectively and thus to achieve greater efficiency, when it comes to working and living conditions as well.

We are thus in agreement with the demands made by the eleventh conference of delegates of the SED party organizations in the NVA, which made it clear that it is primarily our aim to further familiarize members of our military and their civilian employees with the advantages of the socialist social order in military daily life. What is important is not more, but above all, better quality--to jointly look for effective changes and improvements and to realize these in joint effort.

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POLITICAL COMMITTEE APPROVES RESOLUTION ON PARTY TRAINING

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[Resolution of the MSZMP Political Committee on the Five-Year Plan of Party Education, adopted at the Political Committee's 22 July 1980 session]

> [Text] At its session on 22 July 1980, the Political Committee discussed and approved the intermediate-range plan of party education. We present the text of the resolution, in slightly abridged form.

The tasks of party education in recent years were set by the objectives of the 11th MSZMP Congress, and by the Central Committee's 26 October 1976 resolution on developing party propaganda.

Party education joined in the tasks confronting the party. It assigned high priority to investigating the lasting trends and new questions in the development of the socialist economy and of international relations. In cadre training, greater emphasis is being placed on studying the classics. Training in dialectic and historical materialistic thinking has shifted more to the forefront. Domestic and international experience is being used more widely. Demand has increased to compare theory with the experiences of political practice.

In party education, however, we still find that in many instances formalistic and rote-learning methods are used in teaching the concepts, categories and laws. This relegates to the background ideological-political education, formation of a Marxist-Leninist world outlook, and the militant nature of party education, detracting from its convincing force.

The forums that aid party education have become more effective. Lectures at the Political Academy have theoretically substantiated the current tasks and have comprehensively explained their political reasons. As a new form, the theoretical consultations presented the research results in the social sciences and the experience of practical work, enhancing their application in party propaganda. The Political College, the party press, the journal PROPAGANDISTA, and the publishing of political books aided party education more effectively.

The training and work of the propagandists have improved. The average level of their political training is higher, and they have gained political and practical experience. However, their training and further training lags behind the qualitative requirements of party education.

I. Substantive Tasks of Party Education

The basic task of party education in the coming years is to aid the realization of the resolutions adopted by the 12th MSZMP Congress. The evaluations and tasks formulated in the documents of the 12th party congress determine the content of work in education and training.

In the sequence of the congress resolution, party education must focus on the following ideological and political questions.

a. Principal characteristics of our socialist development:

Propaganda must start out from the fact that our party is continuing its decades-old proven policy even under the changing conditions of building socialism, and that it is striving to realize the objectives specified in the program declaration.

The tasks set in the congress resolution serve to consolidate the earlier achievements, and fulfillment of these tasks will result in further progress and a qualitative transformation in every area. The economic tasks demand even more forcefully than heretofore the development of our social, political, ideological and cultural conditions. The harmony between the economic foundation and superstructure of socialist society will continue to grow in the coming years, and their interaction will become more effective.

b. Our social-policy tasks:

Propaganda must point out the growing significance of socialist national unity, and the present tasks of strengthening this unity.

It should publicize the leading role of the working class and the importance of the socialist development and cooperation of all social classes and strata, from the viewpoint of reinforcing society's social traits and of realizing its objectives. It should devote more attention than up to now to the situation and role of the intelligentsia and youth.

Propaganda must explore comprehensively the significance of unfolding socialist democracy and the tasks of its further development. It must emphasize the role of socialist democracy in asserting the interests of society, in uncovering, reconciling and solving in a socialist manner any conflicts of interest. It must place great emphasis on presenting the forums of socialist democracy, on ensuring the conditions for their effective functioning. It must demonstrate the requirements for the proper functioning of the state organs and social organizations, and the tasks for developing their activities.

c. Development of the socialist economy:

Propaganda must devote close attention to the basic requirements for the socialist economy's development and the Sixth Five-Year Plan's fulfillment, and the tasks of intensive development. It must present comprehensively the strategy of our economic policy, the immediate and long-range tasks in conjunction with modernizing our production structure and product structure, and with restoring and improving economic equilibrium. It must publicize the functioning of socialism's productive forces, the lasting requirements of effectiveness, productivity, economization and manpower management.

In conjunction with the development of the productive forces, propaganda must present the possibilities provided by the socialist production conditions, the ways of realizing these possibilities, the conditions of ownership, the directions of their development and their social role. It must systematically investigate the requirements of conformity to the plan, the development of economic management, the role of commodity and money relations, and the tasks of enterprise management.

It must examine the effect that changes in the international economic conditions have on the Hungarian economy. In the light of these effects, it must evaluate the economy's results, possibilities and weaknesses, and the requirements of adjustment.

d. Living standard and social policy:

Propaganda must spread awareness of the close relationship between the economy's situation and results, and the improvement of living conditions. It must present the progress in raising the standard of living, and the importance of preserving this progress.

It must devote close attention to presenting the relationship between output on the one hand, and incomes and prices on the other. It must publicize the principles of socialist distribution, the economic effect and requirements of earnings commensurate with the work performed.

It must emphasize the role that social benefits play in the improvement of living conditions. It must explain the efforts to better adapt social benefits to social circumstances, so as to improve primarily the situation of the elderly, large families and newlyweds.

e. Ideological and cultural tasks:

Propaganda must point out that the factors of consciousness and socialist interpersonal relations are becoming increasingly important in our present stage of development, and that the ideological, political and moral requirements are becoming increasingly stricter. In this spirit it is essential to wage wider propaganda for the socialist education of the masses. Propaganda must demobstrate more clearly the unity of responsibility and

discipline, of rights and obligations. It must dwell comprehensively on the requirements of the socialist way of life, on forming the socialist content of work, public affairs and culture, on criticizing manifestations of petit-bourgeois views.

Ideological education must continue to devote close attention to the ideals and practice of socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism, to spreading awareness of their relationship. It must be demonstrated convincingly that proper serving of national interests is inseparable from internationalism, just as promotion of the international cause of progress is inseparable from serving the interests of our country and people.

Propaganda must be more active in repressing the nationalistic, cosmopolitan and petit-bourgeois views that are ideologically harmful and conflict with our principles. It must combat more decisively manifestations of pseudo-leftist intolerance, demagoguery and revisionism. It must assume a greater role in overcoming the influence of an idealistic world outlook, in spreading a materialistic world outlook and dialectic thinking.

Propaganda must publicize the cultural objectives of our party, the tasks in conjunction with developing public education and culture, literature and the arts. It must take more closely into account the cultural level of the participants in party education, encourage the development of their cultural needs and aid the acceptance of socialist cultural values.

f. Development of party control and of party life:

Propaganda must help to strengthen the party's ideological, political and action unity.

Party education must spread awareness of the Leninist norms of party life, of the requirements of party democracy and communist work style, and of the tasks for developing them.

It must dwell on the requirements of the party's leading role, underscoring the timely tasks in conjunction with realizing the political objectives and strengthening relations with the masses. It must demonstrate comprehensively the role and tasks of the local party organizations.

g. International conditions of building socialism:

Propaganda on international issues must intensify recognition of the principal trends of international developments and must prove the decisive role of the socialist world system and of the Soviet Union. It must demonstrate the importance of the international communist and worker movement's unity and the characteristics of its development. It must explain the developing countries' role in world politics, and the social and economic causes of their differentiated development and orientation. It must unmask the strategy of imperialism, and the new features of its changing tactics.

It moust expound the political significance of peaceful coexistence in constructing socialism and preserving world peace, of the relationship between peaceful coexistence and the possibilities and tasks of social progress. It must unmask the imperilist efforts to increase world tension, and the anti-socialism and anti-peace policies of imperialism's allies, including the Chinese leaders.

II. Strengthening the Influence of Party Education, Development of Its System and Management

1. Qualitative improvement and greater influence of forming a Marxist-Leninist world outlook will remain the principal task of party education also during the next five years. Realization of the Central Committee's 26 October 1976 resolution must be continued.

To this end:

Party education must provide the foundation for the party members' Marxist-Leninist world outlook, for their understanding of the political objectives. It must help party members consciously identify with the new tasks in building socialism. It must transmit systematically and on a high level the mature results of research in the social sciences, and the proven experience of political and practical work.

Ideological training must strengthen the ideological and political staunchness and historical outlook of the participants in party education, and must make them more receptive to the new circumstances, tasks and solutions. Propaganda must enhance more-active support of party policy and of the public interest.

Party education must be brought closer to reality. The outlines, programs and curricula of its courses must better reflect the real situation and must dwell more specifically on the practice of building a socialist society and economy. It must spread awareness of the necessities and possibilities reflected in party policy, and of the increasing and changing requirements of building socialism.

In party education it is necessary to strengthen the role of debate that enhances independent thinking, and to develop the students' readiness and ability to engage in debate in the dissemination and defense of our principles, and to convincingly support our political and practical tasks. Party education must make further progress in strengthening its substantive and activist features. It must become a party-minded forum for debating ideological and political questions. Superficiality, and the perfunctory and rote-learning features of party education must be overcome.

Party education must be linked more closely with the party organizations' work of ideological and political training, and with the political and practical tasks that must be solved locally.

Generally speaking, enrollment in party education does not have to be increased, and emphasis must be placed on qualitative improvement.

2. The system of party education has basically proved suitable. In view of the increasing political and ideological requirements, however, partial changes are necessary.

a. The training of cadres must preserve the results achieved in recent years, and it must contribute to a greater extent toward broadening the participants' political interests, strengthening their commitment, and their more-active support of party policy. The outlines and curricula must enhance this.

The number of university extension courses must be reduced--by abolishing identical parallel courses--and the syllabi of the courses must be unified.

The extramural forms of the further training of cadres must be developed.

The circle of participants in independent study must be enlarged gradually; to this end the Budapest and megye party committees must devote increased attention to the selection and training of advisers;

To satisfy the special tasks and requirements of further training, the circles that study the works of the classics, present-day ideological and political literature, and the more important ideological and political questions must be revived, primarily for intellectuals.

b. The system of mass education must be adapted to the tasks that reinforce the political persuasiveness of the hundreds and thousands of party members and their ability to take action.

The central courses in mass education should cover fewer topics in the future, but the most important topics should be discussed in more sessions. The curricula should provide a better foundation for ideological training, and for the unfolding of political and practical activity.

To satisfy the everyday and local requirements of political work, the system of the Budapest and megye courses and lecture series, which are propagandistic but have more-flexible curricula, must be broadened.

c. The proposed changes in the system of party education, and the modernized outlines and curricula should be introduced in the 1981-1982 academic year. The time available should be used to significantly upgrade the curricula and to train propagandists.

In its 1980-1981 academic year, party education should cover the resolutions of the 12th party congress with revised study programs and curricula, but in the present system of courses.

3. Careful selection of propagandists and development of their training and further training are a basic prerequisite for a further improvement in

the quality of instruction. More party workers and leaders who have the necessary theoretical background and wide political experience, and who have the traits that a teacher must possess, should be included among the propagandists. Every assistance must be provided to broaden their pedagogical and methodological qualifications. Researchers should be included more systematically in the further training of propagandists; the application of new scientific results to propaganda work should be better organized.

4. Management of party education must place greater emphasis on elaborating and continuously updating the subjects, on developing the methods of instruction, and on evaluating the effect of party education:

Further theoretical consultations should be organized in which researchers, experts and prominent Marxist instructors summarize, by important topics, the latest research results in the social sciences and the evaluated experience in building socialism, in a form usable in party education;

The necessary substantive orientation on new questions and the exchange of practical experience must be ensured on a continuous basis;

More attention must be devoted to including in propaganda the local political, economic and ideological tasks, and to evaluating and utilizing the substantive experience of party education;

Oral briefing of the propagandists on timely ideological and political questions must be improved significantly.

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PARTY TASKS IN THE ECONOMY EXAMINED

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[Article by Dr Istvan Latos, section chief within the Central Committee Department of Party and Mass Organizations: "The Tasks of Party Work in the Economy"]

[Text] To improve our economic situation--and reconfirming its earlier resolutions--the 12th party congress adopted a program that prompts our party organizations to active and consistent work, the content and methods of which have been carefully weighed. Keeping the economy in the focus of party work, the 12th congress defined the principal direction of this work as follows: ". . . every organ, organization and member of the party must be assigned greater political responsibility for supporting and asserting the interests of society. Every party organization must show more initiative in uncovering the contradictions that accompany development, in elaborating the ways in which the tasks can be solved, and in eliminating the obstacles to implementation."

Already in the debate on the congress directives, the party organizations in question were deeply concerned with what requirements political work in the economy must meet, i.e., how they should work for the successful fulfillment of the economic objectives. A question that frequently arises these days is in what respects should we increase the political responsibility mentioned in the congress resolutions, and what should the party organizations do when they encounter enterprise behavior that conflicts with the economy's objectives.

Most such questions reflect a healthy search for ways and means, but in some instances also uncertainty. The cause of this uncertainty is that the party organization or those around it fail to fully understand the role of political work and merely expect measures from management. Some people are of the opinion that the party organization should not commit itself by politically supporting individual measures, because otherwise it would be unable to remain "impartial." This notion is just as untenable as the view that the local party organizations, amidst the present complex economic interrelations, are not qualified to evaluate, politically direct and control the activity of a plant or enterprise, because they allegedly lack the training and information for this.

The economy has always been an important field for political work. This is increasingly true today because also the party organizations encounter more and more often the greater requirements stemming from changes in the external and domestic conditions. As a result of the new price system and system of financial regulation that were introduced at the beginning of this year, the results and weaknesses of enterprise activity are more evident. It is becoming increasingly clear that the enterprises and plants must improve their activity to meet the requirements transmitted by the regulators and price system. In other words, there is greater economic pressure to uncover internal reserves.

The stricter conditions set by the new price system and the system of financial regulation affect the internal life of the enterprise collectives as well as public opinion. It is likewise obvious that the creation of certain political conditions, of a suitable political mood, is indispensable to implementing the measures for improving manpower management and for modernizing the enterprises' organization. But the uninterrupted supply of commodities is likewise an important political question. All these questions must gain specific content in party work. In a differentiated manner, of course, depending on the level of the party organization in question, or on the specific branch in which the party organization functions.

Responsibility for the Formation of the Enterprise Attitude

The party organizations have a decisive role and political responsibility primarily in the formation of the proper enterprise attitude and behavior. By the methods of party work, through reasoning, persuasion and mobilizing and organizing work, and--if necessary-- also with the instruments of criticism, the party organizations must strive to line up everyone for the realization of party policy. They should not tolerate helplessness, the attitude to wait until the first move is made above on certain questions. Instead, they should propose and raise political requirements for management to take the initiative whenever possible. They should reinforce the practice of seeking possible solutions, instead of pointing a finger at one another.

They should not lend political support to the view that more output can be achieved only with more input (i.e., investments). In the same way the party organizations cannot remain indifferent to, or even participate in, attempts to attribute one-sidedly the occasional tightening of the wage rates to shortcomings of the general wage system. Instead, they must uncover the local shortcomings in wage management and direct attention to their solution. It will not be in conflict with this principle if they pass on to the higher party organs their comments, together with their proposals, regarding the general wage system's application.

The party organizations cannot support views to the effect that "the regulators are ruining the enterprises." Instead, through their political work, they must spread awareness of the fact that the regulators--by transmitting the interests of the national economy--provide incentives for more

effective production. They must not associate themselves with the practice that the managers of certain production units go begging to various organs, for unwarranted material resources, invoking alleged interests of the economy. They should prevent by political means the "concealing" of opportunities and reserves in the course of planning, with the intention of using these reserves latter.

It is likewise obvious that the party organizations cannot tolerate a style of management that neglects the democratic elements and hampers the assertion of plant democracy, on the principle that "we are now living in a period of centralism." Nor is it any better when certain managers allow the opponents endless debates and consultations even after the decisions have been made. Sometimes even the party organizations support management when it refers to traditions and routine in its attempts to maintain the output of uneconomical products, even when the conditions for phasing them out have already been created. This, too, indicates that obsolete views and ideas persist also in political work, and that practice often develops accordingly. One such example is the so-called "base approach," when the party organizations measure the results of economic activity not in terms of the economy's demand and realistic possibilities, but only in relation to the level achieved in previous years.

Starting with the planning of work and ending with control of the resolutions' implementation, the elected party organs, their staffs, and the party organizations must strive even more consistently for the faster unfolding of qualitative changes, for the improvement of effectiveness, and for the necessary transofrmation of the production structure. Through their political work the party organizations must exert influence to ensure that the plans of the enterprises and plants are in accord with the economy's objectives, and that the enterprise conduct economic activity in accord with the economy's situation and needs.

Reconciliation and Ranking of Interests

In the work of the party organizations that function in production it is particularly important that they properly support the interest relations. When the interests of the national economy and of the enterprise are in conflict locally, or when one does not coincide with the other, the party organizations are confronted with a dilemma: whose side to take? A general answer to this question is fairly easy, because we must say that every party organization, in any situation and under all circumstances, must unambiguously support the economic policy that expresses the overall interests of the economy and of society, and it must support local efforts accordingly. Thus, when it becomes temporarily necessary to subordinate the local interests, the party organization must have sufficient political courage to support this. But we must also realize that no enterprise collective can be forced to permanently undertake an activity that disregards its own interests. In the case of conflicts of interest, therefore, the party organization must first of all investigate whether a solution can be found that

serves the interests of both the enterprise and the economy. The fact that the system of regulation also guides enterprise actions in this direction makes it easier to find such a solution. Our plants and farms that have the highest rates of economic growth are convincing proof that the pursuit of correctly interpreted enterprise interests can successfully advance also the assertion of the economy's objectives. Such an approach helps to avoid situations in which an impossible "division of labor" arises, the management promoting the interests of the enterprise, and the party organization forced to protect the economy's interests. The fact that the political responsibility of the party leadership and economic management cannot be separated in this manner requires no further explanation, since both the party leadership and management are politically responsible for local enforcement of economic policy.

On the basis of the present requirements, then, the relationship between the party leadership and economic management could be defined also by saying that the party organization's responsibility is twofold. On the one hand the party organization is management's closest ally, helper and supporter, in every effort to promote the interests of the enterprise, but only in accord with and due consideration for the party's economic policy and society's objectives. On the other hand the party organization is the most consistent critic of any management efforts to promote local interests harmful to the interests of the economy, or which merely serve to mark time instead of acting in the direction of progress.

Mutual trust is the basis of fruitful cooperation between the party leadership and economic management. This also presupposes that in the process of work, which has been developed with adequate responsibility and in consultation with the party organizations, we cannot raise constant doubts as to whether management is functioning properly. Enterprise and cooperative managers are able to adopt and realize meaningful measures only if they can rely on the helpful support of the party organizations. This applies particularly to so-called "unpopular" measures.

It would be moot to argue whether the party organizations can adopt political decisions concerning the economy. On the one hand, the Central Committee resolutions grant the party organizations suitable independence to do so, and even increase their responsibility in this respect. On the other hand, even in the past the subject of criticism was the quality of the decisions of this nature, rather than the right to make them. With their carefully prepared and deliberated political decisions, the party organizations have provided suitable guidance and assistance for management's work even in the past. The justification of this will exist also in the future and will even increase. But if the party organizations make decisions and adopt measures in matters that belong in management's competence, if they usurp management's responsibility, this will not only affect the style of work but will be debatable also in principle. In summing up the debate at the 12th party congress, Comrade Janos Kadar clearly referred to this when he said: "If someone is called a party secretary, he should be one; if someone is a director, let him direct, and so on."

Political Support of Economic Measures

In its pertinent standpoint the Political Committee provided policy guidance for improving the work of unprofitable or capital-poor plants and enterprises, including also their manpower management and management of wages. The affairs of the enterprises are being put into order. It should be noted that the resolution encourages own initiative, in addition to the central measures. In this context we can expect that occasionally enterprise management will be forced to adopt also measures that will painfully affect the worker collectives as well as the managers themselves (in conjunction with profit-sharing or bonuses, for example). It is quite obvious that in such situations the party organizations cannot adopt the standpoint that the realization of such measures is solely management's responsibility, and it is better for the party organization not to intervene because it might worsen its relations with the masses. Neither can they join the weeping and indignant, instead of engaging in constructive political work. Nor can they create a dichotomy by urging and encouraging management to tighten labor discipline, while at the same time the undisciplined and negligent are granted protection at the party forums.

What should the party organizations do at plants that are in economic difficulties? Their most important task is to employ the methods of political work in making the workers understand the existing situation, and the reasons behind the measures that have become necessary. With convincing arguments they must explain to what extent the enterprise's insolvency can be attributed, besides the foreign economic effects, to the shortcomings of economic activity, and they must point out the local possibilities and ways for remedying the situation.

The party organizations must meaningfully participate in developing the remedial measures. They should carefully weigh whether such decisions are realistic, whether the economic organs are acting with due circumspection, whether the ideas are effective, and they must take into account also the expected political effects. However, this is only one side of party work. The other side is that the party organizations must actively participate in the implemention of the measures, which of course they must do by the methods of political work.

Party resolutions still in force sum up the basic principles and more-important methods of the party organizations' economy-directing work. These party resolutions provide even today guidance on everything from political aid in preparing the enterprise plan, to the work of control. In conjunction with political direction and control, however, some important questions of work style have begun to arise in a novel way, in agreement with the changes in practice. The effects of these questions are being felt also in the work of the party organizations.

It is becoming increasingly evident that political direction, assistance and control cannot be confined to concern for only the production units

that are in economic difficulties, on the assumption that the efficient enterprises are running smoothly anyhow. All spheres of the economy are now undergoing processes that cannot dispense with the party organizations' attentive and effective work, and thus also in party work it is necessary "to play several instruments" simultaneously. The party organizations must always accurately perceive which are the economic tasks whose realization they must aid through their political activity, with particular attention. Which of course does not mean that they should not consider other questions at all, nor that they can and must concern themselves only with the tasks defined explicitely in the party resolutions.

Streamlining the Working Methods

Just as in other areas of life, also in the economy there appear from time to time tasks that are of political importance, and therefore suitable attention must be devoted to them regardless of whether there are applicable party resolutions. Such tasks exist, for example, in some areas of agriculture. It is of great importance for our economy and social policy that the party organizations concern themselves not only with the development of production and the improvement of effectiveness, but also with avoiding ups and downs in farm production, declines from a higher level to levels already surpassed (for example, in vegetable and fruit production).

Likewise noteworthy is a certain formalism in coordinating cooperation among enterprises. In many places coordination ends with preparing a series of "coordination plans," whereas the most fundamental requirement would be that each of the party organizations concerned undertake political educational, organizing and mobilizing work at its own enterprise, to reinforce the managers' and workers' sense of responsibility for fulfilling on schedule and well the tasks that stem for them from the division of labor.

In the spirit of the congress resolutions, therefore, it is necessary to use also the instruments of party work to ensure that the party resolutions concerning the economy's development are treated practically and not in the abstract. Let us heed the need that our party membership called to our attention during the preparations for the congress, when they told us that they understood the situation, were ready to act, but wanted to be told what specifically they had to do. It is obvious that this cannot be defined centrally for everyone. The local organs must play the leading role in this.

Another justifiable demand is that the political decisions at the various levels should, in addition to setting the economic objectives, also define more accurately the content, direction and occasionally also the methods of the party's political work. Likewise the party organs in the course of control should not investigate merely the effectiveness of the individual production units' work in the light of the economic indicators; they should

also explore the effectiveness of political work in the given topic and area, as well as the questions on which the local party organizations might require assistance or the party members might expect advice and encouragement.

Five-year plans are now being drafted nationally as well as at the enterprises. From this stems the requirement that the party organizations concern themselves more intensively, over and above the everyday questions, also with the questions of development, with ensuring the conditions necessary for the realization of the economic objectives contained in these plans. Here again the important thing is to correctly identify the points of main effort, because we cannot afford to forget even for a moment that we can best secure our coming five-year plan by successfully fulfilling this year's national economic plan, respectively the enterprise tasks stemming from it.

The 12th party congress, and subsequently the elections to the National Assembly and the local councils have confirmed that both the party and the nation are confident. Also in the future our party organizations will have to work in the direction and by the methods that will further strengthen this confidence, this faith in the future. Recently one of our objectives has been to make the public understand the causes of our economic difficulties. Of course, this task has not lost its timeliness entirely even today. However, we should consider whether it is proper and expedient to adopt in our party work the practice of speaking one-sidedly only of our mistakes, failing to bring up as arguments the results already achieved, and to promote and disseminate the methods that ensure better results.

It might seem perfunctory--but it is not--that in its 13 May 1980 resolution the Political Committee abolished the drafting of obligatory annual action programs for the party organizations. In some places this has raised doubts as to whether the party organizations should concern themselves with annual economic activity. It should be emphasized that this resolution does not reduce but, to the contrary, increases the responsibility of the party organs and organizations at every level, for including in their work plans, with appropriate emphasis, the political tasks in conjunction with fulfilling the annual plan.

Assertion of the Principles of Cadre Policy

Among the stricter requirements of economic activity, both the results and shortcomings of cadre work are evident more clearly than before. In evaluations of the work of individual managers we often encounter such judgments as "Good manager, but bad politician." In such cases we may justifiably ask whether anyone can be a good manager--especially today--if he is not aware of the political importance of his work, if he does not anticipate the political effects of his actions, if he does not assert democratic elements in his work. From another point of view we may likewise ask whether a manager can function with sufficient political responsibility if he does not recognize the economic interrelations of his measures, if he is incapable of making suitable and sound economic decisions, or if he does not act in due time.

There are some indications that certain managing organs occasionally favor mediocrity to ceaseless striving for the new and modern. It is noticeable that many party organizations prefer managers who "do not rock the boat," who do not exert themselves but neither create any special problems, while the "restless" managers with their endless proposals only create more work for the managing organs. This, too, shows that the requirements for managers should be enforced more uniformly and more demandingly.

A phenomenon of a different kind also was mentioned at the 12th party congress, and we might call it a refined form of discrimination against managers. Various derogatory adjectives are affixed to comrades in important economic posts. And so what, one might say. But the matter is not quite so simple if we take also into account that such adjectives--born unusally of crude demagoguery and professional jealousy--are affixed specifically to those managers who are leaders in their field, by seeking the new, economical and modern, and at the same time accepting the risk involved. The party organizations' failure to condemn this practice is particularly dangerous, because it could perhaps discourage efforts of this type. And should this practice become general, we could come into conflict with principles that are essential elements of our cadre policy. But it is obvious that we do not wish to defend those who have justly earned the various adjectives, by their improper conduct and mode of life.

More frankness and sincerity are needed also in uncovering mistakes and in bringing the responsible persons to account. However, it would be harmful and unfair to shift all blame for the problems and shortcomings in the economy only on managers. We believe that merit and responsibility go hand in hand, for the developed problems as well as for the successes. For this very reason no party organizations can adopt the standpoint that everything bad stems from management. One-sided generalization is harmful also in this case. When mistakes and shortcomings are detected, it is much better to investigate their specific causes, and then everyone--both the party leadership and management--can draw the necessary conclusions regarding his own work. In this way we can achieve that the political leadership, management, the subordinates and managing organs will all work responsibly for common objectives, with everyone working in a disciplined manner and to the best of his knowledge, in his own field.

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CSO: 2500

CENTRAL COMMITTEE RELEASES FIGURES ON EDUCATION, KISZ

Budapest KOZNEVELES in Hungarian No 16, 1980 pp 4-5

[Article: "From the Central Committee's Preliminary Report"]

[Text] Grade Schools

In 1978, 2.32 percent (in 1974, 2.16 percent) of the national investment went to the developments of teaching institutions, while 5.5 percent (in 1974, 5.02 percent) of the national budget went for their upkeep.

In 1975 the kindergartens, the grade schools, the high schools, and the institutions of higher learning employed 132,500 educators, while in 1979 this number rose to 151,500. In 1975, 22.5 percent of the kindergarten teachers and 6.9 percent of the grade school teachers lacked degrees and certifications. By 1979 this ratio declined to 8.3 percent among kindergarten teachers and to 5.1 percent among grade school teachers.

Over 2 million persons (in the 1979-1980 school year 2.3 million persons) are studying in the various state educational institutions.

In the course of the past 5 years, the number of children who receive full kindergarten care has increased from 316,000 to 457,000. In 1974, for every 100 kindergarten-age children, 72 attended. In 1979 this number rose to 85. In the course of the past 2 years, kindergartens have been obliged to receive more populous age brackets. For this reason it has been impossible to satisfy fully all of the demands for kindergarten services, despite the faster than customary development and the mobilization of significant social forces.

An ever-increasing number of the school-age children (in 1979, 97.2 percent) receive organized preschool training. In 1979-1980, 96.3 percent of the 6-year-olds began their school studies. Primarily because of lack of maturity, the rest were enrolled 1 or 2 years later. The number of grade school students rose from 1.108 million in the 1974-1975 school

year to 1.148 million in the 1979-1980 school year. Of the 6 - 13 year-old children, 98.8 percent attend school, while the rest of them ceased their studies either temporarily or permanently. In addition to regular schooling, in 1974, 31 of every 100 students also received institutional care (day care, study room, board and room). In 1979 this number grew to 410. Among these, the percentage of those receiving day care has increased from 27.7 percent to 36.8 percent. Almost 11,000 children live in grade school dormitories.

In 1974, 89.6 percent of the 16-year-olds finished grade school during the daytime, while in 1979, 9.7 percent did so.

An additional 3 percent received training in physical therapy or comparable education until the end of obligatory age at the evening and correspondence sections of grade schools.

High School

Of those who completed grade school in 1974, 87.8 percent, and 92.9 percent of those who finished in 1979 continued their studies immediately on the secondary level. Another 2-3 percent did so within 1 to 2 years. Nearly four-fifths of these continued their education at institutions that offer trade specializations, including trade schools and technical high schools.

In 1974-1975 a total of 63.9 percent of the 14 - 17 year-olds received instruction on the secondary level, and in 1979-1980, 69.9 percent did so.

In 1974-1975, 17.5 percent of the trade school students and 20.4 percent of the high school students lived in student centers, study centers and dormitories. By 1979-1980 their ratio rose to 19.1 percent and 23.7 percent, respectively.

In 1978, 48,000 passed the trade school examinations. In 1979, 45,700 graduated from the day sections of high schools, among them 23,700 from technical high schools.

In 1974, 32.5 percent, and in 1979, 37 percent of the high school graduates continued their education at institutions of higher learning. (The children of physical workers among the first year students amounted to 41.9 percent.)

College and University Education

In 1979-1980, 64,400 students studied at the day sections of the institutions of higher learning. In 1974, 6.79 percent and in 1977, 8.8 percent of the 18 - 22 year-olds received instruction at various institutions of higher learning.

In 1979, 15,300 received diplomas from the day sections of institutions of higher learning. This was 2,100 more than in 1974.

In 1979 about 124,000 young people joined the labor force from various educational institutions. This is 39,000 less than in 1974. This decline can be attributed partially to the smaller number of their age group, and partially to the fact that a larger percentage of them continued their education on the secondary level. Over two-thirds of them go to work with various trade certificates.

Between 1975 and 1979 a total of 58,000 received their degrees from the evening and correspondence sections of institutions of higher learning. Nearly 151,000 graduated from secondary schools, and 117,800 finished the 8th year of elementary school. The number of those enrolled in evening and correspondence schools has declined during the past few years on all levels of education.

Participation in various specialized training programs outside of the regular schools, however, has continued to increase. Since 1974, the number of students in those training programs has doubled. In 1978, 336,000 participated in this type of training, and 62 percent of these completed various continuing education programs.

The Educational Level of the Workers

During these years, the level of education among the workers continued to rise. In 1975, 58 percent, and in 1980, 65 percent of those in the 15 years and older category had at least a gradeschool education. In 1975, 19 percent of the 18 and older category, and in 1980, 23 percent of this same category had finished high school or a higher level of education. In 1975, 5 percent, and in 1978, 7 percent of the 25 and older category possessed a college or a university education.

The Work of the Hungarian Communist Youth Association [KISZ]

The 855,000 members of the KISZ are active in nearly 30,000 local organizations. While 29.3 percent of the working youth are involved, KISZ membership among the trade school students is 58.19 percent, among the secondary school students 68.8 percent and among the college and university students 78.1 percent.

About 15,000 of college and university level KISZ members participated in the activities of scholarly student circles. Over 28,000 student KISZ members took part in various scholarly competitions, and an additional 85,000 of them participated in the study movements. In 1975, 25,000 and in 1979, 56,000 young people worked in centrally organized building camps.

Membership of the Hungarian Pioneers Association exceeds the 1.25 million mark. Of the 6 - 14 year age group, 95 percent are members of the Pioneers Associations. The activities of the Pioneers' Association and of the Little Drummers Circles are aided by the participation of 58,000 educators, 24,000 youth leaders, and 35,000 noneducator adults.

Nationality Associations

The total number of nationalities amount to about 300,000.

At present 43,300 students of national minority background study in 498 educational institutions. Most of them study the language of their nationality as a subject.

Over 500 cultural societies are active among the nationalities.

The number of clubs for the cultivation of their language has increased, as has the number of informative lectures given in their national languages. Nationality newspapers are being published on a regular basis, nationality radio programs are offered regularly, and now even television programs have been initiated in German and Serbo-Croatian.

On Mass Sports and Physical Education in Schools

The limits of physical education and sports have broadened, and their personnel and equipment have improved. More up-to-date plans have been introduced for physical education training. The number of physical education hours have risen to 3 per week both in the elementary schools and in the high schools. Moreover, 2 hours per week of such training has become obligatory even during the first 2 years of the institutions of higher learning.

Five hundred students per year receive degrees in physical education and become teachers. In the course of the past few years we have completed 400 conditioning halls and gyms, 750 smaller courts, 80 pools for swimming training, and 280 cultural centers which are also suitable for sports activities and physical education training.

At present there are 163 grade schools and 26 secondary schools that have classes specializing in physical education.

Seven hundred thousand grade school students participate in the Olympic competitions sponsored by the Pioneers Association, and in various other mass sport events. At the secondary schools, about 150,000 students are active in various sports clubs and student sports associations.

9271
CSO: 2500

NEED TO IMPROVE TEACHING OF SOCIAL SCIENCES CITED

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 18, 20 Sep 80 pp 20-22

/Article by Olivia Clatici, secretary of the Party Committee of Bucharest University Center, and Ion Rebedu, member of the Party Committee Bureau: "Teaching Social Sciences in Step with Life's Demands"/

/Text/ Establishing the unbreakable tie between the educational process and its objective support, the facts of socialist construction, is a constant endeavor of our party, which believes that the source of the theory of scientific socialism's strength is its foundation in experience, in the dynamic evolution of experience, and in careful and thorough study of the specific-historical processes and phenomena. As the documents of the 12th Party Congress indicate, this places heavy responsibilities upon the social sciences, which are called upon to take a more enterprising, competent and intensive approach to the general problems presented by the revolutionary changes taking place both in Romania and abroad and to inculcate advanced ideas and convictions in the consciousness of studious youth.

The RCP's emphasis upon the social sciences was also indicated at the recent national conference (4-6 September 1980) with teachers and researchers in the economic and social-political sciences, where they seriously discussed the ways and means of improving the teaching of social sciences in the light of the 12th Party Congress' requirements to bring this activity up to the level of Romania's socioeconomic development and to eliminate some lags and defects.

The social sciences are expected to contribute to the progress of the schools and of education on all levels as major means of socialist education and preparation of youth for work and life. As Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out, "It is a duty of honor of the schools to turn out not only good workers and specialists but also informed citizens with an advanced conception of the world and life and deeply devoted to the socialist cause and the inspired effort to carry Romania to new peaks of progress and civilization."

To meet this demand, the Party Committee of Bucharest University Center has regularly checked how the directives in the 12th Party Congress' program

documents are being integrated in the teaching process and how improvement of the content of the social sciences and development of their role in student education are being provided for. To this end we started discussions with the department heads, analyses in the bureau of our party committee and in those of the committees and bureaus [sic] in institutes, discussions in departments and exchanges of experience. We tried to go beyond the stage of general, overall analyses and directives and to focus the activity in this area upon the most specific objectives we could and upon diverse but precisely defined problems. These efforts resulted in specific measures to improve the performance in institutes and departments, while the more general conclusions were used in exchanges of experience.

The last period has been marked by a real improvement and enrichment of the work of social science personnel in the Bucharest University Center. The courses and seminars are dealing more regularly and competently with problems concerning construction of the fully developed socialist society in the present stage in Romania, the necessity of a new quality in all activities, the new economic-financial mechanism and its operation, the concept of agrarian revolution, the contradictions in socialism, the roles of the party and state in building the new society, the development of socialist democracy, the role of the nation in the present period, the evolution of the present social-political systems and of world political trends, and the formation and development of a new kind of relations among socialist states and among the communist and labor parties. They also take up points about the correlation between the base and superstructure in the present stage in the light of the requirements of the new economic mechanism, the general problems of humanism and the human condition in Romania's socialist society, and the concept of material and cultural civilization. Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's work and the basic aims of party policy, which lend substance and effectiveness to the teaching of social sciences, are broadly reflected in the analytical programs and in the content of the lectures or courses.

The party organs and the managements of the institutes and departments are trying to correlate teaching of the economic and social-political sciences more closely and completely with the new and complex problems facing Romania's socialist society in the present stage. Accomplishment of this high aim requires a broader and more intensive coordination, from the standpoint of each discipline, of the social science courses with the real facts of experience, as well as greater efforts to eliminate the pedantic and speculative tendencies that are still sometimes found in teaching.

The effectiveness of teaching social sciences to a great extent depends upon competent and discriminating adjustment of the analytical programs to the characteristics of the institutes. Our university center is making a number of positive efforts in this direction. As we know, the programs devised by the Ministry of Education and Instruction, based upon consultation and collaboration of the best teachers, are "outline-programs." But there are situations where such a program is well planned for 90-120 hours (philosophy, scientific socialism or basic problems of national and party history) but must be taught in fewer hours (30, 45 or 60). Of course these situations require

some compromise and selection of the problems. Of course it would be desirable to have uniform programs throughout Romania for every schedule, but as it is the difficulty is resolved in departments and institutes. Sometimes the departments compromise the problems specified in the outline-programs according to the number of available hours they have, and this leads to cursory and incomplete instruction in some cases. Other departments have chosen to select the problems, in an effort to eliminate the duplications and repetitions in teaching some social science disciplines. Thus some technical institutes have decided to treat some subjects in only one of the courses in order to reduce the repetitions between the course on scientific socialism and the course on basic problems of national and party history. But this solution has not proved very satisfactory either, because it deprives students of a complete understanding of some important processes in Romanian history.

And so more regular efforts must be made in departments to adjust the outline-programs of the various social science disciplines to the number of hours allocated in a given institute, so that every course without exception will have a unified and close-knit subject matter of its own. To this end it is highly advisable to arrange more methodological discussions in departments and on the level of the university center. Their conclusions will really help to make the outline-programs sufficiently specific and to eliminate the duplications still to be found in the teaching of some social science disciplines.

Treatment of the problems of contemporary capitalist society in courses and seminars is a question that is receiving more attention. The conclusion has been reached that in view of the present evolution of capitalist society and the interdependence of international politics, instruction in scientific socialism (and in the other social science disciplines as well) must include a competent and discriminating analysis, throughout a course and according to its subject matter, of the aggravations of the general crisis and the overall, contradictory processes and trends appearing in various countries and regions of the capitalist world. From this standpoint the general problems of contemporary capitalism must be treated in greater depth and a more aggressive stand must be taken against theories apologizing for the bourgeois way of life.

The problems of teaching social sciences are approached as a component part of the educational process and the broad effort to master party ideology. The social sciences must be taught in close correlation with the characteristics of the various educational institutes and the occupations for which the students are being trained. It is particularly necessary to stress this point because the so-called "adjustment to the characteristics" is still narrowly interpreted at times. It is often done by making simplistic and vulgarizing specifications, underrating the theoretical aspect in favor of so-called "specific analysis" based on sometimes insignificant cases or examples. A high theoretical level of teaching all disciplines and a close correlation between them and the future specialist's field are essential to the students' all-around education. The experience of the university's Physics Department is relevant here. It arranged discussions between the physicists and philosophy teachers concerning uniform treatment of concepts like matter, motion, space, time etc. This collaboration was also effected at joint scientific meetings

and symposiums, among which the one on the subject of "Philosophy and the New Advances in Physics" was particularly interesting and useful. The Philosophy Department of the Polytechnic Institute also intitiated such actions, with good results in intensive study of the philosophical implications of the new advances of science and in clarification of some problems in the logic and methodology of science. The philosophy collective at the Construction Institute initiated and organized a series of annual scientific discussions of the question of the present scientific-technical revolution and its social implications, for purposes of uniform teaching of this problem in both the social science disciplines and the specialized ones. Of course the examples could be continued.

In teaching scientific socialism especially, determining the balance between theory and its practical application is essential to effective teaching. In comparison with the other social science disciplines, this course should make the greatest contribution not only to students' acquisition of a given body of knowledge concerning society and political science but also to their understanding of Romania's social reality and the Romanian political system, improving their political-ideological indoctrination and developing their socialist awareness. All departments are making regular efforts to teach a course in theory that is firmly achored in life and social experience.

In the light of the tasks assigned by the 12th Party Congress, the social science teaching process heavily emphasizes the problems in the program that give the students a sound ideological background and directly contribute to the future specialists' proper interpretation of contemporary phenomena and of the revolutionary processes going on in Romania in the present stage.

Unfortunately there are still some shortcomings in the maintenance of high standards in the courses. Sometimes a lesson that is well organized in general is taught in a simplistic, dull way that does not capture the student's attention or arouse his interest sufficiently. These situations are not due to pedagogical failure alone but also to the fact that the lectures are insufficiently analytical at times and based upon limited and sometimes even obsolete information.

The educational value of the social science courses also depends on the presence in the lectures of an intensive and moral scientific analysis of the realities of the western world and of the various trends in contemporary bourgeois thought.

Many courses have been brought up to a suitable level in this respect, such as a number of philosophy courses taught at the university and the Academy of Economic Studies, scientific socialism courses taught at the Polytechnic Institute etc. But there are still some shortcomings in this area. Out of a desire to tell all or prehaps from a certain snobbery, some teachers with a wealth of information from the technical literature simply bombard students with bibliographical data as if the data were familiar to them, at the expense of content analysis of the works or trends of ideas to which they refer. In other cases they resort to long quotations from authors' works. Clearly the educational

value of such lessons is greatly impaired. Some lectures do not invite discussions or enter into any broader dialogue of ideas because of insufficiently informed teachers who speak from collateral information and not from any direct source. Without overlooking some shortcomings in the circulation of the subject information, we think it is also a question of some laxity on the part of some teachers and their own inadequate effort toward information and documentation of this kind.

Departmental as well as interdisciplinary theoretical discussions are a way of enriching the content of social science teaching, expanding scientific information, clarifying new or controversial problems, and substantiating our stand on various contemporary non-Marxist trends of thought. The usefulness of these discussions on subjects of wide interest is demonstrated by the good results obtained by the departments that organize them periodically on subjects that are well considered and scheduled over several years, such as "Confrontations of Ideas in the Modern World" (at ASE /Academy of Economic Studies/, the university and the art institutes), "Religion and Politics" (at the university), "Requirements of Scientific-Materialist Education" (at the IMF /Institute for Medicine and Pharmacy/), "The Economic-Ideological Relationship in the Process of Socialist Construction" (at ASE and IPB /Bucharest Polytechnic Institute/), "The New International Economic and Political Order" (at ICB /expansion unknown/), etc. From this standpoint, experience tells us that the roles of the department collectives and the department heads especially should be developed. The latter often perform a primarily administrative activity rather than any substantive control or guidance of the educational process and the training of their colleagues.

In adopting the various measures, the Party Committee of the University Center and the responsible elements in the institutes have regularly consulted the teaching collectives, from whom they have invariably received help and useful suggestions. For instance, one problem taken up in the discussions was that of forming the scientific-materialist conception of the students and all those who work in our university center. It was concluded that united action should be taken on several levels, by forming a sound scientific culture of the students through teaching and mastery of all disciplines accompanied by a good ideological training. Mere accumulation of scientific information, however valuable, does not automatically lead to atheist convictions. It must be reinforced by an adequate ideological training and mastery of a new set of values, as well as regular political, ideological and cultural programs to influence the consciousness and psychology. For this purpose courses and seminars are placing more emphasis upon problems of ethics and molding social behavior in keeping with the values of revolutionary socialist humanism.

Our committee has specially emphasized the course on "Basic Problems of National and Party History" with its extensive educational values. The course is of great interest to students. But steps had to be taken to remedy some defects because at first there were too many conflicts with other courses, especially as regards the proportions among the historical periods. Every teacher was tempted to expand the chapter that was more pertinent to his research efforts.

There were also some exaggerated presentations of problems more or less in dispute among specialists, to the neglect of highly important problems specified in the program. Uniform teaching of this course was accomplished by arranging a series of discussions sponsored by the university's Department of Philosophy and History.

The teaching staff is heavily emphasizing enlistment of the students in the effort to improve social science teaching and to probe the various aspects of the revolutionary theory. The practice has been extended of basing seminars on material collected by students in their period of productive experience (the university and the Agronomic Institute). The Construction Institute as well as others has had good experience with sociological field studies with students. All the institutes are arranging scientific meetings of social science students' circles. The Polytechnic Institute has obtained notable results in this area. The interest and originality with which the students prepare their reports for these meetings are noteworthy, and the extent of their participation directly depends upon the talent and enthusiasm of the teachers and the specific efforts of the organizations of the Communist Students Association to improve their command of the social sciences.

The social science offices play an important part in improvement of social science teaching. There are offices performing well at the IMF in an interdisciplinary capacity, and a combined didactic and political-ideological effort is being made there. The ASE has organized a political economics office with an original design. Regrettably the university only has an office of philosophy and sociology also serving the other disciplines. It is making a major contribution by organizing theoretical discussions, but it is less devoted to improving teaching and seminar methods.

For complete fulfillment of the assignments of the 12th Party Congress to the social sciences and Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's directives at the start of the new school year, and in the light of the conclusions drawn from the National Conference of Teachers and Researchers in the Economic and Social-Political Sciences, the Party Committee of Bucharest University Center entered on its agenda for this university year many actions in which an important part is played by regular (usually bimonthly) information of the social science teachers about current economic and political problems and by arrangement of scientific and methodological discussions on the University Center level that will be both interdisciplinary and within disciplines. For example discussions are planned for the first half-year on subjects like Romania's socioeconomic development and transition to a new quality in all fields, substantiation of the new economic-financial mechanism in the political economics courses, the concept of agrarian revolution in the light of the documents of the 12th Party Congress, teaching of philosophy and the students' scientific-atheist education, problems of contemporary capitalism, ideological confrontations in the world of today, etc. Efforts to strengthen the departments' scientific activity will be intensified as a prerequisite for enhancing the content and educational effectiveness of the social science disciplines. Emphasis will be placed on formation of an exacting and principled atmosphere in all departmental collectives that will foster self-improvement, the sense of responsibility and a

militant approach. Steps will also be taken to further develop the role of the party organs and organizations in guidance, support and control of activity in all social science disciplines.

Our committee and the party organs in the institutes and departments are concentrating on the efforts on behalf of the problems of content of social science teaching, in order to lend a militant character to the courses and seminars and to contribute to the formation of the students' dialectical-materialist conception and advanced economic and political thinking. This is the only way that social science teaching can make its particular contribution to the great objectives of ideological and political-educational work assigned by the party and to the education of the future specialists in such a way that they will devote all their strength and their working and creative capacities to the construction of socialist civilization in Romania.

5186
CSO: 2700

MEMBERS OF COMMITTEE FOR PEOPLE'S COUNCIL'S PROBLEMS LISTED

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 13 Sep 80 p 7

/Unattributed article: "The Committee for Problems of the People's Councils"/

/Text/ Ioan Retegan, first vice chairman of the Executive Committee of the Alba County People's Council, member of the RCP Central Auditing Commission; Raveca Ratiu, chairman of the Executive Bureau of the Cimpeni City People's Council, Alba County; Cornel Pacoste, first vice chairman of the Executive Committee of the Arad County People's Council; Constantin Stoica, director of the Arad County Enterprise for Communal and Housing Administration; Mihai Badl, foreman at the Arad Wood Processing Combine, chairman of the Organization of the ODUS /expansion unknown/ of the section; Gheorghe Matei, first vice chairman of the Executive Committee of the Arges County People's Council; Valeriu Nicolescu, chairman of the Executive Committee of of the Pitesti Municipal People's Council, alternate member of the RCP Central Committee; Valeria Stanescu, chairman of the Executive Bureau of the Leordeni Communal People's Council, Arges County; Vasile Ardeleanu, first vice chairman of the Executive Committee of the Bacau County People's Council; Agurita Alexandrescu, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Onesti Municipal People's Council, Bacau County, member of the RCP Central Committee; Constanta Semeniuc, chairman of the Executive Bureau of the Tirgu Trotus Communal People's Council, Bacau County, deputy in the MAN /Grand National Assembly/; George Vaida, first vice chairman of the Executive Committee of the Bihor County People's Council, member of the RCP Central Auditing Commission; Maria Dobos, laboratory assistant at the Oradea Milk Industrialization Enterprise, deputy on the Bihor County People's Council; Sofron Munteanu, first vice chairman of the Executive Committee of Bistrita-Nasaud County People's Council; Mircea Purdea, chairman of the Executive Bureau of the Lechinta Communal People's Council, Bistrita-Nasaud County; Stefan Panaitiu, first vice chairman of the Executive Committee of the Botosani County People's Council; Lucia Hutanu, chairman of the Executive Bureau of the Leorda Communal People's Council, Botosani County, deputy in the MAN; Gheorghe Cutitei, first vice chairman of the Executive Committee of the Brasov County People's Council, member of the RCP Central Committee; Margareta Krauss, chairman of the Executive Bureau of the Codlea

City People's Council, Brasov County, alternate member of the RCP Central Committee, Dumitru Diaconescu, foreman at the "Tractorul" Enterprise in Brasov, member of the working people's council; Stefan Ilies, first vice chairman of the Executive Committee of the Braila County People's Council, member of the RCP Central Auditing Commission; Stana Budur, planer at the "Laminorul" Enterprise in Braila, deputy on the county people's council; Gheorghe Tudor, first vice chairman of the Executive Committee of the Buzau County People's Council; Nicolae Vasilescu, director of the Buzau County Road and Bridge Directorate, deputy on the county people's council; Ioana Titeica, chemical operator, member of the section's ODUS Committee at the Buzau Plastic Processing Enterprise; Ion Geana, first vice chairman of the Executive Committee of the Caras-Severin County People's Council; Aurel Lascu, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Resita Municipal People's Council, Caras-Severin County; Ion Ciorba, first vice chairman of the Executive Committee of the Cluj County People's Council, member of the RCP Central Auditing Commission; Constantin Crisan, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Cluj-Napoca Municipal People's Council, alternate member of the RCP Central Committee; Ioan Jakab, cable worker at the Cimpia Turzii Metallurgical Combine, Cluj County, deputy on the city people's council; Ion Popa, first vice chairman of the Executive Committee of the Constanta County People's Council; Gheorghe Popa, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Constanta Municipal People's Council, member of the RCP Central Auditing Commission; Niculina Buzoianu, fitter at the Constanta Group of Enterprises for Communal and Housing Administration; Ioan Dragos, first vice chairman of the Executive Committee of the Covasna County People's Council, member of the RCP Central Committee, deputy in the MAN; Magdalena Suto, chairman of the Executive Bureau of the Covasna City People's Council; Dumitru Gherghisan, first vice chairman of the Executive Committee of the Dimbovita County People's Council; Aurica Paduroiu, chairman of the Executive Bureau of the Comisani Communal People's Council, Dimbovita County; Gheorghe Gavrus, first vice chairman of the Executive Committee of the Dolj County People's Council, member of the RCP Central Committee; Costica Chitimia, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Craiova Municipal People's Council; Georgeta Nicolae, architect at the Dolj County Design Institute, chairman of the County ODUS Committee; Ioan Bejan, first vice chairman of the Executive Committee of the Galati County People's Council; Emilia Andronache, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Tecuci Municipal People's Council, Galati County; Cornel Boca, head foreman at the Sintering Furnace Plant of the Galati Iron and Steel Combine, deputy on the county people's council, Hero of Socialist Labor, member of the Executive Committee of the Working People's Council; Ionel Dicu, first vice chairman of the Executive Committee of the Gorj County People's Council; Ion Iorga, foreman at the Motru Mining Enterprise, Gorj County, secretary of the mine party committee, member of the National Council of Working People; Emeric Pataki, first vice chairman of the Executive Committee of the Harghita County People's Council; Emeric Szabo, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Odorheiu Secuiesc Municipal People's Council, Harghita County; Teodor Bendris, chairman of the Executive Bureau of the Toplita City People's Council, Harghita County; Alexandru Voiculescu, first vice chairman

of the Executive Committee of the Hunedoara County People's Council; Constantin Lupulescu, miner, team leader, at the Lupeni Mining Enterprise, deputy on the Hunedoara County People's Council; Andrei Voileanu, first vice chairman of the Executive Committee of the Ialomita County People's Council; Maria Calin, chairman of the Executive Bureau of the Lehliu-Sat Communal People's Council, Ialomita County; Neculai Ibanescu, first vice chairman of the Executive Committee of the Iasi County People's Council; Eugen Nechifor-Moraru, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Iasi Municipal People's Council, alternate member of the RCP Central Committee; Alexandrina Babes, crew chief at the Iasi "Tehnoton" Enterprise, deputy on the county people's council; Nicolae Matei, first vice chairman of the Executive Committee of the Ilfov County People's Council, member of the RCP Central Auditing Commission; Iuliana Tanasa, chairman of the Executive Bureau of the Urziceni City People's Council, Ilfov County; Dumitra Dragomir, chairman of the Executive Bureau of the Minastirea Communal People's Council, Ilfov County; Dumitru Ciuclea, first vice chairman of the Executive Committee of the Maramures County People's Council; Rafila Han, welder at the Maramures County Construction Trust, member of the Baia Mare Municipal Party Committee; Marius Cojocaru, first vice chairman of the Executive Committee of the Mehedinti County People's Council; Aurel C... /garbled surname/, chairman of the Executive Bureau of the Girla Mare Communal People's Council, Mehedinti County; Ernest Szotyori, first vice chairman of the Executive Committee of the Mures County People's Council, member of the RCP Central Committee; Ana Herman, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Sighisoara Municipal People's Council, Mures County; Ileana-Maria Csilla-Fulop, technician at the Mures County Construction Trust, member of the trust's ODUS Committee; Valerian Gaina, first vice chairman of the Executive Committee of the Neamt County People's Council; Maria Morariu, chairman of the Executive Bureau of the Brusturi-Draganesti Communal People's Council, Neamt County; Dumitru Cristea, first vice chairman of the Executive Committee of the Olt County People's Council; Stefan Fugaciu, chairman of the Executive Bureau of the Caracal City People's Council, Olt County; Maria Nitu, engineer at the Slatina Food Equipment Enterprise, member of the Bureau of the CC /expansion unknown/ of the ODUS, vice chairman of the Executive Committee of the Olt County People's Council; Ion Vilsan, first vice chairman of the Executive Committee of the Prahova County People's Council, alternate member of the RCP Central Committee; Aurelia Ciufu, chairman of the Executive Bureau of the Baicoi City People's Council, Prahova County; Floarea Nedelcu, chairman of the Executive Bureau of the Poiana Cimpina Communal People's Council, Prahova County; Elena Nitu, laboratory assistant at the Brazi Petrochemical Combine, deputy on the Ploiesti Municipal People's Council; Ioan Caita, first vice chairman of the Executive Committee of the Satu Mare County People's Council; Iuliana Haidu, chairman of the Executive Bureau of the Berveni Communal People's Council, Satu Mare County; Ilarie Girjoaba, first vice chairman of the Executive Committee of the Salaj County People's Council; Aurel Cret, chairman of the Executive Bureau of the Napradea Communal People's Council, Salaj County; Iosif Eckenreiter, first vice chairman of the Executive Committee of the Sibiu County People's Council, alternate member of the RCP Central

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WEST GERMAN COMMENT ON AID TO YUGOSLAVIA

Frenkfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 22 Sep 80 p 1

[Article by Johann Georg Reissmueller: "And What About Yugoslavia?"]

[Text] At about the same time as the FRG Government arranged a large bank loan to Poland, securing it in part with federal government guarantees, it rejected a Yugoslav request for similar aid. It had reasons worth considering for supporting Poland financially at this time. Yet Yugoslavia is not getting anything.

For his "no" to Belgrade, too, the federal chancellor was able to give reasons which could not be refuted out of hand. The Federal Republic gradually has been reaching the limit of its ability to help out other countries with huge loans. Yugoslavia in turn is already in debt to Western countries to a worrisome degree. It apparently is suffering from faults in its economic system which it is making little effort to rectify. In that respect, however, the situation is no better in Poland.

Yet the basic position is different in Yugoslavia, which, unlike Poland, is not a member of the Warsaw Pact. In Yugoslavia the Soviet Union has no say in political matters, or in economic policy either. The Yugoslav leadership makes its decisions of its own volition, having no need either to ask Moscow beforehand or to account to it afterwards. In the course of the past decades it has introduced an economic system remote from the communist-Soviet one--"socialist self-administration" of enterprises and competition among the self-administered enterprises. True, the principle is not followed consistently. First, there were inconsistencies from the start which have not been gotten rid of to this day; secondly, state economic planning, being pushed back time and again and time and again making itself at home, has affected prices, loans and investments; and finally there has been the party rule, pervading state and society.

These faults above all are the reason why the Yugoslav economy has long since failed to accomplish what it could accomplish in light of its great natural, technological and spiritual national resources. No one can say whether the Yugoslav leadership in the near future will muster up the insight and energy needed to remedy this situation. But if it wants to do so, no external power will be able to stand in its way.

For the time being it is resorting to half measures, seeking to fill the worst gaps. The government in Belgrade rigorously devalued the dinar and froze the prices of many goods, and then it sought loans abroad. Finding little readiness for granting them in the West, it turned to the Soviet Union. Belgrade is maintaining silence about what political concessions Moscow demanded in exchange for its financial aid, but it would run counter to all past experience for Yugoslavia to have escaped such concessions. So it must not now come as a surprise if Yugoslavia takes political steps which are not really in line with the intention announced by Tito's successors to keep their distance from the Soviet Union. Probably none of it will basically change the political picture of communist Yugoslavia. Nor do the Soviets expect that. They would already be satisfied if Yugoslavia failed to do one thing or another in its foreign policy and domestically curbed even more strongly what the Soviets call "anti-Sovietism." What concerns the Soviets far more is that the whole political thinking and sentiment in Yugoslavia--including that in its party--which since the mid-1960s has slowly but constantly turned away from Moscow, should again be oriented more toward it. For this, one loan will not suffice, but perhaps there will be other opportunities.

Such results--and, even more, such prospects--must give the West food for thought. Can it be a matter of indifference to us that Soviet influence in Yugoslavia is growing? And does the West not at last need a carefully thought out and constant joint policy on Yugoslavia? The one it has followed so far is incoherent, fitful, determined more by scheming on the part of individual Western countries than by their common interest, more by high-sounding empty phrases than sober action. It has long since proved ineffective. Of course, even the best policy will not enable the West just like that to wrest Yugoslavia from Soviet influence. The Soviet Union will have a foothold in the Balkan multinational state as long as its leaders believe that (notwithstanding all the differences in internal systems and foreign political interests and despite all the poor experience gathered in 35 years) they are tied to the Soviet leaders by a common bond--"socialism." Late in the 1960s the Yugoslav party once seemed on the verge of cutting this bond. Yugoslav party writings were stating at that time that what was ruling in the Soviet Union actually was not socialism but the rule of a bureaucracy--something as far removed from the Yugoslav socialism of self-administration as was the capitalist system.

Tito wanted none of that; he always regarded the Soviet Union as the (unloved) power guaranteeing any socialism in the world. Yugoslavia's future road depends above all on whether his successors persist in this. The West cannot make Tito's successors reach a decision on this, but it must not make it more difficult for a decision to be reached which would be better for Yugoslavia and the West.

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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1820

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22 October 1980

EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1820

CONTENTS

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'RUDE PRAVO' Reports on Interparliamentary Union Session
(RUDE PRAVO, 20 Sep 80)..... 1

BULGARIA

Safeguarding of State, Military Secrets Urged
(Petur Kolev; SERZHANT, No 8, 1980)..... 3

Statement by Commander of Vasil Levski Military Academy
(Delcho Stanimirov; BULGARSKI VOIN, No 7, 1980)..... 6

Training at Vaptsarov Navy Academy Reviewed
(Vasil Chankov; BULGARSKI VOIN, No 7, 1980)..... 8

Statement by Commander of Vaptsarov Navy Academy
(Emil Stanchev; BULGARSKI VOIN, No 7, 1980)..... 11

Criticial Evaluation of Air Force Academy
(Tsvetan Tsakov; BULGARSKI VOIN, No 7, 1980)..... 13

Statement by Commander of Air Force Academy
(Dimitur Karadzhikov; BULGARSKI VOIN, No 7, 1980)..... 18

Teaching Methodology at 'Vasil Levski' Military Academy Surveyed
(Milcho Tomov; BULGARSKI VOIN, No 7, 1980)..... 20

Comment on Training in Military Academies
(Mikhail Tsonev; BULGARSKI VOIN, No 7, 1980)..... 25

State of Health Care, Hygiene Explained
(Kol'o Gargov; ZDRAVEN FRONT, 16 Aug 80)..... 27

Sanitary Conditions in Farmyards Reviewed
(Tsvetan Lazarov; ZDRAVEN FRONT, 16 Aug 80)..... 32

Nutrition Problems, Prospects Discussed
(Todor Dobrilov; ZDRAVEN FRONT, 16 Aug 80)..... 35

Future Tasks of Academy of Medicine Outlined
(Atanas Maleev; ZDRAVEN FRONT, 23 Aug 80)..... 38

Poor Quality of Dentistry Criticized
(Mladenka Dimitrova, Dimitur Dimitrov; ZDRAVEN
FRONT, 23 Aug 80)..... 44

Briefs
Stoychev Activities 46
Stoychev Opens Chemical Plant 46
Peace Parliament Delegation 46
USSR Trade Minister 46

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Prominent Czech Dissident Chooses Exile
(FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE, 5 Sep 80)..... 48

'TRIBUNA' Gives Definition of 'Present-day Revisionism'
(Ladislav Hrzal; TRIBUNA, 3 Sep 80)..... 49

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Development, Trends in People's Navy Outlined
(Peter Joachim Lapp; MARINE-RUNDSCHAU, Aug 80)..... 51

ROMANIA

Red Cross Commissions Examine Health Situation in Mines
(SANATATEA, Jul 80)..... 68

Prevention of Pneumoconioses, by Petre Manu
Prevention of Rheumatic Diseases, by Remus Nestor
Red Cross Commissions, Nicolae Aldica, et al.;
Interview

Briefs
Speculation in Gold 75
Macedonian Suitor Unacceptable 75

YUGOSLAVIA

Defense Scenario Against Aggressor Sketched
(Stevan Korda; NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE, 3 Aug 80)..... 76

Party Official Notes Hostile Forces, Cites Trade Union Role
(Nikola Stojanovic; OSLOBODJENJE, 26 Sep 80)..... 81

Prevalence of Work Shirking Investigated
(NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE, 17 Aug 80)..... 83

Attitudes Surveyed, by Toma Dzadzic
Disincentives in Pay System, by Scepan Rabrenovic

West German Comment on Economic Changes
(Viktor Meier; FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE, 29 Sep 80).... 90

West German Comment on Economic-Political Trends
(Viktor Meier; FRANKFURTER ALLGEMINE, 25 Sep 80)..... 93

Recent Instances of Police Brutality Discussed
(Zvonko Simic, NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE, 24, 31 Aug 80)..... 96

Serbia's Interior Secretary Comments
New Accusation

Press Protests Church Attacks on Atheism
(Nenad Ivankovic; VJESNIK, 12 Sep 80)..... 104

Briefs
Opstina Prosecutor on Trial 107
Enemies of Self-Management 107
Catholic Paper Praises Stepinac 107

'RUDE PRAVO' REPORTS ON INTERPARLIAMENTARY UNION SESSION

AU221523 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 20 Sep 80 p 7

[Unattributed Report: "About the Development Decade: From the Session of the Interparliamentary Union"]

[Text] Berlin, 19 Sep (CTK)--The agenda for Friday's session of participants in the 67th Interparliamentary Union (IPU) conference in Berlin concerned the UN decade of development in the period 1981-90, and its economic, social, educational, scientific, cultural and ecological aspects. The joint report prepared by the appropriate IPU committee was presented by Thomas Larue from France. More than 80 delegates contributed to the discussion on this point.

In his speech, Herbert Panster, member of the Czechoslovak delegation, appealed to the participants in the conference to support, by their active efforts, the new development strategy--which must become international in scope--in keeping with the appropriate UN documents. He stated that without a basic change in international relations, the developing countries will achieve their national targets in the economic and social sphere only with difficulty. Like the other socialist states, the CSSR is also striving to establish favorable conditions for the development of all countries, the member of the Czechoslovak delegation said in his speech.

The GDR delegation's opinions on the proposals submitted to date at the 67th IPU conference were voiced by Hermann Axen, SED Central Committee Politbureau member and secretary, and chairman of the foreign committee of the GDR people's chamber. In his speech at the session, Axen said that the main idea of the proposals is the need to preserve world peace. There is no sensible alternative to peaceful coexistence.

He further stated that the participants in the session agree that the process of detente cannot be consolidated and expanded without eliminating the main causes of international tension. They disagree on the question of where the main causes of tension lie. That is why a clear answer to this question is of great significance. Some claim that the main sources of aggravation of the international situation are Afghanistan and Iran.

The progress of historical realities disproves such claims, Hermann Axen stated, and pointed out that the NATO council had adopted a decision on the long-term program of increased armament as far back as May 1978. And the historical chance provided by the proposal on reducing the number of medium-range missiles in the European part of the Soviet Union, provided the new American nuclear missiles are not deployed in Western Europe--which was voiced by Leonid Brezhnev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary and chairman of the USSR's Supreme Soviet Presidium, in October 1979 --was then thwarted by the NATO council's decision adopted in December of the same year in Brussels.

There exist numerous controversial problems, numerous conflicts. But none of them should divert the conference negotiations from the pivotal matter on which the life and future of our planet depend. Political detente must be complemented by military detente, Hermann Axen stressed.

CSO: 2020

SAFEGUARDING OF STATE, MILITARY SECRETS URGED

Sofia SERZHANT in Bulgarian No 8, 1980 p 14

[Article by Col Petur Kolev: "Safeguarding of State and Military Secrets the Supreme Duty of the Serviceman"]

[Text] Crimes involving the divulging of state and military secrets are among the gravest crimes since their commission always causes or may cause grave harm to the interests of the state and especially to the country's security and defense capability. Many examples are known in history when the divulging and discovery of military secrets were the reason for either winning or losing critical moments in military operations. That is why the strictest safeguarding of military and state secrets has been elevated to a fundamental requirement of military discipline, to an inviolable and sworn duty of servicemen. Watching over state and military secrets is the Penal Code, which has defined as crimes, and set appropriate penalties for, the most serious violations in this regard. In connection with these crimes, it is advisable, to begin with, to clear up the question: What is a state secret? This concept is defined by Article 104, Paragraph III, of the Penal Code as follows: "State secrets are facts, information and subjects of a military, political, economic or other character, the discovery of which by another state or foreign organization can harm the interests of the People's Republic and particularly its security. The list of facts, information and subjects which constitute state secrets is established by the Council of Ministers." Such a list has been issued in 1980. Obviously, military secrets are no different from state secrets--they are the same and, in fact, the most important kind thereof.

The law provides for several kinds of crimes depending on the manner, purposes and consequences of the secret. The gravest of these is espionage, which is provided for in Article 104 of the Penal Code. It is considered to have been committed when any person, unmindful of his duty, family and honor, discloses or--even if he has not yet disclosed--is gathering, for the purpose of disclosure to a foreign state or organization, information constituting a state secret. The penalty provided for such a crime is the most severe there is under our penal system: death or deprivation of liberty for from 10 to 20 years. Owing to the great public danger of this

crime, anyone who puts himself at the service of a foreign state or organization in order to serve it as a spy, even if he has not yet begun to gather or has not disclosed information constituting a state secret, is punished too, although more lightly. Making ready to commit espionage is punishable too, as well as the concealment by any persons of a spy, or failure to inform the authorities of the commission of such a crime. Espionage can be committed by both civilians and servicemen, by both Bulgarian citizens and foreigners. When it is committed by a serviceman, it is more gravely reprehensible and may therefore be more severely punished.

Article 357 of the Penal Law provides for punishment by deprivation of liberty for up to 5 years for anyone who divulges information constituting a state secret which had been entrusted to him or which had become known to him from his position or job, as well as for anyone who in any other connection learns of this information. To constitute this crime it is not required that the perpetrator have set it as his purpose to render service to a foreign state or organization and to do harm to our country. It is necessary, however, that he realize that harm to the Bulgarian People's Republic can follow from divulgence of the information. By "divulgence of information" is meant bringing a state secret to the knowledge of another person or persons. Who the person is to whom the secret is communicated, whether known or unknown, friend, relative, official, etc., is of no significance. What is essential is that the communication be made without any official need. Divulgence even with the stipulation of preservation of complete secrecy is still a crime. This act is not characterized as espionage; however, the defense capability of the state is imperiled by it. Therefore, a more severe penalty is provided when as a result of its commission particularly grave consequences have ensued or may ensue for the security of the country (from 3 to 10 years deprivation of liberty).

The next article of the Penal Code (358) defines as a crime the loss of documents constituting a state secret. By "loss of documents, publications or materials" must be understood letting them out of the possession of the person to whom they were entrusted. They are let out of his possession when, contrary to his wish, they are not in the place appointed for their safekeeping or with him, as, for example, dropping them on the street, leaving them behind in a railway car due to absent-mindedness, their disappearance from an unlocked office etc. The loss can be either permanent or temporary. The document does not have to be strictly official. It can still be a draft, and publications can still be in the form of rough copies. The loss of such materials creates a real possibility of their falling into the hands of someone who wishes our country ill, and of harm thus being done to the country's security. That is why punishment by deprivation of liberty for up to 2 years or correctional labor is provided for these cases, too. However, if especially grave consequences have ensued or may ensue from commission of the deed, the penalty is deprivation of liberty for up to 5 years.

A state secret can be revealed not only deliberately, but also by carelessness. Due to the high political awareness and vigilance of the

service personnel of the Bulgarian People's Army the gathering of espionage information by enemy intelligence through spies is becoming increasingly difficult, and for this reason foreign intelligence strives to take advantage of the naivete, gullibility, talkativeness and the tendency of some citizens to show off how much they know. In precisely these instances such citizens involuntarily occasion the disclosure of secrets. If the disclosure is a result of carelessness manifested in the nonobservance of the regulations for the safeguarding of documents containing secrets, the penalty provided is appreciably more severe. This is because strict observance by junior and senior noncommissioned officers of the requirements established in the manual on the storage of and work with the documents and materials in question is extremely imperative.

The cultivation and inculcation by them in service personnel of noble patriotism and revolutionary vigilance, combined with the respect-inspiring commands of the law, are and will be a stable barrier against the possibility of the disclosure and divulging of state and military secrets.

6474
CSO: 2200

STATEMENT BY COMMANDER OF VASIL LEVSKI MILITARY ACADEMY

Sofia BULGARSKI VOIN in Bulgarian No 7, 1980 p 3

[Statement by Maj Gen Delcho Stanimirov, candidate of military sciences, and chief of the Vasil Levski VNVU [Higher People's Military Academy]: "Looking For the Equation"]

[Text] Imagine a comprehensive class with the trainees. They act both as commanders and performers. They carry out assignments in the areas of tactical, drill, physical, and fire training. They relate them. They combine their actions. The dynamics during such a class is rather high and the working time is packed. The effectiveness of practical execution is high. Yet, the head of such a class is an instructor. Therefore, he must possess full and substantiated knowledge of all school subjects. He must be familiar with them in depth. He must assess each performance and correct every mistake. This instructor must be a comprehensively developed military man. That is what we want to experiment with, passing from the comprehensive development of the instructor through the full utilization of the training time to the comprehensive development of the trainee. This is because it frequently happens that each instructor concentrates on his subject, be it tactics, fire practice, or mathematics.... The result? Every day the trainee is persuaded by the different instructors that their subjects are the most important. He tries to focus on those subjects and, in the final account, fails to learn any one of them properly. Yet, comprehensive training would enable the trainee to realize alone, without outside interference, what he needs in modern combat and what he will need as a commander. One of the means for creating such an attitude is our efforts to develop organizational standards, provide necessary theoretical knowledge, turn the students into organizers, and test their feeling for organization.

As to novelties in training, discovering something new would be difficult. We are trying to improve methods, class-group studies above all. There is a competition in our school: At the end of May each chair must submit a suggestion on improving the organization of class-group training.

Major General Delcho Stanimirov, candidate of military sciences, and chief of the Vasil Levski VNVU.

5003
CSO: 2200

TRAINING AT VAPTSAROV NAVY ACADEMY REVIEWED

Sofia BULGARSKI VOIN in Bulgarian No 7, 1980 pp 3-4

[Article by Col Vasil Chankov: "Clearance to the Sea"]

[Text] The traditional interest in the navy academy remains high. The number of applicants has not declined regardless of the high grade average required, the difficult competitive examinations, and a number of other requirements. The call of the sea is not only powerful and romantic but insurmountable.

In the course of its almost 100 years of existence, the academy has come to be considered by the Bulgarian people as a first grade school which provides not only excellently trained cadres for the navy but highly skilled specialists for the national economy. The academy's alumni range from admiral's to lieutenants and from captains of freighters and fishing boats to their fourth mates.

The visit of the Yemeni military delegation gave me the opportunity to see a number of new things in the training-material facilities which were lacking in the course of my previous visits. Subsequent meetings and conversations revealed other new aspects and, above all, a creative restlessness triggered by the new party orders on education. The command-teaching staff responded to them with a feeling of great inner satisfaction. This may have been because they contain some ideas and experiments which have been thoroughly tested for the past two years. Above all, they affect various aspects of the tactical direction of training and education. Adding to this the fact that there is nothing more practical than good theory, we can explain the desire of the Vaptsarov faculty to develop active, independent, and creative comprehensive thinking. This effort is started with the very first days, in the period of adaptation of the students to military life, involvement with the collective, and familiarity with regulations. This is a period when old habits are eliminated and concepts as to life in the school are reassessed. This is a difficult and delicate period. In addition to the commanders, the classroom instructors--experienced people who have gone through navy life and have developed a pedagogical approach--join in the solution of the problem. They are irreplaceable advisors and instructors.

"Initially, I too considered this method somewhat skeptically," said instructor Captain First Rank P. Georgiev. "Subsequently I changed my view. The method proved to be successful not only during the adaptation period but subsequently as well. It offers the possibility to become directly involved in a small collective, to study the specific behavior of the student and his interests, gifts, personal concerns, and characteristics of his personality and his qualities and, hence, his better orientation toward a certain type of ships, for example, or the development of a command-organizational feature which is acquired by the graduates. To be a tutor is a pleasant role."

This has yet another new aspect. According to the curriculum 16 hours have been assigned to NOT (Scientific Organization of Labor) of the student. Experience has proved that the young trainees are slow in orienting themselves in the daily schedule. They are short of time for theoretical subjects and other activities. All of a sudden they are drowned in an avalanche of responsibilities and some of them panic. That is precisely why I took this short yet extremely necessary course in NOT. Let us add to it some 10 hours in the course of which the students become acquainted with the departments and the curriculum for the first two and the subsequent years. This "excursion" is also the first vocational guidance and introduction to the future specialty.

The third aspect was discussed in the course of my conversation with Rear Admiral Emil Stanchev, the academy's commander. I was surprised by his categorical statement that, "We have eliminated summer practical training!" I was surprised, knowing that he knows better than I do that a sailor is a sailor when he is at sea. He also knows better the nature of the sea, the nature of the service, and the need for practical knowledge and skills. He put an end to my objections curtly:

"We eliminated it in its previous aspect. Why should it be in the summer? Do we sail in summer only? . . . The trainees usually practiced during the inactive navigational season. Most of the main training assignments were issued without their participation, without experiencing the tension which normally accompanies this type of command activities. Now it is different: They directly perform the respective positions in the combat detachments, even though as understudies. The upper courses practice as commanders of combat units and know what to expect. They study documents, training data, and specific requirements. . . . Our desire remains that of training cadres who will be able to fully assume their first position as officers. For example, the old hands should not be able to say, "We taught the lieutenant how to carry out his first training assignment!" Something else is important: We try to give our trainees an amount of theoretical and practical knowledge which would be the basis for their further career growth. We try to teach them to think creatively, boldly and independently, to have a feeling for the new and the ability to engage in continuing independent training. . . ."

Let me merely add that the two training ships are rarely kept at the dock. Actually, it is aboard those vessels that the Vaptsarov students learn their first lessons in seamanship, starting with scrubbing the decks and ending with navigating.

We reach the fourth aspect which is particularly important.

The practice of clearing a person before assuming a corresponding position has always existed in the navy. A seaman may be a school graduate and a specialist. He may be in signals, engines, machine guns, gunnery, or torpedoes. Regardless of all this, aboard the ship to which he has been assigned he must take another examination before he is given the right to be on duty. The same applies to the officers. Now, however, something else is practiced: senior students spend several months in training aboard the ships to which they will be assigned. Is there anything better than to study in detail the equipment, the obligations, the personnel, the combat assignments, and all parts of the ship? At the same time, however, in the course of such practice they study and take admission examinations. This is to the benefit of the trainee, the school and, above all, the combat readiness of the units for the simple reason that this clearance makes it possible to reduce the period of time in the course of which the young officer must, along with dozens of other obligations, prepare for his examinations. The clearance now is a permanent part of the state examination. Passing this examination is proof of the ability to carry out all duties in weapons and technical facilities control in battle.

In turn, the school thus acquires a real idea as to the extent to which the training process is correlated with the practical needs of the navy.

I discussed the four aspects which far from cover everything new that has developed in the activities of the command-teaching faculty or the searches and intentions. Problems of education, raised in the party's documents, follow a number of directions. They are complex and important. The school's command is aware of the great efforts which remain to be made to reach and convert from "the development of the individual features and capabilities to the discovery and development of man's comprehensive capabilities, talents, and qualities, and the molding of a many-faceted and, in the future, comprehensively developed individual capable of total development in life," as Comrade T. Zhivkov outlined the tasks at the education plenum. It is not my intention to discuss scientific research activities which are successfully developing in the school and yielding good results or the rich ideological and esthetic work done by the politicial department and the party and Komsomol organizations which leave irradicable marks on the spiritual development of Vaptsarov students. I merely wished to trace the outlines of the tie between the school and the reality. The direction chosen by the N.Y. Vaptsarov VNVMU is the true one!. . .and so is its combat course!

5003
CSO: 2200

STATEMENT BY COMMANDER OF VAPTSAROV NAVY ACADEMY

Sofia BULGARSKI VOIN in Bulgarian No 7, 1980 p 4

[Statement by Rear Admiral Emil Stanchev, chief of the N. Vaptsarov VNMU [Higher People's Naval Academy]: "Clear Practical Direction"]

[Text] The faculty of our academy has repeatedly proved that it can successfully cope with all assignments. Excellent knowledge of navy service and life and requirements determines the clear practical direction which has become a leading feature of all training units. Most of the teachers are officers with good sea training. In addition to proven lasting scientific and pedagogical interests, they have also acquired proper practical experience which they use now and impart to the trainees. It would hardly be necessary to mention names, scientific degrees, or titles. It would even be hardly necessary to emphasize the fact that the faculty is aware of the latest scientific and technical achievements and modern concepts regarding naval combat or that each chair is a laboratory engaged in research and experimentation in developing the future cadres as skillful seamen and organizers.

The desire of the teachers is to bring theory closer to practice, turn knowledge into convictions, and determine as fully as possible the trends in the various realms of knowledge developed as a result of the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution. Along with the development of independent thinking and an active and creative attitude toward the service and the profession, they want to promote an aspiration toward the harmonious shaping of the individual and toward self-advancement. Unquestionably, this could be accomplished by people who are themselves the carriers of strong personality features, people who are intelligent, erudite, and dedicated. To the honor of the school this applies to most of the faculty. They have trained and led to the sea generations of talented navigators, artillerymen, mechanics, miners, signalmen, and so on. They have taught us good and valuable things. Yet, precisely because he spends a lifetime giving something of himself, the teacher must steadily improve himself, keep his mind alert to new developments, and have a generous heart.

Rear Admiral Emil Stanchev, chief of the N. Vaptsarov VNMU

I myself am a school alumni and can say with a pure conscience that the people chosen to teach here have always been interesting and capable. Naturally, their training is the subject of comprehensive concern by the command.

5003
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CRITICAL EVALUATION OF AIR FORCE ACADEMY

Sofia BULGARSKI VOIN in Bulgarian No 7, 1980, pp 4-5

[Article by Col Tsvetan Tsakov: "Forward and Upward, But How?"]

[Text] The trainee who will become a student of the Georgi Benkovski Higher People's Air Force Academy in the autumn of 1980 was born in 1962. Consequently, he is 18 years of age. He will graduate as a lieutenant-engineer in 1985, at the age of 23. Assuming (with our best wishes) that he will remain in the service until the age of 50, i.e., in the year 2012, unquestionably he will have adequate opportunities to show his qualities as a military educator.

Therefore, the Air Force Academy student who will enter the academy this autumn will be friend, educator, confessor, instructor and guide. He will love and suffer, he will work and, if necessary, he will die for the citizens of the socialist society who will develop in the second half of the 21st century.

This detail has a certain significance, for which reason the educational process and, particularly, the training-education process at the air force school has its concerns as well as the best possible means for their removal: the party's decisions and the comprehensive successes of developed socialism. Once again the so-called subjective factor or, in other words, man, finds himself between the means and the problems, and between mind and matter. This applies to the man of today, the man among us, the man within us who faces the great assignment of educating, teaching, and training other men ready and able to live under real socialism which they must build and defend. This is what complicates matters even (and above all) in our thinking, for only a short while ago we were still trying to glance at the future looking no more than two to three fivie-year plans ahead, working in the field of education on a "piece rate" basis, or in a situation in which the customer brought the material while the master contributed his labor. . . . That is how things went on. In some cases this was not bad at all. It was even successful. However, we can no longer do this.

Actually, why not?

The average grade of the trainees in the winter semester of this school year was rated very good, 5.07. Let us mention some other figures of major importance. For example: 35 percent of the students completed the semester with an overall excellent grade; nine grade sections averaged an excellent grade; four of them number in their combat ranks only students with excellent grades in combat and political training. At the same time, the academy won the championship in the all-VUZ mathematical olympics and rated second in physics. Unquestionably, this is a good certification for the Benkovski students and a clear indicator of (but not exclusively) their possibilities in mathematics. Therefore, it was not astounding in the least in this competition for more knowledge and its conscientious application in flight practice but it was precisely the VNVVU [Higher People's Air Force Academy] to win the championship in the competition among military academies. This is precisely what took place.

We have mentioned recent results, for in the 35-year-old history of this smithy of cadres for antiaircraft defense and air force such satisfactory achievements have always existed. However, they have been rapidly and irrevocably left behind. The general belief is that what today is the pride of the school--high grades in the training-education process and pleasing results in sociopolitical work is a gain which, even though quite recent, has also become obsolete. Firstly, because it still is not the most effective consequence of the level of material and spiritual possibilities of the people on both sides of the "barricade;" secondly, should we consider it as the necessary base for the generation of the second half of the 21st century, at best it could be considered as semi-satisfactory.

That is why we can no longer go on this way.

How is the G. Benkovski VNVVU working for the future? Any kind of future is possible to the extent to which and the way in which it is developed today. Without engaging in predictions, we could say unquestionably that the air force school is properly aware of, expediently working, and bravely surmounting the obstacles to the desired future. The school will progress forward and upward. We shall try here to answer quite briefly, and from one side of the question only, how?

Yes, how indeed?

Through reorganization. This may sound prosaic but the essence of what we are discussing is the molding of a comprehensively developed individual, and the full realization of our contemporaries and those who will follow us.

Future changes are based on firm grounds and have sufficient prequisites for their implementation, mainly from the qualitative viewpoint. This is wonderful. However, we should acknowledge that enhancing the scientific standard of teaching to the level of scientific research is a difficult task. It cannot be implemented in 1 or 2 years, for it presumes the higher scientific-methodical and practical training of the teachers, the commanders and the instructors, and the availability of suitable training aids and, in general, of even more modern training-material facilities. However, should all these conditions be met in their totality, or could we begin to raise the scientific standard as of today, even though only in some areas and sections of training? In the school it is believed that there should be no waiting. Work is already underway on the qualification characteristics of all leading participants in the training and education process. This is very important, for it is on this basis that training plans and curriculums will be improved. Possibilities for a more effective solution not only of present problems but problems which will arise over the next 10 to 15 years must be created in the very next year. No one has the illusion that this would be will be easy, as has been the case frequently in the past. Third generation technology presumes and demands far more efforts and intellect than ever before. Simply stated, it must be studied in a new, a different way. It appears that in some cases one must plunge straight into "dark rooms," since the level reached in the very good amount of knowledge acquired so far is entirely inadequate to encompass new developments. The command-organizational qualities needed in modern combat are another such "room." I was convinced by the comrades that the school as a whole can insure even higher theoretical knowledge and far greater practical skills and habits. Yet, matters are different in terms of the ability of the future pilots and specialists to develop as commanders-organizers. This is a far more complex type of activity for which even the experience acquired in the course of decades is inadequate. Yet, when experience is short, the first thing to be expected and to be done is to acquire it. Naturally, the Soviet experience is at our disposal, as is the experience of its repeated application. However, its application cannot be easy or without conflicting with obsolete thinking. As to the training-material facilities, a decisive "goodbye to mediocrity" is being voiced here. This need here is felt and, above all, in some cases outstripped by a very sharp timely feeling that, finally, the school has its training technical operations facility. Recently several exceptionally useful laboratories were opened and we could stress quite confidently that the future aviators are learning how to drive cars with the help of a most modern training ground and even use a simulator. This is, so to say, an outstripping of expenditures, the more so since many other interesting and, unquestionably useful facilities are under construction. However, since it is a question of the base, in our modest view it needs a few more "goodbyes." For a number of subjects there are no. . . study aids. In other words, there are no textbooks. It is incredible yet it is a fact that currently only 50 percent of the necessary textbooks and other aids are being published. The school had its own

press which was closed down. It has an extensive (the first in all military academies!) training-television system whose development has been virtually stopped. In both cases it is a question of budget appropriations. Unquestionably, we must be objective and assess matters realistically. However, it is hard to understand how such restrictions could affect so strongly the quality of the training process. The contradiction between necessity and possibility is explainable. However, this author failed totally to understand how a supermodern television system could remain idle and, at the same time, the former printing press is nothing but a good memory. If there are no textbooks there should be at least television, or vice versa. Otherwise, we are thrown far back, even back to the beginning, when neither of those were available. Naturally, this is somewhat of an exaggeration. Yet, this still calls upon us to think. Actually, not every step back is dangerous. There was a time when the closest educators of the students--platoon and company commanders--had air force training and had been top students in their classes. Now it is believed that platoon commanders do not have to be air force alumni or excellent students. I do not entirely understand the reason for this. We know that only those who are best educated and trained should engage in direct educational work. The opposite leads to the making of jokes even though this is welcomed by people with a feeling for humor. It is something else that is not welcome: the fact that behind the laughter the bitter truth remains of the hen which was tricked and sat on duck eggs. The ducklings were hatched and went swimming while the hen remained helplessly ashore. . . . There was a time when the postulate that he who enters the school must complete it strictly dominated! At that time superbly trained flight instructors had to devote exhausting efforts to "hatch" chicks which never turned into eagles. This was an unpleasant and, above all, a dangerous occupation. The approach today is dialectical: The lazy are dismissed along with all those who create the so-called "lower level." This is worthy of approval. However, should we also not adopt the same dialectical approach toward the teachers? Some of them still avoid or, to say the least, consider it trite to "display" the military trend of their lectures. The teachers are ideologically developed and have excellent professional training. However, not all of them are motivated by the desire to improve. Consequently, our trainee may be deprived of the opportunity, this very autumn, to learn from someone how, to begin with, he should attend the lectures. Were this to continue, he would not have the opportunity to develop within himself an interest in scientific work, let us not mention the dream of being included in the activities of teaching-scientific collectives when he reaches the senior grades. Since such "inclusion" has been so far incidental, the grounds for brighter prospects are not entirely optimistic.

Naturally, such things are known, for which reason the mandatory "Ways and Directions of the Work of Commanders, Teachers and Instructors for Making

the Training-Education Process Consistent With the Decisions of the July BCP Central Committee Plenum on the Development of Education in the Bulgarian People's Republic," regardless of how daring they may be as a thought, in some respects, to me at least they sound alarming as well.

It is easy to understand this concern, for it is also the responsibility for a generation which will live in the second half of the 21st century.

5003
CSO: 2200

STATEMENT BY COMMANDER OF AIR FORCE ACADEMY

Sofia BULGARSKI VOIN in Bulgarian No 7, 1980, p 5

[Statement by Aviation Maj Gen Dimitur Karadzhikov, deserving flyer of the Bulgarian People's Republic, chief of the Georgi Benkovski VNVVU [Higher People's Air Force Academy], military pilot first class: "Ideologically Convinced and With High Specialized Training. . . "]

[Text] Our academy is well known among the people and the youth. It enjoys good prestige among the higher educational institutions in the country and has made an irreplaceable contribution to military training and the development of combat capable and combat ready antiaircraft and aviation forces. Our successes as well are known. However, we cannot allow ourselves to ignore the problems facing us, standing out in connection with the organization of the educational system in accordance with scientific progress and with the current and future social requirements and interests in defending the socialist society. We well realize that education and the entire cadre training system are experiencing an important period of truly profound reorganization. The first public education congress was a historically significant event in our education. In accordance with the letter by Comrade T. Zhivkov to the Komsomol Central Committee and the decisions of the congress, as well as in the light of the decisions of the July 1979 BCP Central Committee Plenum, we are working for the implementation of our own program entitled "Ways and Directions of the Work of Commanders, Teachers and Instructors for Making the Training-Education Process. . . ." Naturally, the main factor in the implementation of all our ideas and plans is man--the performer on both sides of the "barricade" of theoretical knowledge and practical possibilities--the teacher (commander, instructor) and the student. Nothing could be accomplished and nothing could change matters and insure the future without the educator. Under our circumstances it is above all the scientific and educational training of the teachers, commanders and instructors that could raise aviation to the highest possible level. This has always been our starting point. . . .

Aviation Major General Dimitur Karadzhikov, deserving flyer of the Bulgarian People's Republic, chief of the Georgi Benkovski VNVVU, military pilot first class.

5003
CSO: 2200

TEACHING METHODOLOGY AT 'VASIL LEVSKI' MILITARY ACADEMY SURVEYED

Sofia BULGARSKI VOIN in Bulgarian No 7, 1980 p 2

[Article by Major Milcho Tomov: "Individual Style of the 'Vasil Levski' VNVU [Higher People's Military Academy]"]

[Text] Once, as my assignment to the Vasil Levski VNVU was nearing its end, a platoon commander said: "Only young officers in the units may display creativity and autonomy. This is impossible in our case, in the school. My work is always controlled. I am in charge of only two types of training--drill and physical training. I was retained here, two years ago, being one of the top graduates. I regret not being a platoon commander in a battle unit. I could hardly develop here now."

I was flabbergasted by this statement.

I had to determine how the new approach was being mastered and asserted, and the way the ways and means for intensifying knowledge were being improved. All of a sudden, however, there was a problem: There was a platoon commander doubting his creative development not anywhere but precisely at the V. Levski VNVU. Was this not excessive? Could he transmit his feelings to his subordinate students? Yet he, Lieutenant Kostadinov, could extend his influence on two platoons. One of them is considered excellent. The company to which it belongs is also excellent. . ..

Together with the readership, let us think of what makes a chair commander dissatisfied.

Officer Aleksandrov commands a young collective of teachers with academic education, experience, and knowledge. This was confirmed at the competitive examination for enrollment in the school and in the course of their training at the G. S. Rakovski Academy. Logically, we should expect high results in the training of such teachers, the more so since conditions for their complete manifestation have been created.

No grades were given at the company tactical set of exercises for erroneous actions ("The students should not think of the grade but to develop their thinking," says Officer Aleksandrov. It is not a question of pointing

out an error but of "tricking" the enemy. The new circumstances require even firmer activities and a true creativity on the part of the student as a future commander. A simulator with several hundred targets has been designed which, combined, could create a variety of circumstances. The student must constantly and intensively think and improve his tactical outlook, the more so since this simulator (whose practical execution has unfortunately not been undertaken yet) includes a television system and a machine for automatic knowledge testing. No single class training could take place before the teacher has become convinced that the trainees are ready. This presumes an exceptionally secure and effective feedback which does exist in the school.

However, the results of tactical training are not steady: In the classes taught by Officer Kolev they are good whereas they vary in the classes taught by Officer Ivanov. Officer Aleksandrov is displeased. How is it possible for a 4.63 grade to "jump" to 5.31 and then "drop" again? What is the reason for the fluctuation? Could it be that Ivanov prefers to assign reports on class training only to the best trained students? To the fact that he develops their thinking while forgetting students with more limited possibilities? That he emphasizes the quality of training for its own sake even though the knowledge of some students is occasionally below the minimum? Or else that he is unable to work with students such as Angelov whose high school diploma shows a 5.75 average yet now he is always missing something, is always among the last. . . .

Control exercises are becoming more frequent and conversations with the teachers become tenser. A practical application must be found to the view that an examination is not a test of memory but, above all, of thinking. Reserves must be found. A mere change in the presentation of the subject is hardly sufficient. Lectures must be improved. The content of the subject is being inordinately repeated whereas also necessary is the type of additional information which would offer a broader tactical view. What about additional reference works? They are available. Are the students willing to study them? They are! Is an example needed? Last year one of the seniors had also delved in problems studied at the War Academy On a number of occasions he had confused his teacher. What about practical experience? . . . . Captain Kyankov does not engage in the petty supervision of platoon commanders in the course of field training. According to his instructions the trainees must be ready. When the platoon turns back to assume a reserve position, the captain hurls smoke bombs and explosives. The platoon commander is caught without a gas mask and is considered "dead." Captain Kyankov does not issue instructions but waits for someone to assume command. A new circumstance is created. It would be difficult to make a decision unless all students have considered in advance what they could encounter and how to oppose the "enemy." Yet, frequently this "enemy" has been sent by the instructors to provoke the reaction of the trainees.

Nevertheless, Officer Aleksandrov remains satisfied. High results are needed without which the young commander would be unable to train excellent platoons. For this reason he tightens the "screws." Organizational standard?! Few people know how to achieve it and even fewer how to make practical use of it. He went to the training department for help. He demanded, he insisted, he triggered arguments both among teachers and trainees. He was sure that something would come out of it in the way the idea was developed by trainees Lalov and Vladov of compiling all lectures, editing them, and publishing them as a textbook to help future students. This was also like the idea developed by Senior Sgt Tsonev on the pierced bullet ("Those are the people I like most. He developed this bullet, theoretically substantiated its advantages, and quite boldly went to the chief of the school and the other officers to defend his idea," Officer Aleksandrov says).

And, since we are discussing developments, let us add that in the other departments a number of trainees, along with mastering theoretical and practical knowledge, are participating in rationalization and suggestion groups. Since the beginning of the school year 95 suggestions have been received and only five of them have been refused; 30 percent of the participants in such developments are trainees. Senior Sgt Vreskov found out that one of the formulas on deformation of the distributor shaft, as presented in the textbook on internal combustion engines, was wrong. Guided by the teacher, he derived the accurate formula using two methods studied in the course on resistance of materials.

A number of developments prove the enriched scientific thinking of the trainees, proving that creativity is possible if the future commanders are given possibilities to express themselves.

Iron Hand and Necessary Minimum

After sharing with Officer Slaveyko Dimitrov the words of Platoon Commander Kostadinov (without revealing his name) Dimitrov categorically stated: "He may display his creativity as much as he wants in knowing his people, improving the work of the platoon, and raising its grade. He is probably doing nothing of the sort." (We already emphasized that one of Lieutenant Kostadinov's platoons is excellent. Therefore, he must be doing something--the author.) "There are many 'dead' souls among the commanders. I have attended a class in which the commander does not know that his platoon has a class-group exercise. He does not know how to organize his work. He may think of creative advancement. However, we cannot escape the program and the orders."

True, an iron hand is needed, for in addition to the necessary minimum of knowledge mastered by the trainees, in order for military education to be equal to civilian training in a corresponding area, they must study the theory of their command profession and test it in practice. Yet, there

are only 24 hours in a day. The program cannot be avoided. All this is impossible without strict discipline. There must be control. However, when control is the same, whether one is ahead or behind, could it be that sometimes the opposite effect results? Since April alone control exercises at the chair commanded by Officer Aleksandrov have totaled 27. Is there always time for the proper preparation of the trainees for such control exercises and for class-group training?

The school has a minimum grade for each subject. This is a grade which every trainee and teacher must secure. On the one hand, this minimum makes the teachers involve creativity in their work, to seek possibilities, and to maintain close and direct contacts with company and platoon commanders and work individually with the trainees, for their work as well is assessed on the basis of this minimum. On the other hand, could this minimum result in tolerance in terms of grading, or to raising grades? For example, covering one training on measurements requires 2 to 3 hours. The next day the teacher knows that the exercises have been made by some trainees superficially, for they have not had time. He grades them. Yet, what if this grade is below the minimum? The information goes to the computer and from it to the training department and... both teacher and trainee find themselves in a difficult situation. The question is discussed then of whether or not they could develop? Some teachers, in such cases, "inflate" their rating to save themselves unpleasantness. They are forced to accomplish this by the minimum and the subsequent control. "The developed teacher will never compromise with his conscience," Officer Dimitrov says. I agree with him. However, what happens when the trainee has not had time to prepare for the class-group exercise yet it is attended by a controlling officer from the school's administration? The teacher who knows (let me recall again the proper feedback) the load of the trainees and is aware of their homework would be tempted to call on the best students who will not shame him. In such a case, perhaps, the practice of Officer Ivanov of entrusting additional reports to the best prepared trainees may be justified....

As we may see, one problem dovetails another awaiting resolution. The minimum grade is still in its experimental stage at the Vasil Levski VNVU. The experience is as yet to be studied and the most successful method for increasing knowledge will be sought. If there is a search there must be errors. They are sifted out through practice.

A Few Thoughts On The Criterion

The teacher leaves the chair. He is promoted. One year later he is back to check on things and is displeased: "The trainees are ignorant!" The teacher has not taught them anything! However, the chief of the chair realizes that his former colleague is wrong. He has improperly rated one of the trainees which has led to erroneous conclusions concerning the teacher. A sharp argument develops. The former colleague throws his

weight around, shows his displeasure, and is angry.... And, nevertheless, reports his opinion.

Is this alienation from reality that results in forgetting age-old truths? Is this not a routine which prevents from seeing the new and properly assessing an action? Could this be ignorance? Let us not use such a strong word. However, it turns out that something similar--incomplete knowledge--may be found in many of the testers, whether or not we are willing to acknowledge it.

Officer S. is an able teacher in one of the chairs. Everyone knows this. The students respect and love him. After an investigation, however, the opinion of him on the part of senior commanders (above the chair level) changes. He has not "presented himself" properly! He has failed to attain the necessary minimum by...three percent!!! This is incompetence! the "diagnosis" has been made. Yet, many teachers in the same chair believe that it is the testing officer who diagnosed himself on the basis of his mediocre training. Commenting on this case, Officer Slaveyko Dimitrov stated to me that, "Had I commanded the chair where this teacher works I would have struggled against the commander who assigned such a tester."

Obviously, what he meant was that an even stricter course is needed to upgrade the knowledge of those who test as well, rather than of the teachers and the students only....

Perhaps this will be accomplished soon.

Therefore, the reason for our wish to share the searching and the problems faced by a school in promoting the creative development of the students, and for starting with the Vasil Levski VNVU, is because we truly find here rather interesting and particularly instructive features. We did not discuss the results of the scientific conference on improving the method for the preservation of scientific information aimed at enhancing the level of the training process to that of training-research work. We did not discuss the ties between the chairs and the other higher educational institutions, nor did we speak of the high level of developments and rationalizations. The search is continuing. This is the most essential feature of the work of this large collective. It is this search that leads to the discovery of still unused reserves....

5003
CSO: 2200

COMMENT ON TRAINING IN MILITARY ACADEMIES

Sofia BULGARSKI VOIN in Bulgarian No 7, 1980 p 6

[Commentary by Lt Gen Mikhail Tsonev]

[Text] The authors of articles on military education have discussed a number of essential and interesting problems. Yes, this is indeed the case, our military-educational system has made its contribution to the national educational system. Also universally recognized is the fact that the level of scientific training in civilian higher schools and in higher military schools is virtually identical, that we have able and knowledgeable teaching cadres, and that training-material facilities, is, in general, on a modern level, a level which makes possible the practical application of knowledge, passing from theory through experimentation. As has been pointed out, a minimum passing grade has been established for the Vasil Levski VNVU [Higher People's Military Academy]. This is not used in other military academies. This experiment deserves particular attention. Perhaps it is mandatory to study it comprehensively and extensively, particularly in connection with the problems raised by the author of the article. Should the result be that instructors artificially raise grades to save themselves unpleasantness, and should the trainees fail to achieve their minimum, ways and means must be found, tried, and applied to improve the quality of the faculty and their moral development. However, I too think that a comprehensively trained instructor, a person who loves his profession, who has a proper pedagogical approach, and who can work individually and purposefully with the students, in accordance with the requirements of the BCP Central Committee Education Plenum, the first education congress, and the stipulations of the Ministry of National Defense, would be able to educate and train his students properly and achieve this minimum. We must not forget that grades depend not only on good or excellent results at the end of the year but on the way and extent of work with the teachers. Advancing their training, we are advancing the training of the students as well. In such cases there would be no individual cases, as those mentioned in the articles, of partial knowledge by the testers and, hence, incompetent evaluations of teachers and classes. In such cases every teacher will involve the students in scientific development.

One of the interesting questions raised is that of developing the organizational standard of the trainees. Each school has a plan for command-organizational qualities of students. Furthermore, all schools teach the subject of "Scientific Organization of Labor." It is possible that in some departments the comrades are still not clear as to what organizational standard means. It is also likely that in many departments teachers and commanders try to break down organizational standards into details, and consider the ways and means for its faster practical application which would help the students to adapt within a much shorter time to the units to which they have been assigned after graduation. I consider this a basic field for future work.

As to training-material facilities, as I already mentioned, they are organized on a high standard in our higher military academies. Naturally, here and there individual gaps may be found. For example, as a result of failure to develop a work method, the television training system of the students of the Georgi Benkovski VNVVU [Higher People's Air Force Academy] is not used entirely effectively. As to the simulator designed by the Vasil Levski VNVU, we have not received a request from the school for its making. Yet, funds to this effect are available. Our desire is to use them precisely where it is possible (and necessary) to create high effectiveness in training and the acquisition of knowledge needed in the practical work of the future commanders.

There are many problems worthy of consideration in the area of military education. They are related, above all, to improvements in the military training system in the light of the decisions of the BCP Central Committee Plenum on education, the decisions of the first education congress, and the instructions issued by Army General Dobri Dzhurov, minister of national defense. Currently we have the base on which the necessary training qualities are created and further developed in the students. Far more work remains to be done to mold the features and aspects of the character of the future officer making him both a comprehensively developed individual as well as a person not only of the present but of the future.

Editors' note: The creative work at the Georgi Dimitrov VNVAU [Higher People's Military Artillery Academy] will be described in a subsequent issue.

5003
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STATE OF HEALTH CARE, HYGIENE EXAMINED

Sofia ZDRAVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 16 Aug 80 p 1

[Report by Prof Dr Kol'o Gargov, deputy minister of public health: "Before the 12th Party Congress: Balance and Upsurge"]

[Text] Our party's congresses have always been preceded by the political and labor upsurge of the public health collectives throughout the country. Such is the case now as well, in the days and months preceding the 12th Congress. What was achieved in the Seventh Five-Year Plan? What remains to be done before the end of this year in order to fulfill all tasks? What will be the contribution of each public health collective or worker in honor of the congress? These are the questions which excite today the many thousands-strong army in white. This was also the topic of the open party meeting held on 8 August by the collective of the Central Administration of the Ministry of Public Health with the participation of Academician Radoy Popivanov, member of the BZNS [Bulgarian Agrarian National Union] Standing Committee, Prof Dr Kol'o Gargov, deputy minister of public health, and Candidate of Medical Sciences Dr Lyubomir Tomov, secretary of the establishment's party committee of the Ministry of Public Health.

The report submitted by Prof Dr K. Gargov contained a thorough and profound study of achievements in the Seventh Five-Year Plan. At the same time, unresolved problems were indicated in a spirit of criticism and exactingness.

The period from 1976 to July 1980 was a dynamic and fruitful stage in the development of public health in our country, the speaker stressed. The collective of the Ministry of Public Health may be proud of the fact that in 1979 infant mortality reached its lowest ever level--19.8 per thousand (compared with 23.1 per thousand in 1975). This decline continued in the first half of 1980. Naturally, we are aware of the fact that in some countries this indicator is under 10 per thousand.

Morbidity caused by a number of communicable diseases declined. Whereas in 1975 231.2 cases of measles, 400.8 cases of mumps, and 184.8 cases of dysentery were recorded per 100,000 population, the 1979 figures were

considerably lower: 2.8, 17.5 and 150.4 respectively. As a result of the implementation of the national program for labor safety and hygiene the number of workplaces consistent with hygienic requirements rose from 36.5 percent in 1975 to 64.8 percent in 1979.

Substantial positive changes also occurred in the organization of the health service. Let us point out, first of all, the growth of the Medical Academy as a major scientific, training, production, and organizational-methodical complex operating on the basis of modern standards. It already has a center for the treatment of the sick coming from foreign countries.

A total of 5,372 hospital beds, facilities for 10,696 children in nurseries, and facilities for 3,151 people in social welfare institutions were opened.

These and many other positive changes in the health care of the population and the health care system achieved in the Seventh Five-Year Plan were the results of the proper social policy of the BCP and of the country's government, and the efforts of the many thousands-strong army of public health workers.

Unfortunately, the conclusion that the disparity between the possibilities of the material facilities and the cadres, on the one hand, and the achieved results, on the other, has not been surmounted applies to the health care system as well. Overall population mortality is continuing to rise. This is due mainly to the aging of the population. However, we cannot fail to be alarmed by the increased mortality in the 40-59 age group. In order to reduce the general mortality rate possibilities must be sought in the 0-4 and 40-59 age groups. In the Eighth Five-Year Plan infant mortality could and should be reduced under 18 per thousand. This year we must preserve the trend of decline of this indicator. This calls for organizing special supervision over Tolbukhin, Silistra, Turgovishte, Sliven, Shumen and Kurdzhali okrugs.

The Eighth Five-Year Plan must become one of effective efforts aimed at reducing morbidity and mortality from cardiovascular, oncological and respiratory diseases, and accidents which deprive the active population of its life, health or ability to work.

Problems related to upgrading the national ability to work and of increasing the national amount of work time have risen sharply. Despite the relatively good indicators of temporary or permanent disability, compared with other countries, possibilities remain to reduce labor losses caused by illness. The task is to seek them adamantly and make full use of them. This demands a great deal of effort on the part of all Ministry of Public Health units and the entire health network. The economic aspects of such activities are exceptionally important. That

is why the further improvement of the health service offered the workers, the more effective solution of sociohealth problems in protecting the workers' health and insuring objectivity and precision of medical labor evaluations remain our primary task.

Another direction in our activities is to save to a maximum extent outlays of public time (ours and of the citizens) in the course of providing health services. Despite recent accomplishments, unnecessary time continues to be wasted through various channels: waiting in polyclinics, sending citizens to various pharmacies and to unnecessary examinations and tests, and so on. Priority is not always given to people engaged in production work. Many medical activities are carried out at the expense of the public rather than the private time of the citizens without the presence of health or social indications.

Prof Gargov then discussed the problem of organizing the health care system on an economic basis. The application of the economic approach in health care, said he, should be such as to insure the optimum consistency between the considerable growth of the material and technical base and cadre resources and the most favorable values and trends of the indicators of the population's state of health; it should promote individual and collective interest in the effective utilization of allocated funds for health care; it should increase the incentive of public health workers to improve their skills; it should upgrade the interest of the state institutions and economic organizations and their participation in the creation of better working conditions, upgrading the effectiveness of general and specific preventive measures and lowering worktime losses caused by disability. It is expected that in September 1980 the Council of Ministers will pass a decree and ordinance on improving the management of health care and social welfare.

The normative base must be mandatorily improved. We must review and reassess the various norms and standards and upgrade them in accordance with the changes which have taken place and with the application of scientific and technical progress and the economic approach.

We must pay particular attention to the program-target approach in our work. The organization, standards, and quality of outpatient-polyclinical services, the enhancement of the health standards of the people, the further development of the care for the health of the workers and the students, the expedient use of mineral waters, and so on require long-term programming.

Prof Gargov then indicated some topical tasks related to the implementation of the Seventh Five-Year Plan and the plan for 1980:

By the end of the five-year plan the number of hospital beds must reach 81,000. On 30 June they totaled 79,322. In other words, facilities for 1,678 beds must be provided before the end of the year;

Places in nurseries must total 83,500. By the end of the year the largest number of places must be made available in Sliven Okrug--275; Ruse Okrug--250; Veliko Turnovo--215; Yambol--210; Varna--[illegible] and others;

The number of places in social welfare institutions must reach 20,800. By the end of this year another 774 places must be made available in a total of 14 okrugs (200 in Silistra, 90 in Vidin, 70 in Vratsa, 60 in Gabrovo, Kyustendil, and Sliven each) and so on;

The Seventh Five-Year Plan called for about 350 million leva in capital investments. Over the past 4 years 79 percent of these funds were used. Premises were built for the okrug hospitals in Kurdzhali, Stara Zagora and Sofia, and for the rayon hospitals in Panagyurishte, Svishtov, Botevgrad, and Malko Turnovo; the vocational diseases clinic of the Medical Academy, the polyclinics in Tryavna, Kazanluk, Lyaskovets, Sevlievo, Pleven, Silistra, and others. The 1980 plan called for investments totaling 60,492,000 leva; in the first half of the year 21,568,000 leva (35.7 percent) were invested. The construction of the additions to the polyclinic block and the building for intensive therapy of the Pirogov Institute, the therapy block of the Higher Medical Institute in Varna, the Hygiene-Epidemiological Institute in Plovdiv, the polyclinic in Maritsa, and the nurseries in Sliven, Mikhaylovgrad and Trudovets have fallen behind dangerously (less than 10 percent fulfillment of the annual plan).

Every manager and every collective, the speaker stressed, should now study the implementation of the Seventh Five-Year Plan and the stipulations of the Main Objectives and Basic Tasks of Health Care and Social Welfare for the 1979-1980 Period and update measures for their full implementation before the end of the year.

Following the report, representatives of the individual directorates read the pledges adopted by their collectives in honor of the 12th Party Congress. Following are excerpts:

The Population Medical Services Directorate pledges:

To upgrade the effectiveness and raise even higher the quality of medical services, focusing its efforts in the following basic directions: protection and strengthening the health of those who are healthy; early discovery of individuals threatened with or suffering from mass or problem diseases; effective and comprehensive outpatient-polyclinical treatment of patients; timely recovery of the disabled or those threatened with disabilities;

In 1985 the average number of visits to physicians should reach 7.2 per capita; house calls should reach 0.7; the percentage of outpatient visits, 43; and dental checkups, 2.5 per capita;

Infant mortality must decline below 18 per thousand; the percentage of children and students treated on an outpatient basis must be raised to 95 percent while that of pregnant and nursing women to 86 percent.

Planning and Health Care Economics Directorate:

By the end of the Eighth Five-Year Plan the basic indicators for meeting the population's requirements for medical aid must reach the following level: hospital beds, 97.8 per 10,000; beds in sanatoriums, 23.7 per 10,000; places in permanent nurseries and DMD, 21.4 per 100 children under the age of 3; places in social welfare homes, 27 per 10,000 population; physicians, 27 per 10,000 population; and dentists, 6 per 10,000 population.

Cadre Management and Labor Directorate:

Active participation in the formulation and development of a new effective structure and technology for the management of health care and social welfare;

Study and discussion of the possibility for the creation of state-public organs for managing health care and social welfare in okrugs and settlement systems;

Integrate activities and coordinate planning, implementation, and reporting of organizational-methodical aid provided by republic, okrug and rayon specialists and method workers, and others.

Social Welfare Directorate:

Total implementation of the Seventh Five-Year Plan for providing places in social welfare institutions, reaching the level of 23.4 places per 10,000 population;

For the Seventh Five-Year Plan reach a 44 percent employment of disabled individuals;

Train in the 1980/1981 school year in industrial enterprises and vocational schools 900 disabled people, thus raising the number of retrained people in the five-year plan to 4,500.

5003
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SANITARY CONDITIONS IN FARMYARDS REVIEWED

Sofia ZDRAVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 16 Aug 80 p 3

[Article by Dr Tsvetan Lazarov, head of the Communal Hygiene Section: "The Sanitary-Hygienic Condition of Farmyards"]

[Text] The proper hygienic condition of farmyards in APK [Agroindustrial Complexes] is of definite significance in terms of the health of farm workers, the quality of the food products (milk, grain, and others), and the hygiene of settlements.

We conducted a study of all farmyards in the okrug (120) to determine their precise condition and the possibilities for their development.

What did our findings indicate?

In terms of the sanitary-protection distance from the settlements, only 33 percent of the farmyards are consistent with hygienic requirements. A total of 104 farmyards (86 percent) are located in the leeward side of the settlements. Yet, we know that farmyards closer to settlements, particularly those located on the leeward side, adversely affect the settlements.

The conlusion was reached that about one-half of the farmyards cannot be developed further. In the future the efforts should be focused on the building of warehouse bases, workshops, bases for agricultural equipment and industrial activities, and so on.

General construction plans have been drafted for no more than 18 farmyards while plans for their urbanization and hygiene, for no more than 30.

The urbanization of farmyards has been unsatisfactory both in terms of fencing and landscaping them and the treatment of animal waste.

One-third of the investigated farmyards are fully fenced. They have esthetically pleasing and well maintained fences. About one-half are

partially fenced while 13 percent are not fenced at all. Worse in this respect are the farmyards of the APK of Borovan Village while the best were the farmyards in the APK in Byala Slatina, the scientific production complex in Knezha, and others.

The landscaping of the farmyards with grass and trees and shrubs has been underestimated. Only a small percentage of them have been landscaped (the APK in Byala Slatina and the scientific production complex in Knezha).

Roads are another important factor in the overall urbanization of farmyards. Observations have indicated that the developed road network is maintained unsatisfactorily. The worse in this respect are the APK in Roman and Gabare.

The treatment of animal waste is a problem of major hygienic significance. Unfortunately, no single APK has built treatment facilities for liquid manure. Usually, the manure is collected in cesspools most of which are in poor hygienic condition (they are not regularly cleaned, they overflow and swamp the surrounding area in the farmyards, a considerable number of them are uncovered, and so on.

The cesspools in the farmyards of the APK in Vratsa, Roman, Gabare, Borovan, and others are in poor hygienic condition. Most farmyards have specific solid animal waste manure areas. Many of them, however, are not properly used. The waste is not removed regularly but is scattered over a large area in the farmyards (the APK in Miziya, Vratsa, Gabare, Roman).

Water supplies in the farmyards is an exceptionally important hygiene problem. Most of the water comes from water mains and the water is decontaminated and subjected to systematic sanitary and laboratory control. A considerable percentage of the farmyards, however, have their local water supply sources (wells, dams, and others) which do not meet hygiene requirements. They have no protective areas. The water is not decontaminated. Its quality is not periodically tested, and so on. This creates a serious threat for the outbreak of epidemics, for the same water is used in milking. Frequently local water sources are being built in farmyards without the preliminary testing of the water.

A great deal remains to be desired in improving the amenities of the working people, particularly in animal husbandry. The problem has been properly resolved at the scientific production complex in Knezha, the APK in Krivodol, and others. However, current maintenance is unsatisfactory in 70 percent of the residential premises. Only 19 baths have been built for the livestock breeders and other farmyard personnel.

The main conclusions drawn on the basis of the investigation were the following:

On the one hand, the good hygienic and urbanization condition of a number of farmyards of the APK in Byala Slatina and the scientific production complex in Knezha. This, unquestionably, has a positive effect on the health of the working people and the hygienic condition of the settlements;

On the other hand, most farmyards are unsatisfactory. There are no long-range plans for their development, urbanization, and hygiene. Basic problems of hygiene are not being resolved properly, such as water supplies, storage and utilization of solid and liquid waste, the creation of proper living conditions for animal husbandry men, and others.

After informing the administrative councils of the APK and the executive bureau of the okrug agroindustrial union of the basic conclusions on the hygiene and urbanization condition of farmyards, the efforts have been forcused on the following:

The creation in the Eighth Five-Year Plan in all APK no less than three model farmyards from the hygiene and urbanization viewpoints, to be used as models of leading experience;

Applying hygiene requirements in all farm enterprises in settlement systems and settlements scheduled for development as model hygiene and urbanization centers;

Applying hygiene norms and requirements to local water sources used in farmyards;

Organizing the socialist competition among agroindustrial complexes on problems of urbanization and hygiene of farmyards.

The reaching of decisive successes in the implementation of these tasks will have a beneficial impact both on the health condition of farm workers as well as the overall hygienic and urbanized aspect of the settlements.

5003
CSO: 2200

NUTRITION PROBLEMS, PROSPECTS DISCUSSED

Sofia ZDRAVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 16 Aug 80 p 3

[Article by Dr Todor Dobrilov, head of the Nutrition Hygiene Section, Vratsa Hygiene Epidemiological Institute: "Nutrition--Problems and Prospects"]

[Text] Recently we studied the organization of nutrition of farm workers, and the material facilities and hygiene in APK [Agroindustrial Complexes] and NPK [Scientific Production Complexes]. Several major omissions were noted, as follows:

The agricultural personnel receive their food from 70 permanent cafeterias with kitchens, 9 seasonal cafeterias, and 4 permanent take-out cafeterias and, in the summer, 23 take-out cafeterias set up in the fields. Cafeterias for farm workers were found in only one-half of the okrug's settlements.

The nutrition provided is not consistent with physiological norms. Last year only 2.1 percent of the workers were served breakfast; 16.2 percent were served lunch; snacks (before or after lunch) were served to 0.95 percent; dinners were served to 2.1 percent and a nightime snack was served to 0.4 percent.

Free food was given to 676 workers. All personnel attached to the cafeteria were given food price discounts ranging from 20 to 30 percent.

All cafeterias are supplied with products separately, mostly once or twice weekly. Supply difficulties exist in terms of some products and because of lack of transport facilities.

Only 24.4 percent of the cafeterias had a weekly menu and only 16.7 percent observed it.

The qualifications of the kitchen personnel are very low. Only 9 of the 257 cafeteria workers are graduates of public catering technical schools. Nearly one-half have grammar education and have attended courses for cooks or assistant cooks while the others have no special training whatever.

The managements of farms, trade union committees, and people's control commissions do not systematically check the work of the cafeterias. In the APK of Byala Slatina, Miziya and Gabare and the NPK in Knezha not a single investigation was made in the first 9 months of 1979.

Material facilities in farm cafeterias are considerably behind compared with the okrug's public catering institutions, as follows:

In a number of places the cooking and sitting areas do not meet sanitary requirements;

The level of the kitchen equipment is low. Refrigerated facilities are insufficient in one-half of the cafeterias. In a number of places facilities for handling the products are insufficient.

The materials from the study of the feeding of farm workers were submitted for consideration by the executive committee of the okrug people's council. It was decided that the Hygiene Epidemiological Institute, together with the okrug agroindustrial union and the okrug trade unions council will draft a program for the 1980-1985 period.

Last March the executive bureau of the okrug agroindustrial union adopted the suggested program for expanding cafeteria services to farm workers and the development of auxiliary farms of APK and NPK in Vratsa Okrug between 1980 and 1985. It stipulates the following:

Adoption of measures for mass cafeteria feeding and for improving the nutritional system of farm workers;

Improving the management and control of cafeterias and upgrading the skills of kitchen personnel;

Improving the transportation, supply, and material facilities of cafeterias.

Investigations conducted at the beginning of the intense field work indicated that the measures taken by the APK and NPK managements for the implementation of the program are already yielding their initial positive results:

A new cafeteria is under construction in Galovo Village. The reorganization of cafeterias in Kozloduy, and Banitsa and Brenitsa villages has been completed;

The current state of hygiene of the cafeterias has shown improvements.

Against the background of such unquestionable successes, the unsatisfactory attitude and lack of interest displayed in the problem of the nutrition of farm workers in the Krivodol APK, whose chairman is Blagoy Kirilov, stands out as a dark spot. The investigation here revealed that the reconstruction of the cafeteria in Baurene Village was stopped. After the cafeteria in Kravoder was closed down for reconstruction, the food served the workers of the branch farm was cook in two trailers whose state of hygiene was very poor. Despite the desist order, the cafeteria in Lesura Village continues to serve food to over 100 mechanizers even though its state of hygiene is unsatisfactory. Nutrition workers without health cards have been hired.

The okrug agroindustrial union must strictly take to task the APK chairman in Krivodol who, only 3 months after personally voting in favor of the adoption of the program, very rapidly forgot its existence.

5003
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FUTURE TASKS OF ACADEMY OF MEDICINE OUTLINED

Sofia ZDRAVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 23 Aug 80 pp 1-2

[Report by Prof Dr Atanas Maleev, Academy of Medicine corresponding member, BCP Central Committee member, first deputy minister of public health and president of the Medical Academy: "To New Successes With New Measurements!"]

[Text] As reported in the previous issue, the administrative, party and trade union aktiv of the Medical Academy met on 13 August. The meeting dealt with the main tasks of the academy based on the decisions of the July 1980 BCP Central Committee Plenum.

In his report at the meeting corresponding member Prof Dr Atanas Maleev stressed that the 29 July 1980 BCP Central Committee Plenum gave a positive assessment to the accomplishments of the first 4 years of the Seventh Five-Year Plan. The national income generated is about five billion leva higher compared with the Sixth Five-Year Plan. In the Sixth Five-Year Plan a one percent increase in the national income equaled 91 million leva; in the first 4 years of the Seventh Five-Year Plan it equaled 132,400,000 leva. In the first 4 years of the present five-year plan alone capital investments were made totaling 2.2 billion leva more than the overall amount of capital investments in the entire Sixth Five-Year Plan. There has been a considerable increase in the population's real income which averaged 1,186 leva in 1975 (the last year of the Sixth Five-Year Plan), and over 1,300 leva in 1979. Between 1976 and 1979 278,000 new housing units were built. All this indicates that we have sufficient reasons to be pleased with our accomplishments.

At the same time, the party's Central Committee noted the still existing many weaknesses whose elimination requires urgent measures. The main weakness to be surmounted as soon as possible is the disparity between the possibilities of the developed material and technical base and its inadequate and inefficient utilization. This basic weakness particularly applies to health care, including the Medical Academy.

The urgent task now is to insure the fullest possible utilization of the three elements of the production process--labor tools, labor objects, and manpower. For example, assessing, on the one hand, the funds spent in our country per patient for the different diseases, and, on the other, the modern possibilities and requirements of the science of medicine, we would see that this fully applies to the health care system as well.

Science is still not properly related to production and has not become a direct productive force. No sufficiently good system exists for providing prompt information on scientific and technical achievements and leading experience. Our scientific institutes must surmount red tape and bureaucracy and become factories for scientific products, factories producing scientific "commodities." It is a question not only of their own developments but of the utilization of foreign experience. The task has been formulated entirely clearly and our scientific activities must become free from all elements of bureaucracy in the practical utilization of the latest achievements of the science of medicine.

After that, corresponding member Prof Dr Atanas Maleev pointed out the problems to be resolved before the end of 1980: An assessment must be made of the implementation of plans so far and all the necessary measures must be taken so that no single collective will have failed to fulfill its Seventh Five-Year Plan; special attention must be paid to the work in August when a considerable number of management and performing cadres are on leave; in September a plan must be drafted on the activities of the Medical Academy in 1981-1982; the party leadership of public organizations must be improved and their active inclusion in the implementation of forthcoming tasks insured; public health collectives and the individual health workers must be informed of all problems and tasks.

The speaker then discussed in detail the basic tasks of the Medical Academy in the Eighth Five-Year Plan--the five-year plan of technical progress and intellectualization.

The task set by Comrade Todor Zhivkov of raising labor productivity not by percentages but by a factor of 2-3, or more applies to health care as well. It is on the basis of this requirement that we must consider and resolve our problems. Unquestionably, very precise programs will have to be elaborated for some basic indicators such as reducing labor losses caused by disease, morbidity, and mortality, economizing on equipment, funds, and so on. They must emphasize the application of the new economic mechanism in our work.

In the Eighth Five-Year Plan we must upgrade labor productivity through the application of technical progress and intellectualization in medical activities by reducing diagnostic time, treatment time and the stay of technicians in hospitals, and the length of sick leave, by improving the end results of the patients' treatment.

What examples could be cited on the various types of medical help?

In the field of oncology, according to the current method for diagnosis and treatment, only 20 percent of those suffering from stomach cancer are considered operable. Obviously, the task in the Eighth Five-Year Plan will be to raise the figure to 30-40 percent. Also rather low currently is a percentage of operable cases of lung cancer--only five percent. In the Eighth Five-Year Plan, as a result of prompt diagnosis, operability must reach 15-20 percent in all cases of pulmonary cancer. We must considerably upgrade the percentage of operability in intestinal and breast cancers, and so on.

In surgery, we could justifiably demand a lowering of postoperative complications from 10-15 percent to 5-6 percent; a reduction of mortality as a result of surgery by one-half through the application of new methods and technologies; reducing the amount of anesthetics, and so on.

In urology the problem of introducing new methods in prostatectomy has been urgent for some time. In the current methods used in our country the patient must remain bedridden 3-4 or, sometimes, more weeks, compared with usually no more than one week with the new methods. Another urgent problem is that of kidney transplants. The health and economic results of this type of medical help are obvious. However, the new Transplants Center has still not begun to operate as it should.

A number of possibilities exist in the field of ophthalmology for reducing the length of treatment, improving treatment results, outpatient instead of bed treatment of patients, and so on. However, we must apply far more extensively the method of laser coagulation which enables us to treat a number of eye diseases which previously required surgery. This reduces the risk of surgery and improves the effect of the surgery and reduces the length of hospital treatment.

In the field of cardiology mortality from infarct of the myocardium has been lowered to 20 percent. However, should we be satisfied with this or set ourselves the task of lowering it to 10 percent in the Eighth Five-Year Plan? Here is another problem: Reducing the extent of disability of infarct victims through the application of modern recovery methods aimed at reducing the visibility time from 6 to 3-4 or, in some cases, 2 months.

Let us consider gastroenterology as well. Here we have powerful means such as endoscopy and ultrasound diagnosis. We have the possibility to considerably shorten the time for diagnosing tumors and diffusion diseases of the liver and the pancreas and, hence, providing more timely and adequate treatment. We can shorten (from 30-45 to 15 days) the time for the treatment of ulcers through the use of new medicinal means;

thanks to achievements in the field of immunology we can provide differentiated treatment to patients suffering from chronic liver diseases, and so on.

Hygiene. There is no other area in which the achievements of scientific and technical progress find and should find such extensive application. We must extensively apply new methods and equipment to determine environmental pollution, improve the hygiene of the working environment, reduce morbidity caused by a variety of vocational illnesses, and so on.

We must very seriously consider the application of new methods in the field of dentistry. The fact that after we developed the complex adapta equipment set other more expensive instruments were used is unexplainable. We must also resolve the problem of the ratio between dentists and dental nurses, and so on.

What should be the end results of all this?

First: Reduce the amount of labor day losses caused by temporary incapacity and permanent disability.

Second: Reduce infant mortality even more sharply (by five percent or more!).

Third: Increase the average life span by 2 to 3 years compared with the current level.

Fourth: Insuring effective and factual rather than formal and "quantitative" outpatient treatment through the application of technical progress.

Fifth: Applying proper hygiene standards for work in plants, mines, schools, establishments, and others.

How will all this be achieved?

Before the end of October 1980 we must report on the fulfillment of the obligations we adopted in relation to the National Party Conference and the BCP Central Committee Politburo decision on upgrading the effectiveness of the medical science and the training of medical cadres;

All institutes must formulate clear prospects for the development of their respective disciplines in the Eighth Five-Year Plan--the equipment they will be needing, its expected effectiveness, the sequence in which it should be purchased and applied, the cost of the new apparatus, and so on. Henceforth, the funds at our disposal will be allocated in accordance with the positive changes which will occur in diagnosis, treatment, and so on, in a given area;

The medical cadres must steadily upgrade their training and knowledge and properly master the new apparatus and new methods. We must particularly emphasize the problem of intellectualizing our activities. We must regulate the right to release those who are unwilling to learn or to apply new methods and new equipment. We must eliminate the complacency noted among some of our cadres who, having become assistants, docents, senior scientific associates, and so on, consider that they should no longer grow.

We must develop the type of approach for the upgrading of cadres according to which everyone will be rated on the basis of the way in which he applies scientific and technical progress in his activities. Cadres unwilling to march in step with modern requirements in the medical academy should, obviously, be released;

We must give serious thought to the following question as well: Why is it that every year we send hundreds of patients to be treated abroad? The time has come to assess the activities of the respective specialists based on the number of patients sent abroad for treatment.

In connection with upgrading the cultural and quality standards of medical services, corresponding member Prof Dr Atanas Maleev seriously raised the question of the two-step servicing of patients. This matter is both underestimated and misunderstood. Actually, we cannot speak of the intellectualization of our work all the time that not nurses but medics take care of the patients;

The overall revision and proper solution of problems related to the number, selection, and training of cadres--physicians, dentists, registered nurses, dental technicians, and so on--is necessary. We must also review the norms governing the availability of beds and their level of utilization, the sanatorium facilities, and so on;

Measures must be taken to insure that the labor effectiveness based on the application of the achievements of contemporary medicine and scientific and technical progress are reflected on the wages of the corresponding specialists. Cadres which apply new and effective developments should be encouraged morally as well by promotions, award of titles, and so on. We must seriously consider the factual value of topics and development of candidate dissertations, rationalization suggestions, and others, a considerable percentage of which are valuable to their authors alone rather than to practical work at large.

The following spoke on the problems raised in the report: Prof Dr F. Kaloyanova, doctor of medical sciences and director of the NIKhPZ [Scientific Research Institute for Hygiene and Occupational Diseases]; Prof Dr L. Shindarov, director of the NIZPB; Prof D. Danchev, dean of the School of Pharmacy; Prof Dr El. Paneva, chairman of the academy trade union

committee; Docent Dr D. Nenov, deputy rector of the Higher Medical Institute in Varna; Prof Dr Sh. Nin'o, doctor of medical sciences and director of the NIP; Dr Ognyan Ikonomov, secretary of the Komsomol Academic Committee; and Prof Dr K. Popov, deputy dean of the School of Dentistry in Sofia.

Supporting the basic stipulations, assessments, and conclusions contained in the report, the speakers emphasized the readiness of the collective they head to creatively implement the instructions and welcomed the 12th BCP Congress with new and even greater successes in medical science and practice--successes which will be assessed on the basis of new criteria and measurements in the Eighth Five-Year Plan.

5003
CSO: 2200

POOR QUALITY OF DENTISTRY CRITICIZED

Sofia ZDRAVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 23 Aug 80 p 4

[Article by Dr Mladenka Dimitrova, chief inspector at the Sofia City State and People's Control Committee, and Dimitur Dimitrov, inspector at the Sofia City State and People's Control Committee: "Organization of the Work in Dental Laboratories in Sofia"]

[Text] The Sofia City State and People's Control Committee and the NZSG [Public Health and Social Welfare] Administration and the Permanent Public Health Commission of the Sofia People's Council investigated the organization of the work of dental laboratories in the capital in terms of the qualitative and prompt manufacturing of artificial dentures.

As a result of the efforts made in recent years the NZSG Administration of the Sofia People's Council successes were achieved in the prompt and high quality manufacturing of artificial dentures. On the basis of the Ministry of Public Health norms Sofia's requirements for dental technicians have been met 100 percent. This is a guarantee for improving the organization and quality of the work in dental laboratories. It is a prerequisite for considerably shortening the time needed for the manufacturing of artificial dentures. However, it has not as yet adequately influenced their quality improvements.

Both dental technicians and dentists are to be blamed for substandard work. The impressions taken are substandard, with bubbles, missing pieces and improperly molded working impressions and the use of unsuitable materials for pontic crowns made of plaster without a preliminary anular abscission [apsustiran] or else with the use of silicone.

Denture areas are poorly prepared with improper filing of the bridge holders and unprepared natural teeth for partial dentures. In many cases the teeth have not been leveled. The area of the plate is not determined in advance in making the first impression for a full plate. This hinders the making of high quality individual trays by the dental technician. The A-line is not established intraorally by the dentist so that the valval area may be closed most precisely, letting the dental technician accomplish this arbitrarily.

The relief chambers are not delineated. Frequently, even if delineated, they are not coordinated with the shape of the torus.

The items made by dental technicians frequently include poorly cast models with air bubbles, and broken and glued parts. Some of the crowns are shorter, longer, or wider and are not always consistent with functional and medical-biological requirements.

The principles governing the manufacturing of bridges are violated. The middle cast parts have a wide chewing surface. Articulation with the opposite teeth is poor and the bridges are not connected with the supporting crowns in a straight line. No leveling is practiced in arranging the teeth for full or partial plates and blockings are not eliminated. The edges of the dentures are not preserved, particularly in the area of the paratuberal spaces, which lowers the functional qualities of removable dentures. In partial dentures the hooks may be poorly bent, placed low and with unfiled and unsafe points. The rules of polimerization technology of plastics and the proper recrystalizing of the crystal grid of the metal are not always observed.

Such weaknesses in denture work are the result of the insufficient training of dentists and dental technicians and the reduced exactingness of the managements of dental polyclinics. Fifty percent of the dental technicians working in the capital have less than 5 years practical experience. Insufficient care is taken to upgrade their skills. The possibilities of the sponsorship movement are not being fully used. Few dental technicians are assigned to attend courses at the School of Dentistry of the Medical Academy.

The official brigade organization of labor (with individual work records) adopted by the laboratories does not promote the desire and interest of the entire brigade to work well--to upgrade its dexterity and professional skills. There is no incentive for reasonable savings since no intracost accounting is used.

Coordination between dentists and dental laboratories is not properly organized, as a result of which the patients are not informed on time as to the day and hour of their second visit. The completion of artificial dentures is delayed also by the continuing failure to date the cards despite the instructions contained in the order of the NZSG Administration of the Sofia People's Council.

In order for artificial dentures work in the capital to be improved, the Sofia City State and People's Control Committee has made it incumbent upon the NZSG Administration of the Sofia People's Council to implement a number of measures aimed at improving the organization of the work in dental laboratories and improve the quality of artificial dentures.

5003
CSO: 2200

BRIEFS

STOYCHEV ACTIVITIES--A new housing construction combine has been commissioned in Varna Okrug. It is the latest and largest plant for prefabricated construction materials. Each 75 minutes of the day the conveyor belts of the plant produce prefabricated material for one apartment. The commissioning ceremony was attended by Todor Stoychev, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Varna Okrug Party Committee. He pointed out that this new achievement is one more genuine expression of the implementation of the party's socioeconomic program. Ivan Sakarev, minister of construction and building materials, read a state council decree on awarding various workers in the collective who participated in the planning and construction of this plant. [AU040955 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1900 GMT 3 Sep 80]

STOYCHEV OPENS CHEMICAL PLANT--In honor of the forthcoming 9 September holiday, four days before its celebration, one of our largest chemical plants was commissioned in Devnya, Varna Okrug. Todor Stoychev, BCP Central Committee candidate member and first secretary of the Varna Okrug Party Committee, inaugurated the plant a few hours ago. The festive meeting was also attended by Georgi Pankov, minister of chemical industry, Ivan Sakarev, minister of construction and building materials, by Soviet diplomats accredited in Bulgaria and by numerous local leaders and officials of the Okrug. [AU040955 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 4 Sep 80]

PEACE PARLIAMENT DELEGATION--At the National Assembly Hall in Sofia, a public meeting took place on 4 September at which the Bulgarian delegation for the forthcoming World Parliament for Peace was elected. Comrades Pencho Kubadinski, Petur Tanchev, Andrey Lukanov, Vladimir Bonev, Misho Mishev, Nacho Papazov and leaders of mass organizations and creative unions attended. The meeting approved the proposed delegation which includes comrades Pencho Kubadinski, chairman of the National Preparatory Committee for the World Parliament for Peace, Lyudmila Zhivkova, Tsola Dragoycheva, Dimitur Stanishev, Misho Mishev, Vladimir Bonev and Nacho Papazov. [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 4 Sep 80]

USSR TRADE MINISTER--Andrey Lukanov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, received Boris Stepanovich Gordeyev, deputy minister of foreign

trade of the USSR and Suren Sarukhanov, deputy minister of trade of the USSR. They discussed questions concerning the expansion and intensification of trade and economic relations between the two countries and the implementation of the contractual deliveries on the basis of the exchange of goods protocol for 1980. The meeting was attended by Khristo Khristov, minister of foreign trade and by Valentin Dyakov, USSR trade delegation to Bulgaria. [Text] [AU071404 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 5 Sep 80]

CSO: 2200

PROMINENT CZECH DISSIDENT CHOOSES EXILE

Frantfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 5 Sep 80 p 25

[Article by -hpr-: "Exodus From Prague"]

[Text] Jiri Lederer has given up. The prominent Prague newspaperman, who spent years in jails and nevertheless remained steadfast in his convictions, has emigrated to the FRG. At last the Prague authorities had found a means of exerting pressure on him to which he could offer no resistance. They threatened to withdraw his Polish wife's residence permit in the CSSR, intimating that it might take as long as 4 years to reunite the family. So the family capitulated and applied, as the authorities had hoped, for an exit permit, which, as is usual, was quickly granted. Now the Prague Ministry of the Interior can cross out another name on its black list and thereby weaken the resistance against the Husak regime. Like perhaps nobody else Jiri Lederer knew how to document the resistance, especially of writers. His "Czech Conversations" with the country's leading authors, many of whom have also gone into exile in the meantime, reveal the motives which kept these intellectuals from giving up and gave them sterngth to go to jail for their convictions. Now this too belongs to Lederer's past. Last time, in 1977, together with Vaclav Havel and others, he was sentenced to 3 years in jail, partly also because the above-mentioned book published in the FRG, which at the time of his conviction was only in the form of a manuscript. Some people have wondered why Lederer was refusing to accept the offer by the state security authorities to set him free if he left immediately: because it might have been interpreted as an indirect admission of guilt. Vaclav Havel, to whom authorities have made the same immoral proposal, has taken the same position as Lederer. He too remains in jail, under aggravated conditions, but unbroken. Such an attitude cannot but raise unlimited respect even with the expectation that the ultimate end will be emigration. The list of individuals driven from the country is steadily growing and includes prominent names such as that of the writer Pavel Kohout but also of unknown workers such as that of Jan Seba. They all went into exile under pressure even though some of them have formerly applied for an exit permit themselves. In this manner the Prague regime hopes to solve the problem of critical intellectuals. But like Lederer, all newcomers into exile report that those who remain, while depressed and occasionally despairing, are not capitulating. The semi-legal publishers such as "Edice Petlice" continue to publish and even the Charter 77 movement, though weakened, has not been crushed. By showing up the fate of those who remained people like Lederer, who is starting his hard life in exile, remind us that, sometimes, we forget too fast.

8664
CSO: 2300

'TRIBUNA' GIVES DEFINITION OF 'PRESENT-DAY REVISIONISM'

Prague TRIBUNA in Czech No 36, 3 Sep 80 p 2

[Article by Ladislav Hrzal" "The Leprosy of Revisionism"]

[Text] Marxism-Leninism strengthens and develops itself primarily through ideological struggle with its enemies. It fights revisionism especially in evaluating new phenomena in social life and in the development of the workers' movement.

Revisionists present themselves very often as creative Marxists. V.I. Lenin exposed their "creative" approach to Marxism. Since the inception of their work inside the workers' movement, the revisionists have concentrated their "creative" activity on deflating the revolutionary content of Marxism, ignoring the general laws of society and denying the generally valid and validated laws of revolutionary class struggle.

Contemporary revisionist, too, revises and falsifies and tries to deform all aspects of Marxism-Leninism. A scientifically justified critique of revisionism is a necessary prerequisite for the present ideological struggle and is an important part of the communist education of all working people. We must also add that revisionism cannot be defeated once and for all. As long as capitalism exists there will exist socioeconomic and class conditions permitting the repeated emergence and influence of opportunism and revisionism within the workers' movement. Revisionism is an international phenomenon even if it appears in concrete cases to be related to the specificities of this or that country. This specificity of revisionism, which was exposed and scientifically analyzed by V.I. Lenin, is fully demonstrated in the current conditions of the international workers' movement.

Marxists-Leninists are fighting a united front of international revisionism and opportunism encompassing rightwing revisionists, centrists and left-wing revisionist and "heroes" of the revolutionary phase. Although they differ one from another in methods, forms and other peculiarities which cannot be ignored in our criticism, all revisionists agree in their attacks launced from their varied positions on the same anticommunist and anti-Soviet platform. They have one common goal: to undermine the unity

of the international workers' movement as well as the unity of the communist parties in the socialist countries.

V.I. Lenin was the first Marxist in the international workers' movement who was fully aware of the danger of revisionism and opportunism for the workers' movement. He exposed their socioeconomic and ideological-political content, their class and intellectual roots, their function and historic place in the struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. Through his consistent struggle with revisionism, Lenin served as an example to all communists. He proved in theory and practice that it was impossible to be conciliatory toward the smallest manifestation of renegade activity and toward the attempts to smuggle bourgeois ideology into the workers' movement.

The 15th Plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee reiterated that revionism and opportunism can be compared to weeds: even if torn out of the ground, they have a tendency to reappear after a while. They exploit shortcomings, mistakes and questions which are not immediately answered; they exploit every situation where new answers involving risks are being sought. Their activity is always on the rise when class struggle on the global scale sharpens.

The most effective guarantee against the recidivism of revisionism and rightwing opportunism, regardless of where and in what form they appear, is the creative development of the Marxist-Leninist theory, its consistent application in practice, and the strengthening of the action and ideological unity of the party.

In the ideological sphere we cannot permit unprincipled attiudes, liberalism, and indifference toward the principles governing our policy. The historic experiences of our communist party and, in the first place, of the CPSU, testify to the ability of the workers' movement and its revolutionary avant guard to resist both opportunism and revisionism as well as all forms of bourgeois ideology and to develop Marxist-Leninist ideology creatively. The defeat of revisionism and bourgeois ideology in our country in the 1968-1969 period fully confirmed that the fate of socialism in a given country depends on the correct policy of the communist party, its ability to use creative and undogmatic methods in applying the teaching of Marxism-Leninism to the solution of various tasks in building a socialist society.

Even the smallest departures from the Leninist principles of criticism of revisionism and opportunism, the smallest manifestation of liberalism, can have disastrous effects on the development of a socialist society and can lead to complications, to the loss of momentum, to attempts by the bourgeoisie to slow down the march forward and to stop revolutionary development. It was no accident that the 15th Plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee emphatically reiterated that a consistent application of the Lesson from a crisis development in the party and country in the period following the 13th CPCZ Congress has great significance in the struggle for Marxist-Leninist unity of the party and in the struggle against various forms of revisionism and opportunism. The Lesson, reconfirmed at the 14th and 15th CPCZ Congresses, has been a permanent source of inspiration for our work, an example of the creative application of Marxism-Leninism in our conditions.

DEVELOPMENT, TRENDS IN PEOPLES'S NAVY OUTLINED

Stuttgart MARINE-RUNDSCHAU in German Vol 77 No 8, Aug 80 pp 475-484

[Article by Peter Joachim Lapp, East-West editorial staff, DEUTSCHLANDFUNK: "The GDR People's Navy"]

[Text] 1. The First Maritime Formations: From the Maritime Police to the Naval Forces of the National People's Army [NVA] (1950-1956)

In February 1950, at the direction of Soviet Russia, a "Maritime Police Administration"[1] was established in the GDR Ministry of the Interior; on 15 June 1950 it was elevated to "Main Administration for the Maritime Police" (HVS) by resolution of the GDR Council of Ministers.

The SED named then General Inspector of the People's Police Waldemar Verner director of this HVS.[2] The actual birthdate of the GDR Navy is 15 June 1950.

The new formation, which was designated as the Maritime Police, was first of all supposed to help secure the coast. At the time, the emphasis in this connection was on land-based sealing off of the coast/border with the help of small boats and coast guard stations. The beginning was modest:

In the early days the Maritime Police was able to use only three old hopper cars from the earlier Wehrmacht; not until summer 1951 did the government make 150 horses available in order to improve mobility in the coastal strips.[3] Later on the partially mounted Maritime Police did, of course, also obtain boats from the fleet of the old navy which the Soviets had conquered and no longer wished to use themselves. In this we are talking about patrol boats, mine-hunters and demolition boats.

With the creation of the "Garrisoned People's Police" (KVP) on 1 July 1952 a "People's Maritime Police" developed out of the Maritime Police. At the same time, the GDR also began building seaborne border security forces. The Maritime Police and the People's Maritime Police, respectively, starting in mid-1952, gave the "Maritime Border Guards: coastal patrol boats, the People's Maritime Guards then concentrated on keeping shipping lanes and the fishing regions free of mines.[4]

In addition, the People's Maritime Police had to look after "general security tasks." The People's Maritime Police and Maritime Border Guards were obliged to work together closely, both formations provided each other with mutual support, primarily in respect to "protecting the sea border."

Effective 1952, the People's Maritime Police received the first larger ships from domestic shipyards:

By 1956 the Stralsund Shipyard and the Peenewerft in Wolgast delivered a total of 12 Habicht class (I and II) minelayers and sweepers (MLR). The MLR's were strongly reminiscent of the minehunters (M 40 and M 43, respectively) of the wartime navy. Technical specifications: Habicht I class was developed in the period 1952 to 1954 and displaced 480-500 tons at 1518 knots. The type had 1 8.5-cm cannon, 4 2.5-cm antiaircraft guns, depth charge throwers and mines. The Habicht II class was built between 1954 and 1956, it displaced 650 tons at 15-17 knots and had the same armament as Habicht I.[5]

Moreover, in the first half of the 1950's the People's Maritime Police acquired about 40 demolition boats of the Schwalbe class (75 tons; Engelbrecht, Berlin-Koepenick), and about 100 "coastal patrol boats" of the Tuemmler/Delphin class and the Sperber class (50-78 tons; Engelbrecht and Peenewerft) strengthened inshore coastal protection.

The Ernst Thaelmann, a former Danish fishery protection vessel (the Hvidbjoenen) was both training and flagship of the People's Maritime Police during those years; it became part of the wartime navy during the German occupation of the Kingdom of Denmark in 1940 and served as an auxiliary ship (The Dorsch); in 1945 it finally became part of the Soviet spoils of war. The 1,050-ton ship was then given to the People's Maritime Police by the Soviets and in 1953-1954 it was rebuilt at the Neptun Shipyard in Rostock.[6] With a skeleton crew of about 40 men the "Ernst Thaelmann" was able to accommodate about 80 naval officer candidates who completed their practical training there.

Since 7 January 1952 there has been a "Naval Officer Training Facility" of the Maritime Police and People's Maritime Police, respectively, in Stralsund.[7]

In the mid-1950's the SED was in a position to draw on a nucleus of naval officers, thus permitting the establishment of regular naval forces. Except for a few former lower ranking naval officers from the wartime navy who occupied staff positions in the People's Maritime Police, these "cadres" no longer had any war experience.

2. The NVA's Naval Forces (1956-1960)

After the formation of the NVA and a Ministry for National Defense the "Administration for Naval Forces" began its work in this ministry on

1 March 1956. The squadrons, units and formations of the new naval forces of the NVA were to be established in their basic outline by 1 July. Since the People's Maritime Police had the responsibility of inshore security tasks and guaranteeing the protection of the sea border, the tasks of the NVA naval forces were expanded: Under the direction of the Baltic Red Banner fleet the GDR Navy was to become one part of the united Baltic Sea Fleet of the Warsaw Pact and receive "combat tasks" throughout the Baltic Sea.

For this reason cooperation between GDR forces and the Soviet fleet and--secondarily--the Polish navy now took on increased importance: in June 1957 the first joint tactical exercise of the three fleets took place under the command of the chief of the Baltic Red Banner Fleet; additional joint maneuvers followed.

In 1969 an officer in the People's Navy offered the following assessement of the first phase of cooperation:

"In the framework of the allied socialist fleets, in the first years of their existence the NVA's naval forces solved important tasks of securing and safeguarding which were essential for temporary support and for the development of the Baltic Red Banner Fleet naval forces in order to jointly repulse and destroy any enemy at sea. They had to be in a position to guarantee all kinds of defense in their sector and at the same time organize an adequate system for safeguarding and supplying their own and allied fleet forces. This objective was the beginning of the systematic cooperation between the allied fleets."[10]

Then the regular GDR Navy also began to practice interaction between land, air and sea forces and to test, above all else, landings via sea "under real combat conditions."[11]

In order to fulfill this clearly expanded objective, the USSR delivered to the GDR Navy ships and boats that it had manufactured.

In December 1956 the GDR naval forces received the first "superships": frigates of the Soviet Riga type.[12]

Toward the end of the 1950's the GDR Navy had 4 or 5 of these 1,200-ton escort vessels; it identified them as "coastal patrol ships" (KSS). Some of the frigates were later decommissioned because of explosions on board; in 1980 there is just one KSS left in the fleet according to data in the new edition of Weyer.[13]

In the period 1957-1958 10 new minelayers and sweepers of the Krake class were built at the Peenewerft in Wolgast to replace the MLR's of the Habicht class. Technical data: 650 tons, 18 knots, 1 8.5-cm, 10 2.5-cm antiaircraft guns, depth charge launchers, mines. Four of these MLR's of the Krake class stayed in the fleet until the mid-1970's.[14]

In October-November 1957 the GDR Navy took possession of several high-speed torpedo boats of the Soviet P 4 and P 6 types (50-75 tons, 2 TR [torpedo tubes]).[15]

On 1 January 1957 Vice Admiral Waldemar Verner became chief of the naval forces; he replaced Rear Admiral F. Scheffler who had held this post since March 1956. W. Verner already was chief of the Maritime Police and the People's Maritime Police, respectively.

On 1 August 1959 the SED transferred command of the GDR naval forces to Rear Admiral Wilhelm Ehm, a position which he has held to this day, interrupted only by a training tour in the USSR.[16]

At the beginning of the 1960's the coastal patrol ships and the high-speed torpedo boats comprised the "nucleus of the combat forces" of the GDR naval forces. Without submarines and naval pilots the GDR naval might have remained nothing but a coastal approaches navy with limited tasks.

3. The People's Navy in the 1960's

On 19 October 1960 the "GDR National Defense Council" (Walter Ulbricht, chairman), decided to give the name "People's Navy" to the GDR naval forces. The GDR Navy has had this new name since 3 November 1960. At the same time, it was resolved in the future to give ships and boats in the People's Navy (VM) proper names "which correspond to the revolutionary traditions of the German workers movement and socialist reconstruction work in the GDR."[17] The VM also received a new official flag with this resolution.

Following the sealing off measures in Berlin on 13 August 1961 the VM was also given "full responsibility" for the direct protection of the GDR's sea border. Up to that time the Maritime Border Guard and the coastal Border Brigade of the Border Guards had been responsible for that. Then the GDR minister for national defense put the coastal Border Brigade under the command of the head of the VM, effective 1 November 1961.[18]

This Border Brigade has the following tasks according to its commander's statements:

"The coastal Border Brigade must, according to conditions of the seasons and the tourist traffic, which is becoming increasingly greater every year.... guarantee flawless safeguarding of the sea border. The members of the coastal Border Brigade are responsible for securing the GDR sea border, including consistent use of firearms against the enemies of our state."[19]

"Enemies of the state" are, in the first place, those who violate the border, those GDR citizens who turn their backs on the republic.

At the end of 1962 the VM started training crews on "high-speed rocket boats" of the Soviet Osa type.

In 1964 the fleet received the first units of this then very modern type.

Also in 1962 the VM established its first landing units: The Peenewerft in Wolgast, starting in summer 1962, delivered "medium landing ships" of the Robbe type (600 tons, 12 knots, 2 4.5-cm, 4 2.5-cm guns). The same shipyard had also been building "small landing ships" of the Labo type (200 tons, 10 knots, 4 2.5-cm guns) since 1961. In the course of the 1960's the VM received 6 Robbe and 12 Labo type vessels which were kept in service until the end of the 1970's.

In the period 1962-1963 the Pennewerft delivered the first submarine chasers to the VM: the GDR model of the Hai type replaced older Soviet boats of the SO 1 type.

The VM's new submarine chasers (300 tons, 25 knots, 4 3-cm guns, 4 anti-submarine rocket launchers)--a total of 25 were delivered--are still the backbone of the submarine defense forces.[20]

The rapid buildup of the fleet, the acquisition of a high-speed rocket boat flotilla, the establishment of submarine chaser and landing units placed high demands on the command of the VM. In the first few years there were substantial deficiencies in training; the fleet chief often vigorously criticized "insufficient results" in combat training and in political education. Chiefly in the first half of the 1960's there were numerous accidents in the fleet itself.

The chief of the VM said at the beginning of 1964:

"The tendencies, which have not yet been totally overcome in some comrades, toward embellishment, presumption and subjective interpretation of commands by superiors and of resolutions by the party leadership hinder us in our work."[21]

And 2 years later Wilhelm Ehm said:

"The requirement to make military order and discipline and the observence of service regulations in daily work was not fully realized in the period 1964-1965. ...After all, in various units there was still a lack of tight organization in daily service. ...The training of our young officers also requires...overcoming a number of deficiencies and weaknesses in the process of academic work."[22]

Toward the end of the 1960's, however, the greatest training deficiencies in the VM appear to have been remedied, the command of the VM tackled more vigorously than before the task of gearing the level of the GDR Navy to its Soviet ally. At the same time the political education of the members of the VM was again speeded up. Wilhelm Ehm, who meanwhile had become vice admiral, wanted to be assured that, among other things, the following beliefs were solidly established:

"Educating the members of the VM to have unbridled hate toward the imperialist class enemy and its helpers. ...Only in the unity of boundless devotion in respect to the party, solidarity vis-a-vis comrades in arms and deep hate toward the class enemy are our comrades capable of fulfilling ...their class mandate decisively and under all conditions."[23]

At the end of the decade the VM had about 19,000 men, approximately 300 ships and boats, a helicopter squadron and 2 coastal rocket detachments.

The make up of the fleet (without auxiliary ships) was as follows in 1969:[24]

Table 1: VM Fleet in 1969

4 frigates/coastal patrol ships, USSR Riga type, 1,200 tons, 28 knots, 3 10-cm, 4 3.7-cm guns. 2 TR's, 4 antisubmarine rocket launchers, 50 mines

10 mine hunters/minelayers and sweepers (MLR's), Krake class, 650 tons, 18 knots, 1 8.5-cm, 10 2.5-cm guns, 4 depth charge throwers, 30 mines

25 submarine chasers, Hai class, 300 tons, 25 knots, 4 2.5-cm guns, 4 antisubmarine rocket launchers

6 mine hunters/minelayers and sweepers (MLR's), Habicht (I) class, 500 tons, 17 knots, 1 8.5-cm, 8 2.5-cm guns, 4 depth charge throwers, 18 mines

6 mine hunters/mine layers and sweepers (MLR's), Habicht (II) class, 550 tons, 17 knots, 2 5.7-cm, 8 2.5-cm guns, 4 depth charge throwers, 20 mines

6 medium landing ships, Robbe class, 600 tons, 12 knots, 2 4.5-cm, 4 2.5-cm guns

12 small landing ships, Labo class, 200 tons, 10 knots, 4 2.5-cm guns

35 high-speed torpedo boats, USSR P4/P6 type, 50/75 tons, 42/45 knots, 2 TR's, 4 2.5-cm guns

12 high-speed rocket boats, USSR Osa type, 200 tons, 35 knots, 4 launchers for short-range rockets ("Styx"/SS-N-2), 4 2.5-cm guns

12 light high-speed torpedo boats, Iltis class, 20 tons, 30 knots, 2 stern TR's

16 submarine chasers, USSR type SO 1, 215 tons, 28 knots, 4 2.5-cm guns, 4 antisubmarine rocket launchers, mines

50 demolition boats, Schwalbe class, 50 tons

48 patrol boats, Sperber class, 56 tons

45 patrol boats, Tuemmler/Delphin class, 50 tons

4. The VM from 1970 to the Present

a) Part of the United Baltic Sea Fleets of the Warsaw Pact

Since their existence, the GDR naval forces have been part of the united Baltic Sea Fleets of the Warsaw Pact, they are under the supreme command of the Baltic Sea fleets in Leningrad. In this connection, there is the following statement in a standard work on GDR national defense:

"The VM fulfills its mandate in solid brotherhood of arms with the Soviet Baltic Red Banner Fleet.... The common interest in maritime protection of the socialist Baltic Sea states determines the position of the VM in this fleet alliance, both in respect to uniform armament and equipment, organization and structure, deployment, training and education, and to political and military leadership."[25]

The Soviets' Baltic Red Banner Fleet functions officially as the great mentor for the VM within this alliance. Interaction between the united Baltic Sea fleets is constantly practiced; the intensity of maritime common concerns is often praised.

Rear Admiral Guenter Kutzschebauch, deputy of the head of the VM and director of the Political Administration in the GDR naval forces, said in 1975:

"In the past 20 years such a deep friendship has developed between the three Baltic Sea fleets that today it is considered perfectly normal to carry out combat and operative-tactical training on the basis of uniform documents. It has also become a matter of fact that in the course of exercises and maneuvers, depending on the situation and task, the participating forces function in mixed groupings and are led by the chiefs of staff of either the BRF (Baltic Red Banner Fleet, editor), the PSKF (Polish Navy, or the VM."[26]

Generally, Soviet maritime interests, Soviet naval strategy and tactics and the level of Soviet naval arms define the objective, the field of action and service in the Baltic Sea fleets.

The VM even adopts the most important regulations of the Soviet fleet; all technical standards, the basic teaching materials and fundamental documents of all kinds from the Soviet navy are adopted by the VM or used as a basis for its own documents. Even the staff service regulation of the Soviet fleet is, as it says, "used" in the VM.[27]

b) Organization of the VM

The chief of the VM is Wilhelm Ehm, who--with the rank of admiral--is simultaneously deputy GDR defense minister. He is in charge of the "VM

6. 1st Flotilla (Peenumuende)
7. 2nd Flotilla (Sassnitz)
8. 4th Flotilla (Warnemuende)
9. 6th Flotilla (Bug)
10. Independent units: coastal Border Brigade
11. Independent departments
12. Brigades
13. including high-speed rocket boat/high-speed torpedo boat brigades
14. VM rearguard service
15. Detachments
16. including--minelaying and sweeping detachment (1st Flotilla/4th Flotilla)
17. Landing ship detachment (1st Flotilla)
18. Submarine chaser detachment (1st Flotilla/4th Flotilla)
19. Coastal patrol ship detachment (4th Flotilla)

c) Structure of the VM

At present the VM has 181 fighting units (ships and boats) and 32 training and auxiliary ships (excluding the vessels of the GST and the Maritime Hydrographic Service/SHD of the GDR).[29]

Frigates/Coastal Patrol Ships (KSS)

The fleet has two frigates (KSS) of the Soviet Koni type, the KSS Rostock and the KSS Berlin (put into service in July 1978 and May 1979, respectively) These ships displace 1,800 tons (standard) and have missile armament (2 SA-N-4), 4 7.6-cm, 4 3-cm guns, 2 antisubmarine rocket launchers and mines.[30]

The VM designates the KSS's as "multipurpose fighting ships" whose primary tasks consist in repulsing attacks by high-speed boats and air attacks and in combating submarines.[31]

The acquisition of at least one additional unit of the Koni class from the USSR is expected.

Data in the 1979-1981 edition of Weyer indicate that the fleet also still has one frigate of the Riga type.[32]

High-Speed Rocket Boats

Since 1964 the VM has had in its fleet high-speed missile and rocket boats of the Soviet Osa type. Today there are supposed to be a total of 15 high-speed rocket boats (12 of the Osa I type, 3 of the Osa II type). The units have four launchers for floating target short-range rockets (SS-N-2a) and 4 3-cm antiaircraft guns. Officers of the VM termed the high-speed rocket boats the "cost combat-effective" boats that they have. Tasks: To fight and destroy with "concentrated blows" the enemy's surface vessels, escorts and landing detachments."[33]

Command" in Rostock. Within the VM a "Political Administration" takes care of implementing the influence of the SED. The organization of the VM is given in Chart 1.

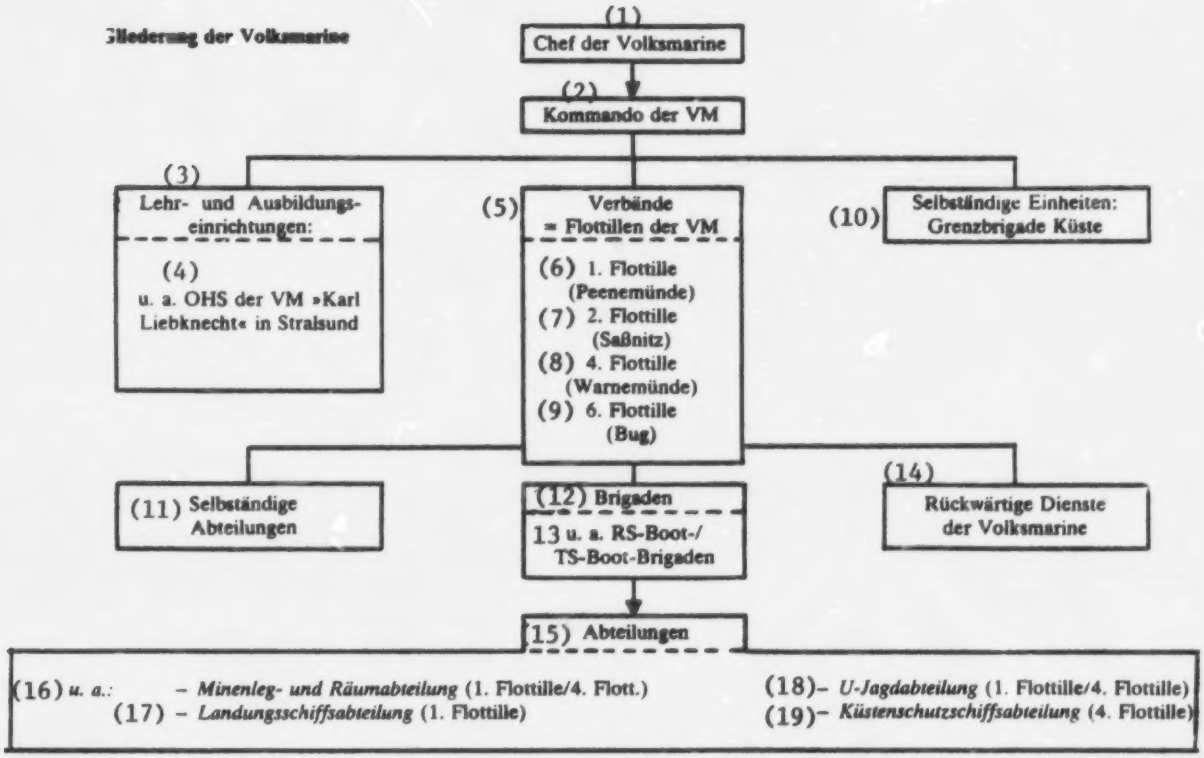

Chart 1. Organization of the VM

Key:

1. Chief of the VM
2. VM Command
3. Instruction and training facilities:
4. including, the Karl Liebknecht Advanced School for Officers in Stralsund
5. Squadrons = VM flotillas

The high-speed rocket boats are now out of date, but there are reports indicating that the electronic equipment (fire-direction equipment for rockets) is to be modernized in 1980.[34]

High-Speed Torpedo Boats/Light High-Speed Torpedo Boats

At the end of the 1960's and the beginning of the 1970's the VM introduced high-speed torpedo boats of the Soviet Zherzhen type. At present, 18 vessels of this class seem to be in service in the fleet. The high-speed torpedo boats displace 145 tons and carry 4 53.3-cm TR's and 4 3-cm guns. They, too, are obviously going to be modernized this year.

The VM's high-speed torpedo boats are charged with attacking enemy surface vessels and with operating individually or even in groups in the process.[35]

In addition to the high-speed torpedo boats the VM has "light high-speed torpedo boats" (LTS) which are domestically produced.

In 1962 the Iltis type (30 tons, 2 TA 53.3 h, 45 knots, was introduced, with approximately 10 of them still in service today.

Since 1973 the GDR has been building a new type of LST: the Libelle class which is also 30 tons. Armament: 2 53.3-cm TR's and 2 2.3-cm antiaircraft guns, 40 knots.[36] There are now about 30 LTS's of this type in the fleet.

Mine Hunters

Since 1967-1968 the Peenewerft in Wolgast has been guilding so-called "mine hunters and demolition ships" (MSR) to replace the MLR's of the Krake class. These MSR's, which have been identified as being in the Kondor class, have been joining the fleet since 1969.

Since then, the VM has received about 50 of this type which can be divided into two subclasses: the VM distinguishes between the coastal MSR (Kondor I) and an oceangoing MSR (Kondor II). The coastal MSR (20 units) are primarily used in outpost service in the coastal Border Brigade and have less armament than the oceangoing type; furthermore they are 2 meters shorter. The oceangoing MSR's (Kondor II) displace 245 tons and have 6 2.5-cm antiaircraft guns (water displacement varies only slightly in the coastal type), these MSR's have the primary job of hunting enemy mines and destroying them.[37]

The Kondor class MSR's are more or less the VM's standard type; it appears that they will continue to be built. The 1979-1981 edition of Weyer records 52 units.[38]

Submarine Chasers

Today the fleet still has only submarine chasers of the Hai class (produced in the GDR since 1962-1963). The smaller Soviet submarine chasers of the SO 1 type have been decommissioned in the meantime.

The Hai class displaces 300 tons and carries 4 antisubmarine rocket launchers and 4 3-cm antiaircraft guns. Some 14 submarine chasers are said to be still in service.[39] With appropriate rebuilding these submarine chasers can also take on mines.[40]

There are first reports of the new construction of a larger submarine chaser in the GDR.[41]

Landing Ships

The VM has approximately 12 landing ships of the Frosch class in service today; they were built at the Pennewerft between 1975 and 1979. This larger landing ship type displaces 1,950 tons, or 4,000 tons loaded, has 4 5.7-cm and 4 3-cm antiaircraft guns (more recently antisubmarine rocket launchers are said to have been installed) and can take 12 tanks on board.

Some 10 additional vessels of a new landing ship designated as the Eidechse class are under construction at the same shipyard.[42] The medium-size and small landing ships of the Robbe and Labo classes are no longer in service.

Other Ships

Since 1976 the VM has owned a rather large training ship, the Wilhelm Pieck, built in Poland (Wodnik type) with a displacement of 1,800 tons and armament of 2 3-cm and 4 2.5-cm antiaircraft guns. The ship goes on foreign cruises with VM officer candidates on board; in summer 1979 the Wilhelm Pieck, together with a salvage and rescue ship, appeared for the first time in warm waters (Mediterranean/Black Sea).

In addition, the fleet still has the salvage and rescue ship Otto von Guericke, 5 tenders and repair ships, 3 tankers, 2 net layers, 3 salvage tugs, 2 icebreakers, 3 training ships (former MLR's) and 6 training boats, 2 torpedo recovery boats and 3 "measuring ships."[43]

Independent Formations of the VM

The coastal Border Brigade numbers about 3,000 men who secure the GDR's sea border in 8 boat groups and in the border coastal service in 12 batallions on land (including training units).[45]

In addition, the VM has "aerial forces." Currently there is a helicopter squadron for antisubmarine defense, coastal observation and sea reconnaissance; it is equipped with helicopters of the Soviet Mi-8 type. The pilots are naval officers.[46]

Furthermore, there is a "coastal artillery" with two coastal rocket detachments.

A "naval infantry" is apparently being developed. The Ernst Mortiz Arndt motorized rifle regiment 29 in Prora on Ruegen, which for a long time

has been in the process of being trained for landing operations,[47] could be elevated to this.

d) VM Training and Personnel

The highest internal training facility of the VM is the Karl Liebknecht Advanced School for Officers in Stralsund. Young men are trained here in a 4-year course of study to become VM officers. Divided into two sections for budding naval officers and for future officers in the engineering service, the officer candidates undergo in 4 "years of instruction," interrupted only by practical training on board, qualitatively excellent training which concludes with promotion to lieutenant and the awarding of the (civilian) professional designation of "advanced school engineer."[48]

Following the completion of their training, the young lieutenants of the VM may consider themselves as part of the naval officer corps which comprises about 1,800 men; this corps considers itself to be the elite of the VM and also of the NVA.

Additional studies either at the Friedrich Engels Military Academy in Dresden and/or at Soviet naval academies prepare them for use as staff and flag officers, respectively.

Training centers for "sailor specialists" and noncommissioned officers in the VM are the two fleet schools in Parow (near Stralsund) and in Kuehlungsborn.

Training to be a career officer in the VM involves two stages: First, completing a 5- or 10-month long course of study, respectively, at the fleet school, followed by promotion to Petty Officer 3rd Class. Then, at the earliest, after 2 to 3 years of service as a noncommissioned officer a career officer's course of study of 3 to 6 months can be taken which ends with promotion to Petty Officer 1st Class (corresponds to boatswain/sargeant).[49]

The VM has six service careers. These are the nautical, technical, coastal service, administrative, medical and legal (military judicial service) careers.[50]

The personnel of the VM numbers about 17,000 men, including 1,800 officers.[51]

Outlook for the 1980's

The addition of extremely modern frigates of Soviet manufacture, the expansion of the landing fleet and the broadened tasks of the naval helicopter forces have undoubtedly increased the capabilities for using the VM. In the event of a conflict the VM, together with the Soviet fleet, is in a position to carry out landings and undertake offensive actions on foreign coasts.

In addition, strongly intensified training of the VM is to be noted. In connection with this the VM command still displays verbal aggressiveness which, given the mood of detente in Europe, has to be a source of amazement. At the end of 1979 Admiral Wilehlm Ehm said:

"...the introduction of new weapons and technology also (requires) new tactical methods of use..., which...can only be... tested in practice at sea. ...Intensive combat training at sea is hard training that is thoroughly prepared, designed to be combatlike, is rigidly controlled, with the use of opportunities for developing skills and capabilities and with exhaustive use of all educational potential. ...Combat training at sea must...to the highest possible degree reflect the harshness, complicated nature and the dynamics of combat actions to be anticipated at sea, it must make it possible for all participants to experience them, and it must thus promote combat-oriented thought and behavior." [53]

In the 1980's, too, however, the most important task of the VM remains securing the GDR's own sea border which is about 360 km long (surveillance of the air and sea space) and hindering the "flight from the republic" on the part of GDR citizens via the sea.

The GDR VM might thus remain a pure "coastal outpost navy" which can move only in the wake of the Soviet fleet.

The VM fleet had the following composition in 1979:

Table 2: VM Fleet in 1979[52]

2 frigates/KSS, USSR Koni type, 1,800 tons, 32 knots, 4 7.6-cm, 4 32-cm guns, 2 SA-N-4 antiaircraft rockets, 2 antisubmarine rocket launchers, mines

1 frigate/KSS, USSR Riga type, 1,200 tons, 28 knots, 3 10-cm, 4 3.7-cm guns 2 TR's 53.3, 4 antisubmarine rocket launchers, mines

52 mine hunters/min-hunting and demolition ships (MSR), 245 tons, 21 knots 2 to 5 2.5-cm guns (Kondor class I/II)

15 high-speed rocket boats, USSR Osa type, 200 tons, 36 knots 4 SS-N-2a short-range floating target rockets, 4 3-cm guns

14 submarine chasers, Hai class, 300 tons, 25 knots (?), 4 3-cm guns, 4 antisubmarine rocket launchers

18 high-speed torpedo boats, USSR Zherzhen type, 145 tons, 40 knots, 4 3-cm guns, 4 TR's 53.3

30 light high-speed torpedo boats, Libelle class, 30 tons, 40 knots, 2 2.3-cm guns, 2 TR's 53.3

10 light high-speed torpedo boats, Iltis class, 25 tons, 45 knots, 2 TA 53.3 h

18 patrol boats, KB 123 class, 25 tons, 2 machine guns (14 knots)

2 landing ships, Frosch class, 1,950 tons, 4 5.7-cm, 4 3-cm guns, 12 tanks, 800 tons load (18 knots).

FOOTNOTES

1. Wilhelm Ehm, "The Development of the People's Navy of the NVA," MILITAERGESCHICHTE, Vol 18, No 4, 1979, p 406.

2. Chronological Table of the Military History of the GDR 1949-1968, East Berlin, 1969, p 18.

3. Heinrich Jordt, "25 Years GDR--25 Years Successful Guarding of the GDR Sea Border," MILITAERWESEN, Vol 18, No 10, 1974, p 99

4. Wilhelm Ehm, op. cit., p 407.

5. VOLKSARMEE (NVA Weekly Newspaper), No 9, 1980 (Military Equipment Lexicon/Type Table).

6. Since scrapped; cf. ARMEE-RUNDSCHAU (of the NVA), No 10, 1979.

7. Chronological Table, op. cit., p 28.

8. Wilhelm Ehm, op. cit., p 408.

9. Chronological Table, op. cit., p 92.

10. Peter Barth (frigate captain in the People's Navy command), "Concerning the Contribution of the People's Navy of the NVA as a Part of the Allied Socialist Baltic Sea Fleets For the Protection of Socialism and Peace," in "For the Reliable Defense of the GDR. Articles On the Development of the NVA And the System of Socialist National Defense," edited by a collective of authors, East Berlin, 1969, p 188.

11. Ibid, p 188.

12. Chronological Table, op. cit., p 81.

13. "Weyer's Fleet Pocketbook 1979-1981," p 66 f.

14. "Weyer's Fleet Pocketbook 1975-1976," p 50 f.

15. Chronological Table, op. cit., p 98

16. Wilhelm Ehm has since become an admiral and PhD. He was awarded the doctorate at the GDR Institute for Military History--together with three staff officers of the People's Navy--from his own service branch (16 March 1978).

17. Chronological Table, op. cit., p 148. See also: Wilhelm Ehm, "The Honorary Name 'People's Navy' Is A Symbol and Obligation For Us," MARINEWESEN, Vol 9, No 11, 1970, p 1,283 ff.

18. Wilhelm Ehm, "The Development of the People's Navy," op. cit., p 410.

19. Heinrich Jordt, "On Watch Along the GDR Sea Border," MARINEWESEN, Vol 5, No 3, 1966, p 352 ff.

20. Data in: Wilhelm Ehm, "The Development of the People's Navy," op. cit., p 409 ff; "Weyer's Fleet Pocketbook 1968"; "Weyer's Fleet Pocketbook 1979-1981"; VOLKSARMEE, No 9, 1980; Thomas M. Forster, "NVA--The Army of the Soviet Zone," 3rd edition, Cologne, 1966-1967, p 112 ff; "The NVA. An Anti-White Book On the Military In the GDR," edited by the Military Policy Study Group, Reinbek Near Hamburg, 1976, p 82; Peter Barth, VLOKSMARINE, op. cit., p 202 ff; "NVA--GDR National People's Army In Key Words," revised by Ulrich Ruehmland, 5th edition, Bonn, 1978, p 266 ff; Thomas M. Forster, "The NVA--Key Part In GDR National Defense," 5th edition, Cologne, 1979, p 267 ff.

21. Wilhelm Ehm, "The New Training Year Makes Greater Demands," MARINEWESEN, Vol 3, No 1, 1964, p 6 ff.

22. Wilhelm Ehm, "The Tasks for 1965-1966 Require Great Effort And The Greatest Personal Involvement," MARINEWESEN, Vol 5, No 1, 1966, p 14 ff.

23. Wilhelm Ehm, "The Tasks Of The People's Navy In The 20th Year Of The GDR," MARINEWESEN, Vol 8, No 1, 1969, p 9 f.

24. "Weyer's Fleet Pocketbook 1969-1970," p 38 ff.

25. Peter Barth, "People's Navy," in "For The Reliable Defense Of The GDR," op. cit., p 180 f.

26. Guenter Kutzschebauch, "Solidly United On The Same Course," MILITAERWESEN, Vol 19, No 5, 1975, p 101.

27. J. Endler (corvette captain in the People's Navy), "Make General Use Of The Experiences Of The Soviet Navy!," MILITAERWESEN, Vol 21, No 12, 1977, p 28. "Learning from the Soviet Union means learning to win," a saying that is still an official doctrine today in the GDR armed forces.

28. Sources: Thomas M. Forster, "NVA," 5th edition, op. cit., p 141; Rudolf Gerstaecker and Horst Bohnhardt, "Sailors' ABC," 2nd edition, East Berlin, 1978, p 48.

29. "Weyer's Fleet Pocketbook 1979-1981," p 66 ff; the SHD is integrated in the People's Navy, the director of the Service is a sea captain of the People's Navy.

30. Cf. type description in: Ulrich-Joachim Schulz-Torge, "New Soviet Frigate With Missile Armament: The Koni Class," MARINE-RUNDSCHAU, Vol 75, No 6, 1978, p 402 ff.

31. Peter Barth, "People's Navy," op. cit., p 189.

32. "Weyer's Fleet Pocketbook 1979-1981," p 66 f; this information is of course in dispute; according to MARINE-RUNDSCHAU information, Vol 75, No 3, 1978, p 192, the last unit of the Riga class went out of service in summer 1977.

33. Peter Barth, "People's Navy," op. cit., p 202 f.

34. MARINE-RUNDSCHAU, Vol 76, No 9, 1979, p 593.

35. Peter Barth, "People's Navy," op. cit., p 189.

36. "Weyer's Fleet Pocketbook 1979-1981, p 68 f; cf. also: Siegfried Breyer, "Modernization of the People's Navy," MARINE-RUNDSCHAU, Vol 74, No 7, 1977, p 359 ff.

37. VOLKSARMEE, No 46, 1979, also in Siegfried Breyer, op. cit., p 361.

38. "Weyer's Fleet Pocketbook 1979-1981," p 68 f.

39. Ibid, p 68 f.

40. Peter Barth, "People's Navy, op. cit., p 203 f.

41. "Weyer's Fleet Pocketbook 1979-1981," p 66 f.

42. Ibid, p 68 f.

43. Ibid, p 68 f.

44. MARINE-RUNDSCHAU, Vol 75, No 3, 1978, p 192

45. "NVA in Key Words," op. cit., p 270

46. Dieter Flohr, Robert Rosentreter and Peter Seemann, "People's Navy On Watch, Text and Picture Volume," East Berlin, 1979, p 91.

47. MARINE-RUNDSCHAU, Vol 76, No 2, 1979, p 124.

48. K. Schulz (captain at sea the People's Navy), "'Karl Liebknecht' Advanced School for Officers--Cadre Forge Of The People's Navy," MILITAERWESEN, Vol 19, No 12, 1975, p 98 ff; Dieter Flohr, "Ways To Lieutenant," in "Shipping Yearbook 1978," East Berlin, 1978, p 92 ff.

49. "Military Service. Why? When? Where? How? Questions And Answers," edited by a collective of authors under the direction of Major Gen Richard Richter, 1st edition, East Berlin, 1977, p 226.

50. Gerstaecker and Bohnhardt, "Sailors' ABC," op. cit., p 49.

51. MARINE-RUNDSCHAU, Vol 75, No 3, 1978, p 192

52. Excluding training and auxiliary ships, "Weyer 1979-1981," p 66 ff.

53. Wilhelm Ehm, "Intensifying Combat Training At Sea Increases The Fleet's Combat Preparedness," MILITAERWESEN, Vol 23, No 11, 1979, p 4 ff.

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RED CROSS COMMISSIONS EXAMINE HEALTH SITUATION IN MINES

Prevention of Pneumoconioses

Bucharest SANATATEA in Romanian Jul 80 p 6

[Article by Prof Dr Docent Petre Manu, head of the Department of Labor Medicine and the Bucharest Occupational Disease Clinic]

/Text/ The presence of dust containing a high percentage of silicon dioxide in the atmosphere of work places is the risk factor in the incidence of pneumoconioses. In such cases the pneumoconiosis that occurs is silicosis, an acute form of pneumoconiosis. As a rule pneumoconiosis sets in after an exposure of 3-5 years, depending on the concentration of the dust and a number of individual factors like previous pulmonary diseases, chronic bronchites and the smoking habit. Smoking is an aggravating factor for the incidence of silicosis and of pneumoconioses in general because cigarette smoke has a paralyzing effect upon the cilia in the respiratory tracts. These cilia are the ones that are topped with a fine mucous film that catches the solid particles entering the respiratory tracts and expels them from the lungs. When the conveyor belt of mucous is stopped because the cilia are no longer in motion, all the dust that enters the lungs is deposited in the respiratory alveoli and bronchiole. Cigarette smoke temporarily arrests the mechanism for purifying the lung, called the mucociliar escalator, although these mechanisms are highly effective. It has been calculated that over a period of 30 years a miner inhales about 6 kg of dust, 98-99 percent of which is eliminated by the purifying mechanisms and about 1-2 percent remains in the lungs, causing pneumoconiosis. It is clear that any disturbance of the purifying mechanism facilitates the faster development of pneumoconioses, including the effect of cigarette smoke.

Therapy has made progress now and the results are satisfactory, to the extent that man's life has been prolonged far beyond what it was 20 years ago in the acute forms of silicosis. The treatment of superaerial infections (acute and chronic bronchitis) is particularly important. Bronchial diseases in a pneumoconiotic very severely aggravate the evolution of silicosis because the self-purifying mechanisms are handicapped and the inflammatory process affects the evolution of pulmonary fibrosis in pneumoconioses. Preventive and curative antibiotic treatment is also promising, showing very good results in

improvement of the clinical condition. In the case of a silicotic a bacillary superinfection causes a rapid evolution of the disease. Therefore prevention of the superinfection is a useful therapy in stopping the evolution of the disease. Moreover a declared and promptly treated silicotuberculosis is now a modern therapeutic means of improving the patient's health and prolonging his life.

Coal pneumoconioses are among the preventable occupational lung diseases, and consequently the complications (which are factors aggravating evolution) can be avoided. The preventive measures that have been taken have greatly reduced them in Romania. The first measure is to reduce the concentration of dust to the maximum tolerable levels at work places, by such technical measures as infusion of water into the coal blocks through the drill holes under a pressure of 2-4 atmospheres. The water soaks the coal and greatly reduces the amount of dust produced in the explosion. Other technical measures that can be taken are precipitation of the dust by spraying water into the air of the stope chambers, etc. The second measure is regulated control of the concentration of dust at work places by keeping it as close as possible to the maximum tolerable levels.

Good results are also obtained by medical supervision of the work places and miners in order to detect pneumoconiosis in an incipient stage. We now have medical methods of precise investigation that can detect the disease at its onset. In such cases it is recommended to transfer the respective worker temporarily to work places with less exposure to dust, so that his lungs can eliminate the accumulated coal dust.

Other medical measures consist of treatment of the complications, of chronic bronchitis and tuberculosis. But in general the longevity of coal miners is unaffected if there is a well-organized medical and labor medicine service and if the measures are taken to reduce the concentration of dust at work places. Today any miner working in a mine can work and live just like any other man who is not exposed to dust. It is clear that maintenance of health is not the sole responsibility of the physician and the administrators but also that of the miner himself. Every miner must realize that smoking is an aggravating factor and that a heavy consumption of alcohol also interferes with the function of purifying the lungs.

As we know alcohol is to a great extent eliminated by respiration. The presence of alcohol in the lungs affects the self-purification mechanisms, which cease their activity so that they can no longer cleanse the lungs of the dust that has entered them. What is more, heavy drinking lowers the resistance of the organism in general and the individual falls ill more often.

Consequently the miner's health also depends upon how he takes care of it.

Prevention of Rheumatic Diseases

Bucharest SANATATEA in Romanian Jul 80 p 6

/Article by Prof Dr Remus Nestor, head of the Rheumatology Clinic at the Methodological Center for Rheumatology/

[Text] Pursuant to the studies made by WHO determining the main peaks of the incidence of disease in the mining environment, the Ministry of Health, the

Ministry of Labor and the General Union of Romanian Trade Unions have started a joint campaign for prevention and treatment of the main diseases including those of the locomotor system.

What is the rheumatologists' role in this effort? Primarily to help in detecting rheumatic diseases as early as possible, an objective that is vital in the case of these diseases, the causes of which are considered to be a possible genetic predisposition or the presence of a virus or an immunological imbalance. Since the rheumatic diseases involve many factors and require consideration of a wide range of risk factors in their prevention, they call for a combined and lengthy effort. For example, it took a long time to determine that treatment with drugs can prevent inflammation of the joint in gout but not the disease itself or the evident metabolic disturbance, and that on the other hand acute articular rheumatism can be prevented by correct treatment of the streptococcal attack at the onset.

The studies made at the Methodological Center for Rheumatology did not confirm any greater incidence of spondyloses, arthroses, vertebral sciatica, chronic lumbago, secondary tendinites, bursites and arthrites, or focal infections in the case of miners than in the rest of the population, to mention only a few of the rheumatic diseases with high death rates but which can be prevented. Paradoxically, other types of rheumatic diseases were also found among miners that are sometimes caused by the modernization process, which tends to limit their physical exertion and their involvement in greater intermittent efforts. This also includes the development of the humidification process.

These are only a few examples demonstrating the need of preventive measures. Noteworthy among them is the part played by transmission of the mining profession from father to son, involving a direct apprenticeship. But it does not follow that miners' sons will not be strictly selected according to the hiring standards in force, since there are a number of ailments of the locomotor system that are incompatible with the mining trade.

Prevention of rheumatic diseases begins with hiring and is continued by periodic check-ups every 6 months, according to parameters in which the rheumatologist's responsibility will have the necessary weight.

The proposed offer of a free meal before going on a shift should be considered very valuable for its preventive effect. But it does not bestow the right to an abundant meal at home, rich in fats and "washed down" with alcoholic beverages, after leaving a shift. These excesses can increase the body weight (and alcohol is fattening!) and consequently favor the development of two risk factors for chronic degenerative rheumatism, namely overweight and atheromatous deposits.

The proposal to assign seaside hotels to miners for treatment at all seasons is also welcome. In addition, every miner must keep up the effort to strengthen the organism by exercises, roadwork, outdoor living, and use of places of recreation.

Kinesitherapy is an excellent method, provided it is adjusted to and alternated with rest. Postural hygiene and physical treatments are unquestionably effective, and they can now be performed at the physiotherapy stations upon departure from work. But all these therapeutic methods require perseverance on

the part of the miners, and observance of the physician's directions in order to improve health or recover working capacity.

Red Cross Commissions

Bucharest SANATATEA in Romanian Jul 80 pp 6-7

/Interviews with Dr Nicolae Aldica, vice chairman of the Lupeni Municipal Red Cross Committee, Nurse Elena Cernea, Petrosani Municipal Hospital, and Ion Mischie, chairman of the Petrosani Municipal Red Cross Committee, by Nicolae Turturescu/

/Text/ All health personnel working in Romania's coal regions and all members of the Red Cross committees and commissions are concerned with the far-reaching problems of protecting miners' health. The dialogue with the volunteer activists and health personnel gave us the opportunity to record some interesting opinions on the role of health education in maintaining health in underground working conditions and to determine the scope of the Red Cross organizations' efforts.

The Physician as Health Counselor and the Red Cross as Educator

DR NICOLAE ALDICA: Many years ago reporting for periodic check-ups was a problem in Valea Jiului. The figures show how serious this problem was: Only about 30 percent of those working in the Barbateni Mine and only 45-60 percent of those working underground at the Lupeni IM /Mining Enterprise/ were responding to the invitation to have these check-ups. Nor was the attendance any better at the MRF /expansion unknown/ mobile units or the Petrosani Pneumoconioses Laboratory. Why? Because the absentees had their arguments: "My father was a miner too and he didn't have so many check-ups," or "I will report to a doctor when I get sick."

Sustained efforts of health personnel and activists of the Red Cross, trade union and youth organizations were needed to combat this attitude, as well as the help of the enterprise party organizations and managements. Thanks to an extensive, diversified and persevering health propaganda effort, today over 95 percent of the miners are reporting for the periodic check-ups at the enterprise medical dispensaries, over 97 percent are reporting to the MRF mobile units and over 80 percent are reporting to the Petrosani Hospital for standard X-rays.

We could be satisfied with the results and it could be concluded that the problem has been solved. But having induced the miners to respond to the periodic invitation to check their health, we must accustom them to visiting the consulting rooms not only for the periodic medical check-up or to get the "disease sheet," as they call the medical certificate, but whenever they note a change in their state of health or do not feel well. Today the miner should regard the physician as his adviser on health matters.

In order to improve the effort to prevent diseases in miners, in the second half year all miners working underground at working faces in Valea Jiului will be given a general medical examination. But more detailed information as to the state of each miner's health is required to enhance the quality and completeness of the periodic check-up. On this occasion it is advisable to indicate the possible treatment as well as the living and dietary regime and to provide a health-education booklet on the same subject. This would result in a "pointed" health education with good results, in the sense that the informed patient would take an active part in his recovery. I think this should now be the objective of the health-education work and the health propaganda conducted with the aid of the Red Cross commissions.

I also think it necessary to supplement the list of medical examinations for hiring and the periodic check-up with an orthopedic examination accompanied by X-rays of the vertebral column to detect possible malformations or diseases in incipient stages (spondyloses, discopathies) that can be aggravated by stresses in the course of the production process.

Since the mining profession is often transmitted from father to son, opinion in favor of the need of periodic check-ups and self-supervision of the state of health must be formed in families and supplemented in schools. Automation, mechanization and further improvement of the underground microclimate (important factors for prevention of diseases) must be supplemented by increasingly active participation in protection of the miner's own health.

Abuse of Alcohol Can Be Checked by Means of Health Education

NURSE ELENA CERNEA: The Health Education Laboratory of the Hunedoara County Health Directorate made two surveys to determine the motivating factors in some miners' excessive consumption of alcohol. The first one, in 1968, indicated that 31.9 percent of a sampling of 650 miners drank alcoholic beverages daily and 68.1 percent did so occasionally. Of these, 62 percent preferred distilled beverages and 38 percent preferred fermented ones. The second survey, in 1977, based on a sampling of 320 miners, showed an increased preference for the fermented beverages (especially beer) on the part of 57 percent of those tested, as well as the fact that 11 percent of those questioned did not drink any alcoholic beverage.

In the second survey, 56 percent knew the harmful effects of alcohol upon health but explained their consumption variously, revealing the fact that they gave in to inherited "pinciples": "Alcohol drunk after work combats fatigue," "Alcoholic beverages are indicated in the treatment of colds and viroses," and "Consumption of alcoholic beverages passes time."

The decreased percentage of consumers of distilled beverages between the two surveys (from 62 percent in 1968 to 32 percent in 1977), the increased percentage of those wo drink beverages with a low alcohol content (from 38 to 57 percent), and the existence of those who do not drink alcoholic beverages as well as the knowledge on the part of the majority of those questioned in 1977 of the bad effects of alcohol consumption upon health bear witness to the effectiveness of the propaganda and health education work done by health personnel in

collaboration with the mass and public organizations and especially with the Red Cross, as well as the fact that abuse of alcohol can be combatted by health education.

Accordingly the County Health Directorate has made an intensive effort of propaganda and education on this subject through its health education laboratory and in collaboration with the Red Cross committees and commissions. A wide audience was attracted by the symposiums on "The Miner's Living and Dietary Regime" organized by the National Council of the Red Cross Society, the health-education films on this subject followed by discussions, the dialogues between physicians and miners entitled "A Tonic with a Reverse Effect" and "What We Should Know About Alcoholic Beverages," the pamphlet "The Truth About Alcohol" put out by the Red Cross, the folder "Abuse of Alcohol and Its Consequences" published by the Bucharest Institute of Hygiene and Public Health, and the flyer published by the Hunedoara County Health Directorate.

The first results of this overall health-education effort are encouraging. The percentage of consumers of distilled drinks is declining and the demand for cooling beverages (Pepsi-Cola, Bem-Bem, Sambucovit) is growing. The miners have taken a greater interest in the health-education programs on this subject that have been organized at work places, clubs and cultural homes. Of course neither we nor the Red Cross Municipal Committee are going to stop there.

Further improvement of health-education work, adoption of new ways and means, enlistment of various specialists (physicians, psychologists, sociologists, ergonomists and jurists), and collaboration with all mass and public organizations and with all educational elements will help to foster responsible behavior toward health and to strengthen the miners' health and working capacity.

Declining Death Rate as the Preliminary Criterion of Health Education

ION MISCHIE: The Petrosani Municipal Red Cross Committee's effort toward organization of Red Cross activities and health-hygiene education in the mining units in Valea Jiului was analyzed a few weeks ago at the bureau meeting of the County Red Cross Committee.* This enabled us to analyze in depth the fulfillment of our tasks under the Plan of Measures prepared by the National Council of the Red Cross Society in collaboration with the elements responsible for the protection and promotion of the miners' health. On this occasion we reported a number of measures that proved useful to members of our organization. We also stated that the analysis of activities since the start of the year determined us to introduce the decline in the death rate as the preliminary criterion of effectiveness in evaluating the organized actions. To this end we set as the objectives of all activities we shall conduct in the next period prevention and control of occupational diseases, reduction of the number of labor accidents through purposeful use of protective clothing and labor safety measures, and pleas for application of the general measures to strengthen the organism and heighten its resistance by rational use of the natural factors and a diet suited to the effort exerted. We also considered a better dissemination of the educational material we have available, namely the pamphlets "First Aid Underground," published by the Research Center for Mining Safety, "The Truth

*In Deva.

About Alcohol," published by the National Red Cross Society, and "One Can Live Without a Cigarette," published by the County Health Directorate, as well as the flyer "Miners, Check Your Health," published by the County Red Cross Committee jointly with the County Health Directorate. We shall also consider periodic discussion of the main indicators of health for purposes of precise guidance of the health-education programs in each mining enterprise according to the preventive needs.

5186
CSO: 2700

BRIEFS

SPECULATION IN GOLD--Some time ago we wrote about the discovery by the militia organs of a case of crass eluding of the law, by Paun Chirita of No 9 Strada Ocolului, the "Man with Two Faces." To those uninitiated in the secrets of "gang trade" he seemed to be a peaceful retiree; to "specialists" in shops dealing in brooches, trimpets and other plastic "ornaments," he was a real shark. He accumulated more than 2 million lei and almost 1,800 kg of gold by committing a long string of infractions (the illegal exercise of a profession, speculation, prohibited dealings with precious metals). Recently, the speculator was sentenced to 1 year and 7 months in prison for his penal acts and the court ordered the confiscation of the jewelry in the possession of the accused and the confiscation of a large sum of money resulting from the infractions. Also, an investigation was initiated to discover the sources of his other assets. Society firmly protects its ethical principles, attacking, unmercifully, trafficking, greed and abuses. [Text] [Bucharest INFORMATIA BUCURESTIULUI in Romanian 25 Sep 80 p 3]

MACEDONIAN SUITOR UNACCEPTABLE--In the "Person to Person" column, written by Ion Baiesu, which appeared in the 16 August 1980 issue of the Bucharest daily SCINTEIA TINERETULUI, the central organ of the Union of Communist Youth, page 5, a letter from "Anda" of Medgidia tells about her friendship with and subsequent marriage to a young man of Macedonian nationality. In her words: "We were walking in front of the house and my mother saw us. She asked who he was and I said that he was a friend. She told me to break up with him because he was not for me since he was a Macedonian and I am a Romanian and that I should not waste time on a boy of my own age." However, "Anda" and the boy were married secretly. She and her husband lived with friends until he was taken into the army. Her parents came to take her home and said they forgave her for what she had done but they still insisted that she break up with her husband and marry a Romanian. Ion Baiesu's advice is: "Wait for your husband, with faith and confidence, and continue your marriage." [Editorial Report]

CSO: 2700

DEFENSE SCENARIO AGAINST AGGRESSOR SKETCHED

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1544, 3 Aug 80 pp 8-10

[Article by Stevan Korda]

[Text] The YPA [Yugoslav People's Army] assumes responsibility for stopping or at least slowing down the advance of a possible aggressor's main forces in the initial period of war and for shattering those forces together with territorial defense units by quickly launching a counteroffensive and for expelling them from Yugoslav soil.

Put most briefly, then, the task of our armed forces can be defined in those terms. Of course, this is neither simple nor easy. A possible aggressor, after all, by the very fact that he has dared to attack us at all, will be moving with considerably stronger forces than our own. With smaller forces he would not dare to attempt anything against us. In the very first minutes of a war imposed upon us we would come up against a superior adversary.

We should immediately say that there are no such dangers for the moment or in any direct way. Peace prevails along our borders.

Armor Does Not Help the Aggressor

The YPA is today armed and drilled so that it can oppose an attack by tanks and other armored forces, an attack from the air or landing from the air or sea.

First of all, no one can throw all his combat track vehicles exclusively against us. He can only set aside a minor portion of them for that purpose. Moreover, it is not possible for our country to be attacked with excessively large units. The terrain itself would break up the front of those units. It is enough to look at a map for one to see that we can be attacked only along certain operational-tactical or tactical routes. These routes are separated from one another by mountain ranges creating large intervals between them. Armored and mechanized forces cannot operate in

mountainous interspaces of that kind. There a soldier and the most modern army can be turned into an ordinary hiker. Our territorial and partisan units would settle accounts with them. Those units are both armed and drilled so that they can halt such an adversary and indeed more than that. They also have ways of fighting combat armored vehicles and even aircraft.

Over most of our territory any aggressor will have to channel attacks of his tanks and armored personnel carriers along relatively narrow routes. In places these routes are nothing more than canyons. That is why it is difficult to build up large forces in the first echelon. The major portion of those forces will have to wait for success on the part of those in front.

Our antiarmor arsenal is even today rather large and varied. Without claiming to enumerate everything, it is sufficient to recall the antitank shells with which we can shower all the routes of the adversary's advance, the bazookas with shaped-charge shells, recoilless cannons with shaped-charge shells, excellent antitank guns and other artillery, above all self-propelled artillery. To this we should also add our fighter-bombers and Yugoslav-made aircraft carrying missiles and napalm bombs to fight tanks. It is clear even today that we will soon be able to use our own helicopters in antiarmor combat. They will carry guided antiarmor missiles, which even today are possessed by every YPA ground force unit. These missiles are a calamity for advancing tanks. Seven years ago these missiles showed their strength in the war in the Near East. Today our own industry is manufacturing such missiles. There will be more and more of them in our armament. We will be able to hit a possible aggressor's advancing tanks with such missiles both from the ground and from the air. Since these missiles are guided, there will hardly be any misses. Even today we have so many of them that the commanding officer of any hostile armored unit would be afraid to count up the possible losses.

Picture of the Present-Day Battlefield

Anyone who goes on the offensive must move with tanks. Aircraft and artillery soften the defense so that the tanks can penetrate more easily. The infantry advances behind them. And only when the foot soldier's foot reaches a place can we say that it has been taken. But without the help of the tanks the infantry would be unable to advance, even mechanized infantry in armored personnel carriers.

That is why the attacker strives to facilitate the movement of his tanks and the defender to destroy as many of them as possible. And it should be said at once--there is nothing difficult about destroying a tank today. This can be done by any soldier armed with a bazooka. That is why the attacker strives with artillery fire and aircraft to force the defender's soldiers to be inactive, strives to destroy them or neutralize them. That is why artillery fire is laid down in front of the tanks and stays ahead of them every step of the way.

This complicates the picture of the contemporary battlefield. And the defender must respond with his own artillery--hitting the adversary with counterbattery fire. It is also helped in this by airplanes and quite recently by helicopters as well. The adoption of antiarmor helicopters as armament has just begun in many armies, above all the most highly developed, and in our armed forces as well. Our antiarmor helicopter has already been shown to the public.

Helicopters are today the great hope of antiarmor combat everywhere in the world. But it is clear even today that these clever aircraft can be driven from the sky. So even helicopters will not be able to attack on their own, at least not in large numbers. Even they will have to be protected not only by airplanes, but also by artillery. Yes, we did say what we meant, both cannons and howitzers--at distances of 10, 15 and 20 km. Artillery fire against an advancing tank column will force machinegunners in tank turrets to withdraw within the protection of the armor, and they will not be able to shoot at the helicopters. Today we possess artillery guns of that range. In addition to cannons and howitzers, there are also multiple-barrel rocket launchers, whose range extends beyond 20 km. We have cannons which are accurate even at distances greater than 30 km.

The Role of Our Own Tanks

In our list of antiarmor weapons we intentionally left our own tanks for the end. It is not our intention, and Comrade Tito spoke about this on several occasions, to immediately bring out our tanks into a frontal collision with the enemy, who at the outset will certainly be stronger with respect to the number of tanks. Only when artillery shells, bazookas, recoilless cannons, artillery, airplanes and helicopters--acting in concert with one another--do what is necessary, only then will our "steel fist"--our tank units--go into action against a weakened adversary. This, of course, applies to our larger armored units, but they are not the only ones in which we have tanks. Even many of our infantry units today have their own tanks for intervention in the most critical moments of the battle.

In other words, tanks are the backbone of the battle wherever routes are passable for tanks. And it is impossible to attack them or defend oneself against them without coordinated action of the different arms and also the different services. In the end victory will go to the one who is more skillful and faster in coordinated action, not to the one who has more of this or that. He who is numerically weaker can conquer a numerically stronger adversary--if he is more skillful, better trained, more flexible in command, and especially if he is able to utilize the advantages offered him by the terrain. And our terrain is such as to open up many opportunities for us to defend ourselves more successfully.

An attacker will not dare to rely exclusively on his armored forces. He will bring his artillery and also air force to help. It is certain that he will commence his war operations with air attacks. With attacks from

the air he will attempt to damage our transportation routes, to destroy communications centers and staffs, and to weaken the defensive strength of our military units. Of course, we will not be sitting on our hands, waiting. We have both the forces and the means of returning the strike. We will be striving to "pluck clean" those enemy air forces. Above all with the forces of our antiair defense, which possesses surface-air missiles and fighter-interceptors.

The reconnaissance service of our antiair defense, which possesses sufficient reconnaissance radars, sees far beyond our borders. It is able to alert all our units in time. Missilemen and pilots will quickly be in "number one alert" in every situation of any seriousness--and they can immediately commence action. Many of our cities and industrial installations are today under the invisible "umbrella" of our missiles. In other words, all air approaches are well covered by guided antiaircraft missiles. And all sizable units of the YPA, especially armored units, have their own rocket artillery units for air defense.

Sky Cleaners

Today we are neither barehanded nor weak in fighting a possible aggressor's air force. From the antiaircraft machinegun and multiple-barrel automatic cannon to the homing missile of the air-to-air type and especially the guided surface-to-air missile. This is our antiaircraft arsenal. We also have "homing missile carriers"--supersonic fighter-interceptors.

Fighter bombers and assault aircraft must fly at reduced speeds while seeking their target. It is rare for them to fly at speeds of 900 km/hr, though at great heights they can fly at even 1,500 or 2,000 km/hr or even more. If they want to find and hit an objective on the ground, they must reduce their speed below 900, 800, or even 700 km/hr. Some of the most recent aircraft intended for attacking ground objectives are not even capable of flying faster than between 600 and 700 km/hr, and they will be carrying out their missions flying at speeds of about 450 to 550 km/hr. Even fighter aircraft in the strict sense, whose purpose it is to intercept and attack other aircraft, no longer fly at high speeds. Their maximum speeds of Mach 2.5 are used only to bring them to the target rapidly or again to quickly disengage in case of an unsuccessful attack. All air fights between airplanes are conducted at much lower speeds--no greater than between 1,000 and 1,500 km/hr. The race for speeds has today stopped in aviation. The most recent airplanes are not faster airplanes. An effort is made for them to be more maneuverable in the air, even though they fly slower. In an air fight it is usually the more maneuverable airplane rather than the faster one that wins.

It is this principle which is honored by Yugoslav-designed and Yugoslav-made combat aircraft. They are not all that fast, but they can fight effectively even against a much faster adversary--unless he takes flight. And that in fact is our purpose--either to down him or force him to flee.

If enemy aircraft attempt to attack our units on the ground--they will have to reduce speeds from supersonic to subsonic. Then they are an ideal prey of our more maneuverable aircraft and also of our guns firing from the ground. We do have such guns. Not only the machineguns in the turrets of our tanks, but also specialized multiple-barrel automatic cannons. Among our fighting men are the well-known and highly esteemed 20-mm three-barrel automatic cannons made in Yugoslavia, which are virtual "sky cleaners" for everything that comes in their range.

Infantrymen Against Airplanes

Of course, airplanes may not come in their range. But then they will not be able to perform their combat mission--to spot and strike various guns and vehicles on the ground. Even if they themselves do not wish to come into the range of our antiaircraft cannons--they will have to. At high altitudes they are an ideal target for our guided antiaircraft missiles. For a long time contemporary air forces have been avoiding flights at high altitudes--wherever there are such missiles. They flee to lower altitudes, often they move even at the lowest speeds--hedgehopping. What awaits them, as if in ambush, are our small-caliber automatic antiaircraft cannons and, a particular hazard, small homing missiles which soldiers launch from their shoulders--which are also being manufactured by domestic industry.

There have already been situations in wars conducted in recent years, especially in the Near East, when the air force has been unable to operate. Attempts to overfly ground force units by surprise have been paid for dearly--by the loss of dozens of aircraft and pilots. It is no wonder that there have been theories to the effect that combat aviation is doomed, theories that nevertheless are exaggerated. It is certain that today even ground force units, including infantry units, have the capability to bring down aircraft. Our ground forces are no exception. On the contrary, every day they are more capable of fighting the enemy air force effectively, of inflicting serious losses on it, and of preventing it from clearing routes for its tanks. And it is a long time since we have been afraid of tanks.

What we have related here is only a simplified picture of a possible present-day battle. This is only a sketch, whose intention is to show that we have good opportunities for being successful with any aggressor. We have good people. We have long been known as courageous and resourceful fighters. Today we also have sufficient weapons, modern weapons, most of them made in Yugoslavia. That is why we can look with confidence at the possibilities of our successful defense.

7045
CSO: 2800

PARTY OFFICIAL NOTES HOSTILE FORCES, CITES TRADE UNION ROLE

Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 26 Sep 80 pp 3, 4

[Excerpt from speech given at the 11th meeting of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee by Nikola Stojanovic, president of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee]

...[Following a discussion of the economic crisis, he says] There are problems, there are even explicit deformations. But it is exceptionally important to find the answer to the question of how one should and can fight against these problems and deformations. It can happen that self-management is left to the side in this struggle, that a "witch-hunt" takes place, that problems and occurrences are discussed in a sensationalist way, that certain problems are viewed only partially, and that one tries to solve them in a pragmatic way. In some way our class enemy is already selling these things through annonymous action, rumor, lies, half-truths.

The most effective way of solving all problems with which we are faced is doubtless the development of real self-management... One must clearly say that although we all are responsible according to the Constitution and Law [on Associated Work], we are not responsible in the same degree. One should not lose from sight in this regard the fact that the responsibility of members of the Central Committee is necessarily increasing.

Various hostile forces outside and within [the country] are making the judgment that at the present time there are opportunities for them to act against our country and the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina. They are being organized more and more secretly, so it is more and more difficult to uncover them. One can see in their actions the identical approach to certain phenomena and problems in our country and see the readiness to band together on this basis. Here are also the actions of clerical forces in all [religious] confessions which are constantly trying to manipulate the religious feelings of citizens. Although there are also encouraging processes which attest to the fact that they are not succeeding or that they are succeeding less than before, clericalist efforts in all confessions are nevertheless requiring even more political vigilance and action...

The conditions in which self-management is being created especially require that more consideration be given in the trade unions to the action of communists [the LCY]. One should always consider this on the basis of the Constitution and the Law on Associated Work. Communists must be engaged in making the trade unions an organization that the working class sees as its own organization to which they can turn for any question and be sure that, if a solution cannot be found in the action of individual institutions, the trade union federation represents a guarantee that it will organize the workers in a democratic way and seek solutions with them for that which is their constitutional right.

It is necessary that the Trade Union Federation be capable of thoroughly expressing the real views and interests of the working class, that is, that it consistently carry out its constitutional role and duties. This role will not be adequate if the trade unions wait for others, citing the views of the Party, class and working people as basic subjects of our social development. The concept which we have is certainly good but it should be consistently implemented. The practice in our republic is also promising. I am thinking here of those instances where the trade unions, based on the constitution, have placed themselves at the head of the workers and expressed the interest of the workers. When such practice prevails, we will be sure that the real problems of the workers will not be pushed aside, that anti-socialist and anti-selfmanagement forces will not be able to infiltrate and try to manipulate the workers, that it will not be possible to drive a wedge between the workers and the Trade Union Federation, nor between the LCY and the working people. In order for the Trade Union Federation to carry out its constitutional tasks, the action of communists in the trade unions is very important.

CSO: 2800

PREVALENCE OF WORK SHIRKING INVESTIGATED

Attitudes Surveyed

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1546, 17 Aug 80 pp 7-9

[Article by Toma Dzadzic: "Are We Encouraging Idlers?"]

[Text] Having been unable to find any other solution, the story goes, the director of the Napred construction firm in Belgrade, more out of frustration than seriously, proposed in a meeting of the work force that all the idlers be put in one office! At least then they would not interfere with those who are working.

In the opinion of Dr Neca Jovanov, who has been studying self-management for many years and is a professor of self-management at the School of Engineering Science in Novi Sad, one can prove that idleness has reached its highest point with us precisely in these last 2 years. Neca Jovanov emphasizes that he is not referring here to idleness as a negative character trait, but is speaking of various forms of passive resistance on the job because of what he calls "failure to realize the promise made several years ago that the workers would have decisive influence on the conditions for creation of new values and on overall distribution of that value."

Proceeding from the fact that idleness is becoming a real menace in quite a few collectives, our research center conducted a survey among some 100 workers in a dozen work organizations; several questions were asked, but they come down basically to this: Are you encouraging idleness? Judging by the answers, the questions were not pointless.

The great majority (85 percent of the respondents) are of the opinion that idlers are one of the big troubles of our society: "This is like a natural disaster," was one of the many responses. Another one was this: "No, the idlers are not the biggest problem--they are a consequence of poor incentives, of hit-or-miss assessment of the abilities of individuals, and of imperfect organization."

In all these 100 respondents there were just 4 who did not think that what we referred to as idlers are a problem one should be disturbed by.

So, an awareness of the harmful effect of idleness is highly developed, but the respondents differ about how this trouble should be combated. The respondents can be put in three groups on the basis of their answers:

By far the greatest number of them favor more severe penalties, warnings and similar methods. In first place were answers like this: "They should be punished, they should be hit in the pocketbook, and they should be expelled," or: "If the idler saw that his colleagues were earning three times as much as he is, he would start working on the spot." We find among the answers some with observations that only appear to be illogical: "There are incentives for idlers, not for workers."

The question "Are there any other ways (not being used) to force the idler to work like other people?" was answered even by an extremely pessimistic conclusion like this: "No, there are not, everything has been tried, they are indestructible, unrestrainable and have a corrosive effect on others." In response to the same question one person sketched the mace of Kraljevic Marko. The psychologist would call this group of respondents traditionalists, which means that they are people inclined to resolve things by the tried and true methods of pressure.

Whereas they (the respondents) are unanimous that there are idlers (most of them, they say, in nonproduction areas) and that this is a serious problem in our society, they differ utterly on how this should be solved. The grouping of workers labeled traditionalists (and in this case they represented more than one-third) leaves that satisfaction to their superiors. They also think along the lines of "no one is responsible for combating idleness," and there are few of them who call for the forces of self-management to have the decisive role.

Not even all the superiors are immune to idleness, judging by the responses of a majority of the respondents. A typical answer to the question "Are there idlers even among the supervisors?" might be: "Are you kidding! That's their breeding ground."

And thus we arrive at the main question: "Why don't the idlers work like the rest?" Most of the persons surveyed feel that these are lazy individuals and that the workplace environment allows them to do this: "Actually, no one is forcing them to work," "It is difficult to discipline people without conscience," "I don't know," "It's certainly not up to me." Then it is said that the idlers are dissatisfied with their personal income, but also that they are a product of poor organization of the work. The answers range over a broad scale all the way to "It is a question of personality--if a man is honest, he works."

However, if we judge by the answers of those surveyed, those who do not work or work little feel absolutely no consequences of it either in terms of their personal income or any way. And why should they when quite a few of those surveyed feel that unfair distribution of personal incomes in their basic organization is involved. (Personal income depends "on friendship," "on God-given talent," "on personal evaluation," "on the banditry principle--take as much as you can," but it also depends "on work done," "on actual results of work insofar as the work is easy to measure as is the case with production jobs.") But it is significant that a sizable number of the respondents feel that personal income does not depend a great deal on work.

In that kind of atmosphere it is not unusual for a good third of the respondents to feel that their colleagues and superiors regard them as exceptionally good workers. There are many more of those who perceive themselves as average, and an almost negligible number of those who do not have a high opinion of their work. So, the idlers--they are always "somebody else."

In answer to the question "How do fellow workers behave on the job toward the idlers?" a majority say that a noncommittal attitude is maintained: "I don't interfere so as not to make my life bitter to no purpose," "I tried to bring the thing out in the open, but I only aroused ill feeling." All the respondents say that "they" (fellow workers) and not "I"--talk about the idlers behind their back. One might say that in this case hypocrisy is developing successfully.

"Actually, evaluation of work is a complicated calculation, while opinions are unreliable, and the idlers portray their idleness as work," is how the sociologist Slobodan Bakic, senior researcher in the Institute for Sociological Research in Belgrade, presents this phenomenon. According to him, everything comes down to interest bargaining on the internal market for work, and that is the swinging of votes concerning the contents of the regulation to be adopted in the future. "Even when a good regulation is drafted, it is not adhered to," Slobodan Bakic says, adding that if someone does 2 hours of effective work and manages to represent it as 8 hours, he is the winner.

What he means is this: everywhere there are shirkers known to everyone in work organizations, it is just that no one puts their finger on them. Bakic sees this as a false conception of solidarity. That is, Bakic feels that most people prefer to earn their guaranteed 6,000 dinars without much effort than the 9,000 dinars that are accessible, but uncertain, which they might earn i they really were rewarded according to the results of work.

He interprets this as the psychology of mediocracy or leveling: better for us all to have 6,000, 6,500 and 7,000 dinars than some to have 10,000, others 6,000, still others 2,500, and yet others to discharge because of idleness.

This kind of deep-seated egalitarian atmosphere does more harm than good. This past week we saw on television the case of a director in Slovenia who simplified and considerably speeded up the production process in a textile factory and thereby saved the enterprise enormous amounts. Nevertheless, he did not dare to take the award of 2 million dinars granted him. This man is obviously afraid of the judgment of the public: what will people say if a man accepts that kind of money in a socialist system (though it was honestly earned)?!

We are not accustomed for the more able people to stand out, at least not in terms of personal income. Let them work as hard as they like, but they are not to earn much more than us.

And while no one has yet appeared to encourage the director and innovator from Slovenia to take what he is entitled to, we are rather inclined to laugh and stigmatize the case of the male construction worker from Maribor who was on sick leave for having received (on doctor's orders) medical treatment--an abortion. Thus, thanks to the doctor's confusion--probably they have run out of reasons for their patients' absences from work--our false sick leave has reached the point of being grotesque. Last year alone Yugoslavia had a total of 84 million workdays of absences, and those are only the ones recorded. We can only guess how many of these sick people were hale and hearty.

Cedomir Jeftic, chairman of the Federal Committee of the Trade Union of Yugoslav Metal Manufacturing Workers and a member of the Presidium of the Council of the Federation of Yugoslav Trade Unions, who cited the figure given above, believes that the irresponsible attitude toward work and work duties is also one of the principal causes of economic instability. In his opinion this kind of work discipline results mostly from poor organization of work. It is not, he said, the workers who are responsible for this, but the organizers of work.

Jeftic points to the inappropriate system of distribution according to work as the second reason for the reproduction of idlers. "Aside from the tendency toward leveling, there is still a prevailing fear of large differences in the level of personal incomes," he says. He also finds that various "social welfare measures" contribute to narrowing the range of income between the best paid and the poorest paid. All of this certainly acts more as a disincentive on the good workers than an incentive on the others.

"What good does it do to talk when the idlers are protected even by law!" says one of the respondents. When this opinion was passed on to Dr Aleksandar Nikolic, professor of self-management practice at the School of Law in Kragujevac, he reacted categorically:

"That is not accurate: our laws are very democratic toward honest workers and self-managers, but very strict toward idlers. The measure of terminating the employment relation can be pronounced as never before because of

many violations of work duties, self-management obligations, and other obligations (because of refusal to execute work orders, for coming to work intoxicated, because of absence from work, and so on) so as to disrupt or considerably hamper the work process, that is, inflict a loss on the work organization."

We might mention only that in some cases of a serious violation of work duties, as Professor Nikolic explains it, the work organization is required by law to discharge the worker. In Serbia, he told us, a worker must be discharged if he is absent from work at least 5 successive days without justification or 7 workdays not in succession during 1 month, or 15 days over a period of 3 months.

Neca Jovanov finds the origin of passive resistance lying deep and a bit further back in the past--in the fact that workers have lost confidence in the declaration repeated for 10 years or more, but not implemented, that they themselves would dispose of all the income, and not merely personal incomes.

There is, he says, the book income and the real income of the basic organization, and when all these compulsory payments are made that do not depend on the desires of the workers, the difference between those two incomes is like the difference between a bear and a flea.

Jovanov says that the political power of institutions that serve as intermediaries and which are only nominally called self-managed special-interest communities, banks and the like, has grown. The principle that everyone should divide up as much as he has earned, he feels, is nothing more than a good intention. In his opinion, this is the road toward disloyal competition, that is, to the social and political disintegration of the working class. He feels that there is an enormous discrepancy between the creative potential and the available means of paying people appropriate rewards for demonstrated creative ability.

Neca Jovanov recalls the well-known saying of the idler: "You can never pay me so little that I can't work less." At the beginning, supposedly, people worked little on this basis: "You do not want to pay us as much as we are able to create." Later, this idea was transposed into something equally accurate: "You cannot pay us as much as we are capable of creating because you have spent most of that money still unearned for various investment projects at least some 10 years in advance. And however much we create, you will take it away, since you have already spent it on the basis of your own decisions that lie outside our power. We are not motivated, then, even to develop our creative abilities, nor to display them, since we will still not get anything."

At this point we can conclude our study, which, of course, by no means exhausted the topic we raised. It is because of its urgency, since stabilization cannot be imagined without more productive labor, that we will be

continuing these talks in various journalistic forms, since there is obviously a need for public interest.*

Disincentives in Pay System

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1546, 17 Aug 80 p 9

[Article by Scepan Rabrenovic: "Dense Leveling"]

[Text] There have always been more idlers when there were fewer motives for higher earnings. It happened, as it happens even now, that a worker would receive the same amount of money in his pay envelope regardless of his output. Numerous studies have already shown that absenteeism is lower in work organizations with fairer distribution of income.

The longer such a period lasts, the poorer are the overall results of business operation. One such period is taking place right now, it began at the beginning of last year, and no one knows when it will end.

That is, last year real earnings did not increase by a single dinar over the previous year, though labor productivity was 3 percent higher. How could this have happened? Work organizations decided to economize, and they can economize only in those areas where they have an impact.

The situation is still more serious in the first months of this year--labor productivity was up 2 percent, and real earnings were down 9 percent from last year. At present no one knows how long this situation will last, but one thing is known for certain: we will not be able to carry out the stabilization program with lower real earnings.

Just as we also know that leveling in distribution does not act as an incentive. It is true that by saving on earnings the economy did enrich its funds last year, but it is also true that leveling became still denser. After all, in a situation when real personal incomes are growing slower than labor productivity, it is normal for those with the lower incomes to move upward, and thus it happened that last year 41.8 percent of all employees were somewhere near the average personal income (between 5,000 and 7,000 dinars).

Not only did earnings crowd close to the average, but compared to 4 years ago the income span in the economy has been considerably reduced. Here is

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* The respondents were employed in the following work organizations: IKL [Antifriction Bearing Industry], IMT [Machine and Tractor Industry], MPI [Milling and Baking Industry], the Serbian Republic Economic Chamber, the Beograd department stores, Jugoslavijapublik, the Yugoslav Authors' Agency, and the Beograd Hairdressing Cooperative. The interviewers were the following: Ljubica Stavric, Nada Petronijevic, Svetlana Kasalovic, Milenko Toskovic and Zorica Knezic--under the supervision of Ljuba Stojic.

the evidence: last year in about 20 percent of the work organizations the range between the lowest and highest personal income was barely 1:2, and in about 30 percent of the work organizations it was barely 1:3.

Last year only 3.6 percent of work organizations had differences in earnings over a range of 1:5, and only 2.1 percent of the work organizations had an income span greater than 1:6.

This kind of dense leveling, which respects neither knowledge nor abilities, nor even concrete results of work, and the fact that real personal incomes are tied down at a level which is lower than the rise of labor productivity--are considerably detracting from the motivation to work, which means that they are actually an incentive for idleness.

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WEST GERMAN COMMENT ON ECONOMIC CHANGES

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 29 Sep 80 p 12

[Article by Viktor Meier: "Yugoslavia Not Out of the Woods After All--Illusion About Economic Prospects Vanishing"]

[Text] Belgrade, September 1980--Despite its supply problems, inflation, its great debts abroad and a number of other economic failings, Yugoslavia, with its semimarket economy system, is still far better off than most of its "strictly" communist neighboring countries. The only problem is that the Yugoslavs thought that by and large they were out of the woods, and now they have to go back again. This makes for an utterly different psychological and political situation.

The Root of the Evil

The debate about why the country's economic situation suddenly has taken such a turn for the worse is suitably extensive and acrimonious. There seem to be as many different opinions on this as there are Yugoslavs. Among ordinary people, some say that it really is peculiar that everything was all right "under Tito," while others point out that the country wasted such a great deal under Tito that there is nothing left today. Either interpretation can cause political difficulties. Perhaps this is one of the reasons why the present leadership is permitting the Tito cult to recede gradually. Comparisons between past and present are always and in every way a delicate matter. Evidently there is a desire not to do anything to provoke them.

In "more enlightened" circles, opinions vary primarily about the extent to which the "system" has to be blamed for purely economic facts and for the poor economic situation. Bureaucrats and other "official" spokesmen incline toward drawing the foreign visitor's attention to the surface of things. They say that investments were overdone and that one is now faced with innumerable half-finished projects and that it often is a difficult dilemma to decide whether completion or "preservation" entails the greater loss. Others emphasized the fact that investments have been inadequately "coordinated" between the various republics or municipalities and that this resulted frequently in "double capacities."

At the National Bank the emphasis is on foreign economic factors. Import prices, it is stated, have risen far more than the prices of exported goods, the "flood of imports" had been ignored too long, and perhaps, because of Tito's illness, the devaluation had been delayed too long. The people at the National Bank are not prepared to attribute the most important role to the low export factor of the Yugoslav economy. Rather, they believe in the purely mathematical automatic formula of "lower domestic demand, higher exports," finding their view confirmed in part by the results of the first half of 1980. The governor of the National Bank, Bogoev, is definitely against any new devaluations. The "apparatus"--if one wants to use that expression--thus rather inclines toward administrative restrictive measures, partly even long-term administrative economic-control measures. These are more comfortable for the administration because they neither require imagination nor make it necessary to engage in the politically delicate action of disturbing the "system."

Meanwhile the debate in the newspapers, among economists and even to some extent among politicians is moving in another direction. Summing up a widely heard opinion, Professor Horvat writes in DUGA that the root of the present evil is the fact that in the last big reform in 1965 and then once more in 1970 self-administration was not given a chance at all. Instead of giving enterprises complete freedom and only using economic means to press for certain general objectives being observed, government administration of the economy had been replaced by a "paragovernmental alternative," with self-administration being but an outer form, and the content "interventionist." This had been the meaning of all the various "agreements," "associations" and "accords" which had put the enterprises in a net and deprived them of any freedom of actions. Professor Horvat could have added that after 1972 the party had also definitely again "taken over" the self-administration. Horvat says that the system of self-administration must be based on a "stimulative incomes policy." In doing so, he cites the authority of another prominent economist with invariably independent views, Professor Bajt of Ljubljana. Horvat charges many Yugoslav economists with saying what the politicians want to hear. For 10 years now, he says, every year some sort of "program of stabilization" had been put forward; what was needed was for once to make a radical change.

But this is precisely what is likely to become difficult. True, many politicians talk about the need to strengthen the "market forces" and "self-administration" and in addition definitely reject "administrative measures" when it is, for instance, a question of introducing ration coupons for scarce goods. In practice, however, nothing happens, and supposedly "transitory" restrictions prevail exclusively. Nothing is happening even in agricultural policy, which to a large extent is responsible for the difficulties in supply at least of domestic produce; only the provisions about the upper limit of landownership and such like are to be applied "in a more liberal manner." This political impassiveness and the fear of "stimulation" and "liberalization" insures that the Yugoslav crisis, which cannot be compared to past recessions, is going to continue for a long time. The only thing of which the politicians are afraid is that the supply problems and the reduction in incomes (there is talk of 5 percent and even 10 percent this year) will create political problems. This is the main reason today for the universal call for an end

to the wage freeze. Price regulations for enterprises are also being weakened, with individual politicians in the republics stating right out that they would immediately arrange for the import of food if the population should be faced with acute shortages.

Political Factors

The Yugoslav National Bank, which constitutes something of a proportional association of the republics, evidently has not got the strength or, for that matter, the authority of, say, the National Bank of Hungary, which has direct control over the finances of the enterprises, decides about loans and engages in the promotion of exports. The governor of the Yugoslav National Bank is an economist, and his political position in the power apparatus is not very strong. Strictly speaking, so far the control over the Yugoslav monetary and credit system has never been in the hands of the National Bank but rather always in the hands of the political factors in the nation, in the republics and even in the municipalities.

These by and large have controlled the commercial banks, granted credits and in turn have kept the enterprises on a leash. To a large extent, enterprises were deprived of funds of their own and the freedom of making investments. In summing up one's basic impression, one may perhaps say that in Yugoslavia for 10 or even 20 years, through the whole period of development, there has been a neglect of the monetary factors and inadequate use of them to control economic events, including investments. If a National Bank that is also strong politically had been in charge of a credit policy, this would not have amounted to "centralism," but, on the contrary, economic laws would have been allowed to take full effect and, the chances are, in this way investments would have been under better control and inflation would have been held in check as well.

It is not by accident that the theories of so-called "monetarism" are gaining increasing attention in Yugoslavia these days. True, there is little prospect of the books of Milton Friedman replacing those of Karl Marx as obligatory school textbooks in Yugoslavia, but at least Milton Friedman is no longer official anathema, and his writings and the applications of his teachings are being studied with interest. Before British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher came to visit Yugoslavia last week, Yugoslav television in an interview gave her ample opportunity to speak about her economic ideas. What she had to say about dealing with unprofitable enterprises and unproductive labor unwilling to do anything to raise productivity was followed with interest and gave food for thought to many Yugoslavs, including people holding official positions.

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CSO: 2300

WEST GERMAN COMMENT ON ECONOMIC-POLITICAL TRENDS

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 25 Sep 80 p 12

[Article by Viktor Meier: "Something Is Stirring in Belgrade--When Will the Economic Difficulties Also Become a Pressing Political Problem?"]

[Text] Belgrade, September 1980--One can read at present remarkably frank articles in Yugoslav papers and journals--particularly about economic questions but also about other problems. The journalists no longer have much respect for the taboos of the system. Particularly the journal NIN stands out in this, but also BORBA, which is still considered a party organ, the Slovenian DELO and to some extent the Zagreb VJESNIK. POLITIKA, the old principal Serbian paper, is still exercising reserve, perhaps because of its close ties with the Serbian leadership. In the Yugoslav parliament as well, discussions are becoming increasingly frank, even if generally only concerning minor questions and often unsystematically--probably because of a lack of parliamentary tradition.

Evidently certain doors have opened in Yugoslavia. "Something is stirring," one can hear people in Belgrade say. There are two interpretations as to the causes of this. According to one thesis, this opening of doors can be traced to a group of politicians taking up positions for a struggle for power; or it is simply that "there is no one any longer to keep the doors closed." Most observers incline toward the latter interpretation. One cannot escape the impression that "at the very top"--in other words, in the "collective leadership" and its organs--a political vacuum and lack of action prevail. This is particularly true of economic policy, which now clearly has become the most urgent national problem.

In a recent interview NIN confronted Premier Djuranovic with a remark by the late Edvard Kardelj to the effect that many systems simply had collapsed owing to their "material dissonances." Of course Djuranovic rejected the thought that this was true of the present Yugoslav system, but over long stretches his utterances impress one as rather nebulous and helpless; aside from his promise that there had to be "an end to the old

politics," he had hardly anything concrete to say about the future. Since there is little impetus from the top, more leadership tasks than before are falling on Djuranovic and his Executive Council, manned partly by realistic economists. Meanwhile one gets the impression that Djuranovic is only having partial success, particularly vis-a-vis the republics, with his economic initiatives, which, presumably in the interest of the administration, are often tinged with a central-economic-planning approach. Thus the effect of the devaluation is petering out without any constructive corollary measures pointing toward the future.

Economic difficulties and lack of action by the government are a combination which generally has political consequences both in the West and the East. Sooner or later, the chances are, the poor economic situation, including the supply difficulties, are probably bound to have a political effect. This would then be the first time in the history of Yugoslav communism for the impetus toward political change to come direct from the economy. How this might happen cannot really be predicted for the moment. It might come to a split in the leadership, or one day the workers might simply lose their patience. In both cases the national problem may become acute.

Developments such as in Poland can hardly be expected in Yugoslavia for the time being. In Poland the workers' dissatisfaction with wages and supply had a direct effect on the state and the regime, without any responsible organs in-between. In Yugoslavia there are the intermediary organs of self-administration in the enterprises. People one talks with in Yugoslavia think that the people's dissatisfaction over the lowering of standards of living will at first devolve on these organs, with one director after another likely to be removed from his post. Objectively speaking, this seems hardly justified, for the very cause of today's poor economic situation in Yugoslavia seems to be the fact that, contrary to the idealistic view of so many political and social analysts in the West as well, self-administration never became reality at all. This is definitely the opinion of respected Yugoslav economists, such as Prof Branko Horvat writing in the journal DUGA. The authorities, however, are likely to participate enthusiastically in a crusade against the directors because it would divert attention from their own responsibility. The party and its exponents have always regarded the economic managers as unwelcome and dangerous competitors against their striving for power. As early as after 1971, while Tito was still in charge, there was a big campaign against the managers, against the "technocrats" with "liberalist tendencies." One day, however, the political machine of the regime is also likely to find itself in the direct line of fire. There will then either be profound, perhaps revolutionary, changes in the nature of the regime--or there is the danger of the country going under as a result of problems and conflicts.

At the present time the republics are playing a big part in Yugoslavia--according to the opinion of economists such as Professor Horvat, a

divisive one, however. In Horvat's view, they are cultural and also political but not economic entities. In fact, he says, they must not be economic entities if Yugoslavia wants to adhere to its important national political premise of a united market. Yet, according to Professor Horvat, quite a number of economic stability measures, not least wage agreements, are drafted and effected within the republican framework. The republics also have their own foreign currency accounts.

The political leaderships of the republics are strong. The phenomenon of the "Titici"--the "small Titos"--against whom Edvard Kardelj had warned before his death, at present is most apparent in the republics. A typical example is Slovenia with its party leader Popit. As if to mock the whole constitutional debates about the duration of tenure of heads of government nationally and in the republics, Popit without ado dismissed his Premier Vratusa, replacing him with his minister for police because people with "operational qualifications" were needed. Meanwhile it has become known that there were yet other reasons for Vratusa's dismissal, having to do less with Vratusa's qualifications than with Popit's personal ambitions for power and also perhaps those of some other high officials of the "old guard" in Slovenia. In 1971, following the forced resignation of the then Slovene head of government, Kavcic, Popit had been made party secretary by Tito personally. Under Popit, Slovenia obediently toed the central Belgrade line, the "Tito course," and until a short time ago it forwent making substantial demands of its own. As a result the Slovenian economy now is antiquated as far as its machinery of production is concerned. The Slovenian steelworks are not in good standing. The top manager of the internationally respected Gorenje firm was let go at Popit's bidding because he had become too pwerful for him. Now, after Tito's death, Slovenia has put forth a proposal henceforth to recognize only Kosovo and Montenegro as underdeveloped Yugoslav territories and, in addition, to have aid go to them direct from the republic or autonomous area concerned. Thus the "Titici" are now also asserting themselves on a national scale. They--Popit, for example--will have little use for the requirement to give freedom of action to the economy at long last and to abandon its politicization.

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RECENT INSTANCES OF POLICE BRUTALITY DISCUSSED

Serbia's Interior Secretary Comments

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1547, 24 Aug 80 pp 8-10

[Article by Zvonko Simic: "The Blow Did Not Come From Heaven"]

[Text] Alija Toskic, 22 years old, died in early July in the police station in Priboj na Limu. Three members of the opstina law enforcement agency were arrested and are awaiting trial. Others were suspended, and the head of the opstina law enforcement agency and commander of the police station have submitted their resignations.

At about the same time a traffic policeman insulted and humiliated a newsman of POLITIKA EKSPRES following a traffic violation. He was suspended. His fellow policemen have sharply condemned his action, and the Belgrade municipal law enforcement agency has instituted disciplinary and criminal proceedings against him.

These two incidents cannot be compared in either seriousness or consequences. What they have in common is only that four irresponsible men in uniform obviously abused the use of force, which under regulations they have the right to use only when the situation calls for it. This type of abuse, to which the private citizen is particularly sensitive, has occurred from time to time. In Priboj it was particularly serious. Why do such things happen? Who are the people who commit them? How frequent are these undesirable arguments in contacts between police and individuals?

NIN took these questions on a visit to Viobran Stanojevic, republic secretary for internal affairs of the Socialist Republic of Serbia.

"In Serbia we have a good police force, and I am satisfied with its work," the republic secretary said. "Among the several thousand law enforcement officers there are irresponsible and willful individuals who exceed their authority, just as they exist in other occupations. We dare not identify the force with individuals nor judge it by them. Quite a bit has been said

about the case in Priboj. What could and should be done before the verdict of the court has been done, and the court will make the final judgment about those directly responsible for the death of the unfortunate young man and about the degree of guilt of each of them individually. Public analysis of the case on my part before the verdict of the court would constitute interference in someone else's jurisdiction, and would be a prejudicial act.

"I must say that the law enforcement service in Serbia, as indeed throughout the country, performs even the most complicated tasks successfully, thanks above all to the exceptional cooperation with the public. The intolerable case in Priboj is casting a shadow on that relationship, and we on the force are taking steps so that nothing like that ever happens again.

"The republic secretariat, together with senior officials from joint secretariats for internal affairs, opstina secretariats and commanders of police stations, is striving to use this unpleasant case as a lesson and warning, as an impetus for a kind of mobilization against violation of the laws and regulations on the force.

"In my opinion," the republic secretary continued, "the main question is whether the people who wear the uniform and carry a nightstick and a weapon come to understand that violence can be applied only when envisaged by law. And the law and service regulations specify precisely when a policeman is allowed to use his pistol, his nightstick or physical force: only when resistance is offered to law enforcement officers and only when that resistance persists: or when the interests and rights of citizens, personal and public property are threatened, or there is a danger that cannot be eliminated without the use of force. The policeman must submit a report to his superior on every use of force. In recent years our statistics show that the use of force is on the decline, that the abuse of coercion is also on the decline, and that excesses in which policemen are the victims (assaults and insults) are on the decline. On that basis I could conclude that the situation today is better than yesterday, and I have reason to hope that tomorrow it will be better than today."

Over the last 3 years the means of coercion (firearms, rubber nightstick, and physical force), according to figures of the republic secretariat for internal affairs, have been used on 772 occasions in 1977, 713 occasions in 1978 and 670 occasions in 1979. In between 95 and 97 percent of the cases the use of force was judged to be justified, but it was felt not to be justified in between 3 and 5 percent of the cases.

At the same time every year charges are filed for between 70,000 and 60,000 violations of public peace and order, more than half of them involving fights and violent behavior. A simple comparison of the figures suggests that on the average coercion was used only once for every 100 cases of violations of public peace and order. Nor were certain other violations and crimes in which the sporadic use of coercion can also be expected included

in this calculation. Probably altogether--both the general public and the police--we are not exactly the kind of kindergarten that one might conclude from those figures.

But if a certain reserve can be shown toward the absolute figures on the use of coercion, it seems unquestionable that its use is declining from year to year. This conclusion is fully in accord with the figure that the number of assaults on "authorized officials," as it is put in the reports, is decreasing. The year before last there were 190 such assaults, and last year only 165. Previously there were many more of them. Some nine men were seriously injured and 113 slightly injured in these conflicts.

Other figures suggest that the force is tightening its attitude toward its own people who are too ready to use force. In 1977 12 persons were prosecuted--in either disciplinary or criminal proceedings--for exceeding authority in use of means of coercion, the year after that 19, and last year 27. Last year six were in fact discharged for that reason. In all of 1979 349 members of the Serbian Republic Secretariat for Internal Affairs went through disciplinary proceedings because of all types of violations, and that is one-fifth more than in the previous year.

The head of the secretariat for internal affairs in a small opstina has shed light on the problem from a special angle. "I have four men who I wish had chosen some other occupation," he has said. "But of the 38 job slots envisaged by the organization chart, only 21 have been filled. If I were to insist on the discharge of those four, then we would have only 17. And I cannot perform the tasks assigned with so few people."

In Serbia proper there is a shortage of almost 20 percent of the police force. But in some opstinas the shortage amounts to more than half of the force. Belgrade, where 88 percent of the job slots are filled, is still in the best position.

By force of circumstances this force, which is never fully staffed, has assumed certain obligations and duties which it should not be involved with. Why should the police have the burden of responsibility for drivers' tests? It is best for the examinations to be organized by those who run the schools: Red Signal, Akademac, the Automobile and Motorcycle Federation, and so on.

If a customer in a restaurant gets into an argument with the waiter about the check, the latter will first call the policeman on the beat. And now he must leave his beat where there are three banks and 50 stores in order to argue about whether it was five or seven glasses of wine with soda water. Or to intervene when a drunk comes up to a table and drinks off someone else's bottle of beer. Or to take up his station next to the line for coffee so that nobody moves up two places from where he should be in the line. It would be better if this were done by people from the consumers' council or the council of the local community. There are few restaurants

and bars who have employed a former athlete with enough strength and sufficient authority to be on hand if an unruly customer needs a peaceful but resolute reminder: "That doesn't go in our place." And the policeman would be called from his beat only when the situation could not be controlled and if an incident with serious consequence was threatening. The tasks of the entire force and the job of each individual in it are quite difficult, complicated and delicate. It would be better for the force to be relieved of secondary matters, which can be done by others, so that it can devote itself fully to the main things.

"The private individual need not know about our personnel and other difficulties," Viobran Stanojevic said. "It is up to us to consistently combat violations of service regulations, and the service itself requires that violations of public peace and order be combated vigorously, but also that a civilized and decent attitude be taken toward the individual, so that either we will break the habit of that individual who is inclined to such violations, or he will go to some other job outside law enforcement. We are now doing both."

It seems that unprofessional behavior is at the heart of most incidents involving abuse of physical force. An experienced man is not going to get into a contest with a group of drunks brought in because of nighttime disturbances. He will leave them in the lockup to calm down and sober up, and in the morning they will discuss the problem "coolly."

"Experienced policemen are rarely involved in incidents involving abuse of force," the republic secretary said. "Much more frequently they involve young men just beginning their career, who have just come from school, who have not yet become integrated into their new environment. They need the help of the League of Communists and the youth organization so that they 'become active,' say, in the council of the local community, in the youth organization, in the work of some cultural or athletic society, and there they would get what the school was unable to give them. All of us together should do everything we can so that the young man carrying a firearm and a nightstick is not left alone on the pavement, and we should always bear in mind the specific nature of the tasks of law enforcement officers, who if necessary work continuously for 24 hours and who perform tasks even at the risk of their lives."

Motorists know from experience that after a traffic accident they have their best chance with traffic police if they make themselves smaller than a poppy seed. They also know that now and again a man in a blue uniform will take their running of a red light as a personal insult and failure to respond to his whistle almost like a physical assault on himself and the uniform he wears.

The policeman's identification with the service he performs also has its good side, as an element of zeal, but it could have very bad aspects if it becomes that well-known attitude "the government--that's me." Probably

there is no need to convince anyone either in the service or outside that the police, law enforcement agencies, and the security forces are not the government, but a social service similar to the school, the heatlh service, the courts.... Work in that service is very strenuous, very complex and very responsible. Often it is not able to get all the people it needs, nor always the right people (the republic secretary said that the Yugoslav police force is one of the smallest in the world in terms of the size of the country's population). But the mistakes it makes are always in front of the public's vigilant eye.

Most often these are occupational mistakes by individuals at critical moments, people who either mistakenly evaluate the public interest as provided for in regulations, or who neglect it--violating the regulations outright. It is in no one's interest, say, for them to risk their lives over stolen cars.

One "borrower" caught in the act recently in Belgrade, was hit by a pistol shot when he wanted at all costs to escape the patrol which had forced him into a blind alley. If we are to believe the newspaper reports, the policeman recognized him, since they had had dealings with him before. They might have arrested him somewhere else, perhaps at home, under less dramatic circumstances.

In private conversations many of our people would close one eye or even both about use of the nightstick against criminals to get a confession or for other reasons. The roots of this go back into folklore. It is said: "Whipping was not invented in paradise." Or: "It is not God that every good-for-nothing fears, but a beating." Modern pedagogy, and even modern criminology, however, say that violence begets violence. Those who have been beaten later are ready to inflict a beating themselves. Or: those who do the beating have themselves been beaten. Even if we leave aside for the moment the notorious fact that the criminal has the right to civilized treatment in accordance with regulations by law enforcement authorities, just like any other citizen, there is something else which remains. When the regulation on use of the nightstick is violated against a criminal once, three times, 10 times, with no consequences, this becomes a habit, and on the 11th occasion the victim will be an individual who can by no means be classified among those on the wrong side of the law.

"Both as a man and as a lawyer I do not approve the use of violence as the principal means of maintaining peace and order," says Viobran Stanojevic. "There is no justification whatsoever for use of force outside the law and regulations. The nightstick is the last resort, just as the police is the last barrier to crime. As for forced confessions, even a voluntary confession is not proof in and of itself, and so much the less when it is made under pressure. We must put our belief in knowledge and in the law, and not in beating. We must put our trust in correction. The saying that whipping was not invented in paradise sprang up in an environment in which there were neither schools nor laws. It is outdated for the conditions of

our time. At the same time, I would also like to add that the policeman can escort a child across the street, but his parents, the school and society must give him guidance in entering life."

The republic secretary said that the policeman has no reason whatsoever to take anyone's violation as a personal insult. Unfortunately, there are some young people in the service, as is the case with young people anywhere, whose feelings often run ahead of their minds, and altogether unnecessary incidents take place. The secretary said that strict respect for regulations on the use of force, as indeed in all other matters, depends mostly on the superior officer: "The character of the company reflects the character of its commanding officer."

"I believe that in the foreseeable future we will bring the human factor altogether up to the plane of strict and literal respect for the law," said Viobran Stanojevic. "The service will perform its duty with maximum responsibility, and it will also make a maximum effort for those who violate the law, regardless of what kind of offense is involved, to receive what the law provides."

New Accusation

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1548, 31 Aug 80 p 22

[Article by Zvonko Simic: "How Much Is a Confession Worth"]

[Text] The Belgrade enterprise Zvezdara has an establishment at Viline Vode. A theft occurred there. During working hours 3,100 dinars were stolen from S. T., a laborer. The money was in his wallet, the wallet was in his trousers, and the trousers were in a locked locker in the worker's shed. S. T. later said that the door of the locker had been forced, probably with some pajser, and that the lock was put back in place as though nothing had happened.

Immediately before he noticed the theft, S. T. came upon S. B., a fellow worker, also a laborer, in the shed near the locker. He appeared to him somewhat confused, and his suspicion fell upon him. He reported the theft to the police.

Contusion and Hematoma

The next day a patrol came for S. B. It was Saturday. An inspector interrogated him in the police station. S. B. confessed the theft to him, wrote out and signed a statement to that effect in his own hand and promised that he would return the money as soon as he received his pay (about 3,500 dinars monthly).

On Monday S. B. told his fellow worker from whom the money was stolen that he had confessed the theft to the police because they beat him and that he would return him the money (which he did subsequently do in the presence of "his" inspector). Also on Monday S. B. went to his local health care center. They found that he had a contusion and hematoma (bruise and effusion of blood, put more simply) on the left side of the chest. Starting with that day he was on sick leave for 18 days.

The public prosecutor filed charges against S. B. for grand larceny. Before the court he renounced the confession given in the inquiry. "I confessed because the inspector beat me," he said.

The court called the inspector to the witness stand, though defense counsel objected: "Show me the inspector who will admit that he has beaten a suspect!" The inspector told the judge that he had behaved toward the accused in a fair and proper way. The court confronted him with S. B. Each, of course, stuck to his own story.

The inspector also said before the court that he had not gone to the scene of the crime. Consequently, he had not seen the broken locker, so that he could not know how it was broken into, nor in the end even whether it had been forced open at all. "For me as the officer conducting an inquiry it is sufficient when someone confesses," he said in the trial.

Nothing Aside From the Confession

The First Opstina Court in Belgrade acquitted the accused S. B. The lad is always short of money, he borrows from his fellows at work, but he regularly returns it, and he has never had any dealings with the police or the courts. For 8 months now he has been employed in the same job where he was when the theft occurred. Never before had anything like that happened to him. In a very proper statement made before the court by S. T., the victim of the theft, he said that no one, not even S. B., knew that he was carrying that money (to buy some cement--if he happened to find it).

The accused S. B. has his locker next to the locker of S. T., the victim of the theft, and no conclusion whatsoever about the theft can be drawn from the fact that the victim of the theft happened to come upon him next to his locker. The other workers also had access to the shed. This is where they eat their lunch. Customers also come from time to time. In short, the court concluded that there were no indications that S. B. had committed the theft.

Nothing except his confession to the inspector in the police station. But "the confession of the accused that he took the money from the victim occurred as a consequence of behavior toward him in the preliminary proceedings," it was stated in the justification of the acquittal verdict.

This everyday story about a petty crime would hardly find room in this or any other newspaper if it did not illustrate, as if made to order, what Viobran Stanojevic, republic secretary for internal affairs of Serbia, said in the last issue of NIN: "There is no justification whatsoever for use of force outside the law and regulations.... As for forced confessions, even a voluntary confession is not proof in and of itself, and so much the less when it is made under pressure."

We would expect this inspector to reassess his methods of inquiry with the help of his superiors, and indeed all others who find it easier to obtain a confession than to ascertain the truth "on the spot" by tangible and painstaking work.

7045
CSO: 2800

PRESS PROTESTS CHURCH ATTACKS ON ATHEISM

Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 12 Sep 80 p 5

[Article by Nenad Ivankovic: "Atheism Is Not an Enemy of Religion"]

[Text] "Perhaps the time has finally come for us to cease to look at atheists as something hostile and alien to religion." This thought, stated by Tomislav Ivancic, professor of fundamental theology in Zagreb, actually sounds like an epigraph for the debate on the topic "Our Church Confronted by Atheism," which was recently held in Pazin as part of a pastoral course in theology.

Perhaps someone accustomed to the anathematization of atheism will be surprised that the theologians are not talking about it as either "brainwashing" or an ideology that is hostile to religion. Perhaps he would be surprised that they debated atheism "exclusively" as an epiphenomenon of religion--a phenomenon generated by religion itself, or, more precisely--religious feeling with no original source of its own.

Against Every Division of People

There would be no reason for surprise, since this is altogether in accord with the council constitution "Joy and Hope," which states among other things that atheism is not something which has its own source, but always rises up as a kind of antipode to piety itself and therefore cannot be spoken about outside the context of religious feeling.

Probably there are some who will not agree with this definition of atheism, but that is not essential here in the least. It is a more important fact that in taking this position the Second Vatican Council opened the doors to dialog and cooperation, condemning at the same time ideological confrontations between believers and atheists. After all, emphasizing these differences is not in line with the council's spirit, that is ecumenism, at all, about which, incidentally, Pope John Paul II wrote in his next encyclical ("Redemptor hominis"), among other things, "to equip us at the same time to come closer to all cultures, all ideological conceptions and all men of good will."

This idea, which is actually opposed to all division of people along religious, ethnic, cultural, ideological or other lines of commitment, is actually the moving spirit of a truly up-to-date church, just as "aggiornamento" is a measure of its accommodation to the world and a measure of its historical "purpose" in the world.

That is why K. Rahner's idea that the church "turn to atheists and serve them as people, support their efforts for the good of men and learn from their experiences and constructive effort for the good of man" is no exception at all, but the rule and indeed the categorical imperative of the church if it does not want to fall into self isolation.

A Part of Man's Dilemmas

That is why the participants in the Pazin course in pastoral theology were not even concerned with the phenomenology of all possible atheisms, no more than with their genesis, and still less with atheism as an ideology which has its representatives, toward whom one should then take a position, but they examined atheism as a part of man's dilemmas, questions and hopes.... "In that sense," Professor Antun Hek of Pazin said, "the dialog should be both to our own and to his enrichment." After all, as another theologist said in his turn (Dr Marijan Jurcevic, professor of religious anthropology in Rijeka): "The believer has discovered in the atheist a man with the same concerns, good intentions and failings. Likewise some atheists by conception or by belonging to some ideology or some party has discovered in the believer a man with the same concerns and the hopes. In practice, therefore, each recognizes the other as a man: life constitutes the greatest ecumenism and the greatest dialog."

The words of Father Jerko Valkovic of Crikvenica are evidence that this dialog is not some empty metaphor, much less some kind of theological crutch: "We in the church should pose the question of atheism and atheists even on behalf of the everyday concerns of life. Since we are here, since we were all born here, we have the same rights to this country, and we also have equal duties concerning its life. It is very important that we do not become entrenched in blocs and some sort of fronts. It is important that our history be our teacher, that we learn to respect one another, to honor one another, to discover good in one another and to value it."

No One's Special Privilege

These ideas, and this should be emphasized, are truly in opposition to the clericalistic attempts which are still made at times to dig a kind of ideological chasm between believers and atheists, to divide citizens into opposing camps on the basis of definitions which by their nature do not suffer any sociopolitical differentiation whatsoever. Since this society is not being built by atheists alone, nor by believers alone, since that is not anyone's special privilege, but is the duty and obligation of every citizen, it is clear where that kind of "entrenchment" leads. So if any

sort of differences are to be made, then it can be done only as to who has contributed how much to the development of this country and to the general good of all.

So religious feeling and irreligious feeling cannot be the grounds for any sort of differentiation which claims to have any sociopolitical relevance.

This is something that bears repetition so long as such attempts are made in practice. It is in this sense that we should see those talks about atheism at the Pazin conference on pastoral theology.

7045
CSO: 2800

BRIEFS

OPSTINA PROSECUTOR ON TRIAL--On 22 September an indictment was made by the district public prosecutor in Mostar against Petar Barbir (29), public prosecutor of Ljubuski Opstina, for stealing and for misusing his official position. In the course of last year and this year until July he took 105,500 dinars and 3,850 West German marks, as well as 3,000 dinars in goods. According to the accusation, Barbir had demanded money from persons against whom criminal reports had been made offering them "guarantees" that they will have mild treatment in the course of criminal proceedings against them or that they would even be freed. Barbir received money from ten people, while five refused to give him money. [Text] [Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 23 Sep 80 p 20]

ENEMIES OF SELF-MANAGEMENT--At a 18 September meeting of delegates of the Presidium of the Federal Conference of the SAWPY, at which Istvan Rajcan, secretary of the Federal Conference, spoke, it was said: "We are conscious of the fact that individuals and small groups hostilely disposed toward socialist self-management want to exploit this occasion [the economic crisis] for their own ends. We can sometimes hear words about the fact that our system is incapable of overcoming the economic difficulties, that instability is the "product" of self-management, which is proclaimed to be economic anarchy. Representatives of dogmatic and etatistic concepts are openly recommenting stronger state intervention, an operative role for the LCY, and a system of centralist planning. The main tendency of these small groups is to sow disbelief in socialist self-management, to exaggerate our difficulties, and to sow doubt in the ability or preparedness of personnel in leadership functions. [Excerpt] [Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 19 Sep 80 p 4]

CATHOLIC PAPER PRAISES STEPINAC--The 14 September 1980 issue of the Catholic twice-monthly publication GLAS KONCILA (page 10) publishes a report of the Zagreb Cathedral service held on 7 September commemorating the 50th anniversary of the ministry of Cardinal Seper. Archibishop Franjo Kuharic praised on this occasion also Cardinal Seper's former colleague in the priesthood, Alojsius Stepinac, saying among other things, "God led both of these men through the marvelous paths of sacrifice and witness. Both were given to us in a specific and difficult period of our history. In their calling as priest, archibishop, and cardinal they had to acquit themselves well not only in their personal lives but also on the level of history, namely, the history of the church and of the people." [Editorial Report]

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END

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27 October 1980

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1821

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27 October 1980

EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1821

CONTENTS

BULGARIA

Proper Servicing of Military Equipment Stressed
(VOENNA TEKHNIKA, No 8, 1980) 1

Modern Weaponry Requirements, by Aleksandur Bozhilov
The Commander, Seasonal Services, by Ivan Ivanov
Seasonal Servicing by Technical Workshops,
by Nikola Gadzhev
Preparing Tanks for Winter Work,
by Georgi Boyadzhiev

Better Training in Use of New Weapon Systems Advocated
(Kiril Shakrachki; VOENNA TEKHNIKA, No 8, 1980) ... 13

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Directive on Restructuring Military Academies Published
(Rusov; SBIRKA ZAKONU, 8 Aug 80) 17

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

West German Reviews of GDR's Two Nation-Two Language Problem
(FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE, 15 Apr, 10 May 80,
DEUTSCHLAND-ARCHIV, Nov 75) 23

Linguistic Consequences of National Division,
by Horst Dieter Schlosser
SED Vacillation on 'National Question',
by Jens Hacker
Basis of Nation-Nationality Theory,
by Albrecht Martiny, et al.

[III - EE - 63]

Military Cartographic Service Described
(W. Goeldner; VOLKSARMEE, No 37, 1980) 45

Tighter Air Space Surveillance Ordered
(Michael Mara; DER TAGESSPIEGEL, 11 Sep 80) 49

HUNGARY

Role of, Attitude Toward Shop Stewards Highlighted
(Andras B. Balint; ELET ES IRODALOM, 6 Sep 80) ... 51

ROMANIA

Importance of Political Dialogue for Peace
(Victor Deculescu; ERA SOCIALISTA, 5 Aug 80) 58

Corruption, Crimes of Party Members Revealed
(MUNCA DE PARTID, Aug 80) 67

Immoral Doctor Expelled From Party
Wheat Stolen by Guards
Cultural Official's Religious Activities
'Fictitious' Workers in Sibiu Plant

Members of Central Election Commission Listed
(BULETINUL OFICIAL, 22 Sep 80) 72

Need for Increasing, Improving Worker Canteens
(Maria Dutescu; MUNCA DE PARTID, Aug 80) 73

Iron Guard, Antonescu Period Recalled
(Ion Spalatelu; ERA SOCIALISTA, 5 Sep 80) 78

Economic Units Must Set Up Canteens for Workers Abroad
(BULETINUL OFICIAL, 22 Sep 80) 88

Briefs
Change in Law 89
Official Appointments 89

PROPER SERVICING OF MILITARY EQUIPMENT STRESSED

Modern Weaponry Requirements

Sofia VOENNA TEKHNIKA in Bulgarian No 8, 1980 pp 2-3

[Article by Maj Gen Engineer Aleksandur Bozhilov]

[Text] "Modern technology formulates strict requirements pertaining to the intellectual and moral qualities of man." A. Berg.

Thanks to the increased economic and scientific and technical possibilities of our state, the fraternal aid of the Soviet Union and cooperation with the other socialist countries, the combat power of the BNA [Bulgarian People's Army] has a qualitatively new material and technical base.

The new complex armaments and combat materiel face army commanders and trainees with more complex and more responsible tasks and requirements. The operation of the new armament systems requires a specific approach. In this connection, this periodical has considered on a far more timely and frequent basis urgent problems of our daily life. For example, the article by Col Engineer Lukanski "A Feeling For the New and the Power of Inertia," published in issue No 11 for 1979, met with a broad response. The interesting problems related to the activities of army specialists and the views expressed by a number of authors give us reasons to consider and analyze our activities and those of subordinate specialists, draw proper conclusions, and earmark the activities needed for improving the style and method of work in order to upgrade our theoretical and practical training.

Modern armaments and equipment cannot be effectively used without high professional training. Today we cannot hope that omissions in the training and upbringing of the specialists will be eliminated as they use the equipment and armaments. This would be very costly. Here is an indicative example: A member of the crew of a combat vehicle forgot or, it may be more accurate to say, did not know that a certain valve had to be closed after practicing with the weaponry. This led to an outbreak of fire and the vehicle was immobilized for quite some time. Insufficient knowledge

of the weaponry leads to violations of safety regulations. Yet, contemporary weapons do not allow even the slightest deviation from the regulations governing its handling. Every commander and specialist must not only know what should and what should not be done in the various armament systems but have a proper concept of the consequences of his error or erroneous action. This, in turn, requires a profound mastery of all theoretical and practical operational fine points.

The time is long past when the approach to the armament was purely empirical, practical, while servicing it was reduced to the use of a screwdriver or a key. Modern weapons require a skilled scientific attitude. Only this would insure hitting the target with the first shot or the first missile. A specialist develops by steadily expanding his knowledge. Practical experience indicates that only knowledgeable and capable specialists can cope rapidly and easily with arising difficulties. A characteristic example in this respect is the case of officers Stefan Minkov and Borislav Todorov.

An alarm signal was issued by a unit. Its commander reported that a complex weapons system was not operating normally. The two specialist officers discovered that as the result of improper use the control of the system's mechanism was damaged. They not only repaired the damage but showed to the crew and the specialists in the unit how properly to operate the weaponry system. The unit commander sent a letter of gratitude for the help given. This is the type of specialists that are needed, combining control with specific practical help.

A profound knowledge of the structure and rules governing the use of armaments is the basis on which the skill needed for its combat use is acquired. We can count on success when the personnel are trained to handle armaments and combat equipment on a high technical level and when they have a feeling of duty and responsibility for the implementation of functional obligations.

We can see for ourselves that in recent years the nature of military work has changed. Today the specialists must display a scientific attitude toward their work and an intellectual approach. They must work with their minds, they must think. How topical are Engels's prophetic words that, "When the waves of the technical revolution are raging around us...fresher and more daring minds are necessary."

The military specialist faces a number of problems whose solution requires creativity and initiative, and the qualities of a good commander, organizer, and educator. In this connection, fulfilling Georgi Dimitrov's behest of "Let us learn day and night from the Soviet army," we could borrow a great deal from the Soviet military specialists and engineers. The sharing of the rich Soviet experience in the operation, maintenance, storage, and repair of armaments is a steady source of technical progress in the BNA. The artillery engineers and technicians must be the focal point of this progress.

The highly skilled specialists in our army are working to modernize armaments, insure the maximum satisfaction of modern requirements toward them, create original developments yielding major combat and economic results, improve repair technologies, and create material training facilities. An example in this respect is the unit where Officer Stoykov serves. Along with fulfilling the assignments on combat and political training of engineers and technicians, the unit uses the experience of Soviet specialists in areas such as, for example, the protection of armaments, combat equipment, and ZIP [spare parts, instruments and accessories]. Officers Botev, Todorov and Panchev are actively developing the automation and mechanization of loading and unloading operations and creating modern material and technical facilities. A number of rationalizations and inventions have been applied aimed at improving the use of armaments and upgrading their qualities.

The decisions of the National Party Conference call for the labor of the specialists to become highly organized, inventive and dedicated. It must become the work of creators with alert and restless minds, high quality and effectiveness. This demands that the engineers and technicians attentively follow the latest achievements in the military sciences and technology, including those of the capitalist countries. We must always remember Lenin's words. He considered it a crime "...the bahavior of an army which is not prepared to master all ways and means of struggle which the enemy possesses or could possess."

At the same time, we must make a precise and profound study of the possibilities of our own equipment and armaments in order to be able to use them most effectively in combat. We shall always remember Comrade T. Zhivkov's words: "The equipment must be mastered not in general but in such a way as to be used under the most complex conditions which could arise in a future war. Without this a modern army would be inconceivable. Our entire work--organizational and political--must obey this rule."

Regardless of the duty they perform, the engineers and technicians have been given the great honor of organizing the use, maintenance, safeguard, and repair of armaments and combat equipment. To this effect the specialists must creatively apply in their areas the latest scientific and technical achievements and modern methods of forecasting and upgrading the efficiency of armaments and equipment. They must seek means for the most economical use of each gram of material resources, drop of fuel or lubricant, or kilowatt hour of electric power.

We could boast of many successes. However, we cannot deny that, here and there, we find inertia, bureaucracy, obsolete work methods, and lack of creative thinking. This is what we must fight and respect cadres who do their work as a vocation and who love their profession. We must take as an example every officer who organically combines party-mindedness with profound competence, organization, discipline and creative approach to assignments. Modern equipment does not tolerate meaningless boastfulness

but demands daily creative and dedicated work for maintaining it in a state of constant good order and combat readiness.

The Commander, Seasonal Services

Sofia VOENNA TEKHNIKA in Bulgarian No 8, 1980 pp 9-10

[Article by Maj Gen Ivan Ivanov]

[Text] The internal regulations make it incumbent upon every commander to be familiar with the equipment assigned to his subunit and to periodically check its condition and availability. Instructions and other documents which regulate its utilization, operation, and storage are far more detailed.

As the regulations stipulate, the commander is the organizer of the entire life and activities in his unit. The most important and most characteristic feature of his daily activities is a concrete approach. Knowledge is necessary in order to be aware of current assignments and to properly realize problems. That is why today, more than ever before, the commander must be perfectly familiar with the equipment assigned to his unit and with the rules governing its use, operation, and storage.

The different kinds of reviews and services and their periodicity, extent, and deadlines for completing the stipulated operations depend on the type of the equipment and the conditions of its use and are defined in the respective manuals. Practical experience has indicated that the higher the quality of machine services is, and the better trained the personnel using them becomes, the more their breakdowns or irregularities decline and the higher the combat readiness and combat capability of the troops becomes. Usually, such activities are planned and are of a preventive nature. Seasonal technical servicing is the most important among them. This takes place twice annually. Its purpose is to make the state of the equipment consistent with the specific requirements and conditions of the season. The main performers are the drivers and the crews, actively assisted by the specialists. The work is organized by the technical services and guided by the commander.

Considerable positive experience has been acquired in the organization and implementation of seasonal maintenance work. It is reflected in the monthly plans and is considered one of the most important seasonal activities. In order to insure its organized and qualitative implementation, particular attention is paid to the preliminary preparations. The direct participation of the commander is the most characteristic feature of the organization and providing of seasonal servicing. This introduces better organization in the work, upgrades the discipline, and improves material and technical support. Furthermore, the personal example and closer control on the part of the commander mobilize the service personnel to insure the qualitative and precise implementation of assignments.

Our commanders have acquired great experience in organizing and carrying out seasonal technical servicing. Most of them are directing ever more personally preparations and servicing and personally participating in the work. Exemplary in this respect is Officer Kamburov. This year model practical exercises were carried out under his direct control along with overall material preparations. In the course of the servicing he checked the quality of the work and rated performances on a daily basis. Officer Kamburov is promoting the same work style among his subordinate commanders. As a result, the quality of servicing of the equipment is high and it is ready for use.

However, some commanders remove themselves from the fulfillment of this most important and responsible assignment. Some of them are merely present in the course of the servicing while others have entirely left this work to the officers from the technical services, the drivers, and the crews.

In the unit where Officer Petrenchev serves the equipment was not properly prepared for work under spring and summer conditions. The conducted study indicated that the leading and guiding role of the commander was absent in the course of the seasonal servicing. Unquestionably, this affected the organizing role of his subordinate commanders and, particularly, the results of the work.

As a stage in preparing the vehicles for work under special conditions covering a certain period of the year, seasonal servicing is one of the most important activities in maintaining the vehicles in high technical conditions. Past experience has indicated that wherever the equipment was serviced with insufficient preliminary preparations and where control and, particularly, command exactingness were not on the necessary level the quality of the work has been low and failures and breakdowns have been no exception. That is why all commanders must be concerned with the proper organization and qualitative implementation of seasonal services. The political organs and party and Komsomol organization must join most energetically in the solution of this most important topical problem.

Seasonal technical servicing is complex and expensive. That is why, together with the drivers and crews, the specialists from the technical workshops, who are in charge of the more complex operations, actively take part in it.

One of the most important prerequisites for the successful and qualitative seasonal maintenance is its preliminary preparations and material support.

In the period preceding the servicing, by order of the commander the time for the servicing, the procedure and the deadlines for preparatory activities are stipulated. To this effect, the ZKTCh [Deputy Commanders for Technical Affairs] draft detailed plans including all activities related to the preparations of the equipment, the work areas and their facilities, the repair and servicing facilities and, particularly, the

personnel. Particular attention is paid to material support. In this case the drafting of the proper documents and supplying of necessary servicing facilities and materials play an important role.

Rallies and training classes are organized for the personnel. Work groups are set up. Meetings are held and instructions on the socialist competition are issued. Control is organized and means for recording the work done are stipulated.

The main concern of every commander and the main obligation of the deputy commanders for technical affairs should be to supply everything that a workplace may need: technological charts, work benches with sets of tools, materials for general use, and others.

Seasonal servicing is not only a responsible but a rather difficult activity. The difficulties stem, above all, from the simultaneously resolved problems: Planning for the forthcoming period, holding rallies and command exercises, work on training-material facilities, economic and living problems, and so on. In this case the organizing work of the commander is particularly important. This is because he is not only best acquainted with the tasks to be implemented by the unit under his command at that time but because he handles the deployment of and maneuvering with the available forces and facilities in the course of the implementation of the task.

The preliminary preparations mark merely the beginning of the work. The most important condition for the successful implementation of the assignment remains the high organization of the work in the course of the execution and the steady aspiration to utilize and mobilize in full the forces of the entire personnel involved in the servicing. At the same time, permanent control and daily accountability of the work done play an important role in the timely completion. Such activities are organized and headed by the commander and directly under the control of the deputy commander for technical affairs.

There was a time when, for objective reasons or subjective considerations, many commanders removed themselves from the implementation of this exceptionally important assignment. Some of them were satisfied with receiving information on activities based on the current plans of the unit or the reports of their chiefs of services. This, however, is now past history. Today our commanders not only have solid military knowledge but good technical training as well. They are well familiar with the equipment of their subordinate units and the rules governing its use. Furthermore, with every passing year they become ever more familiar with the problems of the organization, implementation and reporting of the results of seasonal servicing, which are becoming an inseparable part of their daily command work. They penetrate the nature and content of problems related to maintaining the vehicles in a state of high technical readiness

ever more profoundly, displaying an understanding and high individual responsibility. All this becomes part of their daily work and their style and methods.

Armed with Marxist-Leninist theory, and implementing the decisions of the 11th BCP Congress, our commanders spare no efforts and forces to maintain the expensive combat equipment assigned to them in a state of full readiness. They are working with the clear awareness that this will insure the implementation of the tasks related to combat training and enhancing the combat readiness of their units.

Seasonal Servicing By Technical Workshops

Sofia VOENNA TEKHNIKA in Bulgarian No 8, 1980 pp 10-12

[Article by Col Nikola Gadzhev]

[Text] Preparing armaments and equipment for work under autumn and winter conditions is an important aspect of the work of commanders and technical organs. The qualitative organization and implementation of such activities largely determines both the solution of a number of problems related to the combat training of the troops and to maintaining a state of permanent combat readiness.

Along with the considerable amount of work which must be done by commanders and technical organs in preparing for and providing seasonal technical servicing, the extent of the direct and immediate participation of technical workshop specialists in various types of machinery is of decisive importance.

The question of using technical workshop specialists in seasonal technical maintenance make their high level training a mandatory prerequisite for the full and qualitative implementation of such obligations.

Previous experience has indicated that whenever the ZKTCh show a feeling of responsibility in the training of the specialists for seasonal technical servicing the results of their work become far better.

We are resolving the problem of training technical workshop specialists through a system of classes in accordance with organizational-methodical instructions as well as through two-day practical training immediately preceding the period of seasonal technical servicing.

What makes such training necessary? Practical experience has indicated that the need for it is dictated by the fact that the level of training of the specialists varies and that the quality with which various operations stipulated in the technical charts are performed by individuals in the same field of training may be different. Furthermore, there are stipulations not only in the manuals on the operation of a specific model but in

other documents and instructions which, one way or another, do not always reach the specialists. Practical experience has indicated that frequently the specialists fail to understand some specific problems arising in the course of seasonal technical servicing. For example, an error is made in regulating the braking system of ZIL-model vehicles by allowing for identical engine axles different strokes of the levers for actioning the diaphrams which results in the nonsimultaneous activating of the two axle wheels. In turn, this means that in applying the brakes the vehicle will lurch toward the side whose diaphragm is activated first, thus endangering the run of the vehicle. A similar situation exists in adjusting the clutch of ZIL-157 and ZIL-157-K vehicles, due to the fact that some specialists are unfamiliar with the features of the ZIL-157-K and leave a 20-30 mm play instead of 30-45 mm.

No less important in training the specialists is for the ZKTCh to determine their ability to use diagnostic equipment. This may be their weakest point, for they are either unfamiliar with many of the instruments or are not familiar with them enough. Unquestionably, this will affect the quality of the seasonal technical maintenance. Some ZKTCh believe that the diagnostic equipment should be used only in the diagnostic centers set up at technical workshops.

That is precisely why some specialists such as Master Sergeant Baykov, Sergeant N. F. Enev and others still have difficulties in using the instruments E-5 and K-301 in checking the electrical system of the vehicles.

What is our method in organizing the practical training of specialists for participation in seasonal technical servicing? When the technical service of the large unit formulates the technological charts, it determines which of the operations will be carried out by specific specialists. On this basis the chief of the workshop organizes practical training with the specialists who thus specialize in a specific work. It is mandatory for the specialists from the technical workshops of the units to attend such training, for usually each workshop has one or two specialists and the ZKTCh of the unit cannot organize the practical training of all of them at the same time. That is why we summon them to training provided at the technical workshop of the large unit under the guidance of the chiefs of sections in charge of repairs of the various machinery models and an officer from the big unit's service.

As we prepare the documents for the seasonal technical servicing we also draft a schedule for the use of the specialists broken down by days and vehicles. This makes their work more orderly and helps not only to upgrade the quality of the work but to resolve the problem of individual responsibility for work done on the machinery in the course of the seasonal technical servicing. We thus know what specialist has been working when and on what machine and what precisely he has done. Schedule violations always

lead to formalism in the work of the specialists and lowers the quality of the seasonal servicing.

At the same time, however, we pay great attention to equipping the workplaces and brigades with the necessary tools, instruments and appliances. This enables the specialist to carry out the operation, as indicated on the technological chart, on a high quality level. For example, it is virtually impossible to check the parameters of the stabilizer or the radio, tune up the vehicles or check the seals of a T-55 tank or a floating vehicle or the air cooling system of the tank unless the proper workplace or brigade has been equipped with the necessary tools, attachments and instruments. Consequently, the question of their availability is exceptionally important and no compromise solution is possible. For this reason the technical service of the big unit must establish a specific procedure for the utilization of instruments and attachments which could not be supplied to the individual workplaces or brigades of all units for simultaneous use. That is why we also draft a schedule for their use in different days by unit. This enables the ZKTCh of the units to properly plan the work of the specialists. This insures the rhythmical implementation of the entire amount of activities included in the technological charts of the different vehicles. The ability of the ZKTCh properly and most effectively to organize the use of technical workshop specialists is also necessitated by the fact that during the seasonal technical servicing some of the combat training, drill and transport vehicles also require repair operations which could consume a considerable amount of the specialists' time. For this reason, based on the list of repairs drawn up before the seasonal servicing, the ZKTCh must organize his work in such a way that repair operations will not eliminate the participation of the specialists in the seasonal servicing operations they must perform. In the opposite case their participation becomes fictitious which affects the quality of seasonal machine servicing.

A no less important aspect of our work in the course of the seasonal technical servicing is to organize and implement effective control by the ZKTCh of the individual units and the officers of the technical service of the large unit regarding the quality of the work done by the technical workshop specialists. The question of quality control is of great importance in terms of end results in making the equipment fit for work in autumn and winter conditions. In order for the ZKTCh to insure effective control, mandatory knowledge is required not only of the adjustment parameters of a given system or unit but the ability of the ZKTCh to use control facilities as well. That is precisely why we hold a one-day meeting with the ZKTCh to acquaint them with new or insufficiently well-known control instruments. For example, it would be difficult to guide and control work on the processing of a tank engine for storage with the help of the AKD-1 unit unless the ZKTCh of companies and battalions are thoroughly familiar with it. This is precisely the reason for which there have been frequent cases of some subunits to process a tank engine

for storage in accordance with obsolete methods. Another similar problem is that of familiarity with the remaining machine units and instruments for controlling the condition of the vehicles and of instruments needed for one or another operation as required by the technological chart of a given vehicle model.

All this proves that organizing the work of the technical workshop specialists during the seasonal technical servicing is no easy matter and that it should be approached with the highest possible feeling of responsibility. Practical experience has indicated that whenever the ZKTCh and the technical service have paid serious attention to the training and use of technical workshop specialists for seasonal technical servicing the results of their work and their individual contributions to high quality preparations of armored vehicles for work under seasonal conditions are considerably higher. This contributes to maintaining armored vehicles in a high state of combat readiness and insures normal conditions for high quality training.

Preparing Tanks for Winter Work

Sofia VOENNA TEKHNIKA in Bulgarian No 8, 1980 pp 12-13

[Article by Maj Engineer Georgi Boyadzhiev]

[Text] Two-day training classes with the participating personnel are held immediately before the seasonal technical servicing (STO). The study covers the features of operating tanks in autumn and winter conditions, the amount of activities to be carried out and the safety measures to be taken in their implementation, after which practical instructions are given on the most complex operations. In order to achieve high quality STO, commanders, ZKTCh and technical workshop specialists draw up specific lists of defective equipment. A route technological chart must be provided for each vehicle in order to increase responsibility for the fulfillment of the operations stipulated in the technological charts. The route technological chart must stipulate the member of the brigade (post, crew) performing a specific operation. After the servicing, the route technological charts are submitted by the chief of the brigade or post to the ZKTCh of the subunit and are kept until the next STO.

As the vehicles are used, the quality of the lubricant in the moving parts worsens, seals are broken as the result of wear and tear, and bearings are damaged. This calls for dismantling the running parts of all combat training vehicles and of combat vehicles which have been run across water in the summer and, on a preventive basis, once every 6 years, of 20 percent of the battle tanks. Experience has indicated that after such dismantling old and unfit seals have been used or that some of the new seals have been damaged in assembling the bogies. The quality of the seals may be checked by winding up the pressure roller after the rollers

have been assembled, in the area of the upper lubrication plug, and of the air pump pipe of the lower plug, thus creating a pressure of 0.5 MPa (5 kg per square centimeter), which must last 2 to 3 minutes. The labyrinth ring must be checked. Should there be a lubricant leak from it the defective seal must be replaced. This guarantees the protection of the roller bearers from mud and water. The low winter temperature requires the use of antifreeze instead of water. If necessary, the cooling systems must be flushed in advance with a six percent solution of lactic acid heated to 80°C. We must bear in mind that the acid has an adverse effect on rubber seals and that such flushing takes place only if it is truly necessary, i.e., in the presence of boiler scale. After draining the water solution of lactic acid, the cooling system must be flushed with soft water. Following the draining of the water the cooling system must be air blown. The volume of antifreeze must be five to six liters under the capacity of the system. This is necessitated by the higher expansion coefficient of the antifreeze. Should the radiator be filled up, following the heating of the antifreeze to the level of engine running temperature, some of the liquid will be released by the system. In order to be confident that the cooling system is in order it must be checked for leaks. A tap with a pressure gauge and an air pumping valve must be put at the place of the air-steam valve. A pressure of 0.11 MPa (1.1 kg per square centimeter) must be created. For a period of 10 minutes the pressure must not drop by over 0.02 MPa (0.2 kg per square centimeter). Should the pressure drop the leak must be found and sealed. The preheater valves of the combat training vehicles must be opened. In the summer the nozzles of the preheaters are kept in storage, for which reason they must be washed together with their fan screens and the preheater flame must be adjusted to insure their normal operation in winter. The fire pipe boiler must be cleaned by removing and scrubbing it with a wire brush and tractor kerosene.

In order for the engines to operate normally the air filters must be washed. The boxes are washed in diesel fuel at a temperature not below 15°C. They must be drained after washing and lubricated with MT-16p oil in their upper and middle sections, in dust-proof enclosed premises. After oiling, the sections must be placed at a 45-60 degree angle in order to drain. The draining time is based on the temperature of the oil. At temperatures of 100, 80 and 60 degrees centigrade, it is, respectively, 30, 90, and 120 minutes.

The cyclone dust separator must be rinsed with diesel fuel and dried with compressed air. Even though the oil from the sections has been drained, some of it remains within the frame and, after reassembling, drains into the cyclone separator, oiling the cyclones from within, after which dust settles on the oiled surface and the air filtering is worsened. In order to eliminate this unnecessary oil, immediately after the casings have been put back, the air filter must be assembled and placed in the tank, the engine must be started and ran for 3 to 5 minutes at 1,400-1,800

revolutions per minute, in the course of which the air flow tears off the small oil particles and carries them to the cylinders.

The penetration of water inside the slotted guide plate dirties its selector rods, as a result of which the gears in the gearbox cannot be engaged. This requires the disassembling of the unit and its cleaning, and the lubrication of the selector rods.

In order for a normal temperature system to be maintained, the state of the louvers and their control gears must be checked, defects eliminated, and hinge joints of drives lubricated.

In the winter the viscosity of the electrolite in the batteries rises and its penetration into the pores of the active mass is hindered. This worsens the work of the electric starters. Furthermore, we must not forget that the lesser the thickness of the electrolite the higher its freezing temperature is. For these reasons the batteries must be kept in a state of delution not exceeding 25 percent.

The water which finds its way in the fuel lines and filters freezes. Ice caps are formed and the engine stops or cannot be started. That is why the filters must be checked and five to six liters of fuel must be drained from the tanks and checked for water content and filtered, after which the fuel lines are recharged.

The air bottles must contain compressed air under pressure of 13.5 MPa (135 kg per square centimeter). It must be borne in mind that in some tank models the upper bottle must be loaded to 7 MPa (70 kg per square centimeter) and that if kept stationary, this air pressure level must not be exceeded so that the safety valve of the air reductor IL 611-150-70 does not break down. Furthermore, the seal of the system must be checked, leaks must be eliminated, and the condensor must be released from the moisture and oil separators, paying particular attention to the one next to the air bottles.

These are the most essential activities whose proper execution is a basis for the reliable operation of tanks in the autumn and winter training period.

5003
CSO: 2200

BETTER TRAINING IN USE OF NEW WEAPON SYSTEMS ADVOCATED

Sofia VOENNA TEKHNIKA in Bulgarian No 8, 1980 pp 14-15

[Article by Capt Engineer Kiril Shakrachki: Our Experience in Organizing and Holding a Vehicle Fleet Day"]

[Text] The vehicle fleet day is one of the most important activities in maintaining the equipment and armaments in proper technical order and permanent combat readiness. Furthermore, in the course of the day the proper attention is paid to checking and improving fire fighting and training-material facilities and the landscaping of the grounds.

In order for vehicle fleet day to be highly effective a good organization of the work and preliminary preparations are needed and improved steadily.

We plan, organize, and hold vehicle fleet days in the following order:

At the end of the current month, as we draft the plan, we also plan the vehicle fleet days to be held in the next month, coordinated with other activities and tasks. It training classes or comprehensive exercises are held in a given week, ending on a Friday or Saturday, in addition to the vehicle fleet day we allocate yet another day for servicing the equipment.

In the course of a conference with the commanding officer, we earmark the main activities to be carried out on maintaining the equipment and armaments during the following month. We then draw up a plan for vehicle fleet days to be held during the month.

The preparation for the next vehicle fleet day begins with the drafting of its plan which must be approved by the commander by Wednesday at the latest and a copy of which is distributed among the subunits. The plan calls for the solution of problems which are part of the basic activities related to the equipment for that particular month, but already broken down into details. The main officials of the staff who will help the subunits and check the equipment in accordance with the service regulations and instructions are named.

On Thursday, in the course of the conference on reporting and planning the weekly cycle of the following week, the commander also formulates the tasks for vehicle fleet day, assigning to the staff officers the various control assignments or the subunits to be helped. He instructs subunit commanders on the salient points to which attention is to be paid and the number of men to be assigned to general work. The subunit commanders as well draw up their vehicle fleet day on Thursday. On this basis, on Friday the chiefs of stations and the drivers draw up their individual plan-assignments. The instructors who will be teaching specific topics to be covered at the beginning of the vehicle fleet day also draw up their plans at the same time. Friday afternoon the necessary materials are given to the subunits for servicing the equipment along with instruments for work on the territory of the depot.

Vehicle fleet day begins with a general review in the course of which the readiness of the personnel for work is checked. The commander then announces the time breakdown and the assignment of staff officers by subunit. After that the subunit commanders specify the assignments and go over the basic safety requirements and the procedure to be followed in checking the company equipment. The ZKTCh [Deputy Commanders for Technical Affairs] give further specifications on the posts and the technical personnel who will be assisting the subunits after which the troops march in military formation to their work areas and cites. Here, headed by their commanders and the deputy commanders for technical affairs, in about 30 minutes the drivers and specialists go over the practical questions which will help the personnel to do the technical servicing competently and on a high quality basis. Thus, for example, in one of the vehicle fleet days the following items were covered with the drivers: types of oils and their use in a motor vehicle; lubrication areas; preparing the automotive vehicles for emergency driving under winter conditions. The following items were covered with the signalmen: rules for operating radio transmitters under winter conditions; types of antennas and procedures governing their use; and safety measures in handling equipment issues.

Having gone over the training questions, the personnel began work in accordance with the plan-assignments. The drivers were working with the motor vehicles while the crews carried out regulation operations involving communications equipment. Usually, the drivers are issued several permanent assignments. For example, every vehicle fleet day they must check the oil in the engines and the position and condition of the batteries. On the one hand, this is important in maintaining the equipment in constant combat readiness and, on the other, it enables the personnel to take measures to prevent breakdowns.

In the course of the vehicle fleet day platoon and company commanders review the proper documentation and technical conditions of the motor vehicles and communications facilities. They direct the work personally and see to it that the equipment is serviced on time and properly.

Every month we go over regulation No 3 concerning communications equipment involving the use of the measurement issues and done by the crews. Since this involves a high amount of work, regulation No 3 is covered over two to three fleet vehicle days. To this effect the ZKTCh of subunits plan in advance the operations to be carried out in a given fleet day. This way, in the course of the month, the entire equipment stipulated in regulation No 3 is covered.

We find it more difficult to deal with measuring the parameters included in regulation No 3. The parameters of systems for which measuring equipment is available are measured in advance according to schedule. This is done by the technical organs of the workshops under the guidance of the subunit engineer. Therefore, during the vehicle fleet day the crews concentrate on the stations and the instrument systems. The complexity of the work is caused by the fact that our instruments systems do not have the full set of measuring equipment. Some of the crews are unable to perform the operations as stipulated in the regulations. That is why we have prepared rolls of technological diagrams and regulation operations for each station (set of instruments). The specialists were given several hours of training. This insured the better quality of regulation work done by the personnel and, hence, the maintenance of the equipment in constant technical fitness and combat readiness.

The help which specialists from the signals and motor workshops give the subunits plays an important role in the conduct of proper operations during vehicle fleet da, and in upgrading its effectiveness. Usually we organize several mobile centers which provide effective aid at the site. Thus, for example, all batteries are checked by brigades consisting of the chief of the charging station and two privates.

The tuning of all motor vehicles is checked and brought up to norm also on the site by a brigade consisting of a mechanic and the subunit drivers. Before the work starts subunit commanders are informed of the technicians and assemblymen who will be assigned to them on fleet vehicle day.

Furthermore, the workshops set up self-servicing centers equipped with the necessary tools and materials for minor repairs of motor vehicles, stations, instruments, and other signals equipment.

During vehicle fleet day we also set up a brigade to check and adjust all the electrical machinery, consisting of one technician and one driver. They check all units and eliminate minor defects. Thus, at the end of the day we have precise information on the condition of the communications and automotive equipment. This enables us to give specific assignments to the workshop personnel on the elimination of discovered malfunctions in the course of the week.

Our vehicle grounds have loudspeakers. This enables us, in the course of vehicle fleet day, to broadcast in honor of troops and commanders with best achievements in the maintenance and operation of the equipment. Usually this takes place during the rest period, from 1000 to 1030 hours. We organize suitable radio information for each vehicle fleet day. This lifts the spirit of the personnel and helps to improve labor effectiveness.

The vehicle fleet day ends with a short review by the commander who begins by hearing the reports of control staff officers. He then rates the subunits, issues citations, and gives the assignments for the following vehicle fleet day.

5003
CSO: 2200

DIRECTIVE ON RESTRUCTURING MILITARY ACADEMIES PUBLISHED

Prague SBIRKA ZAKONU in Czech No 95, 8 Aug 80 pp 427-430

[Proclamation of the Federal Ministry of National Defense of 16 July 1980 which promulgates the 15 July 1980 order of the President of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic on implementation of Law No 39/1980 of the Collection [of laws] concerning higher schools for higher military schools--signed by Col Gen Eng Rusov, First Deputy Minister of National Defense]

[Text] The Federal Ministry of National Defense is promulgating the 15 July 1980 order of the President of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic on implementation of Para 86, articles a) and b) of Law No 39/1980 of the Collection concerning higher schools for higher military schools.

Higher military schools are an inseparable part of the Czechoslovak educational system and the highest level of the military school system. They carry out important tasks in building up the Czechoslovak People's Army and increasing its combat and political preparedness.

The demanding tasks of creating a developed socialist society and ensuring its defense place high demands on the preparedness of the military cadre and thus also on the activities of the higher military schools.

The role of the higher military schools is in particular:

a) in accordance with the military policies of the Czechoslovak Communist Party and the patriotic and international mission of the Czechoslovak People's Army within the union of the armies of the Warsaw Pact and in keeping with the goals of communist education and the latest knowledge of science, technology, and the military arts to train ideologically staunch and morally mature graduates, educated both politically and in their skills, to take demanding positions in the Czechoslovak People's Army, and

b) to develop educational training work and scientific, research, and development activities and thus to contribute to the development of science and technology in accordance with the needs of the Czechoslovak People's Army.

Paragraph 1

Higher Military Schools and Faculties

In accordance with Para 86, Article a) of Law No 39/1980 of the Collection concerning higher schools (hereafter just "the law"), it is laid down that:

(1) The higher military schools of the university nature are:

a) The Klement Gottwald Military Political Academy in Bratislava, with faculties for:

--postgraduate training of military-political faculty,

--higher school training of military-political faculty.

Graduates will complete their studies in accordance with Para 43 of the law by taking the state final examination. In connection with completing their studies, they can take the state specialization examination. After completion of the state specialization examination, the higher school will award them the title "Doctor of Social Political Science" (abbreviated "RSDr") in accordance with Para 44, Section 2, Article f) of the law. The higher school can also award the title without taking the state specialization examination in accordance with Para 44, Section 3 of the law.

b) The Military Medical Research and Education Institute Jan Evangelista Purkyne in Hradec Kralove.

Graduates of the study fields of general medicine and stomatology complete their studies by taking the state specialization examination in accordance with Para 42, Section 1 of the law. In accordance with Para 42, Section 2 of the law the higher school will award them the title of "Doctor of Medicine? (abbreviated "MUDr").

Graduates of the study field of general pharmacy complete their studies by taking the state final examination in accordance with Para 43 of the law. In connection with completion of their studies they can take the state specialization examination. After completion of the state specialization examination the higher school will award them the title of "Doctor of Pharmacy" (abbreviated "PharmDr") in accordance with Para 44, Section 2, Article e) of the law. The higher school can also award the title without taking the state specialization examination in accordance with Para 44, Section 3 of the law.

(2) The higher military schools of a technical orientation are:

a) The Antonin Zapotocky Military Academy in Brno, with faculties of:

--the postgraduate training faculty for combined arms, and branches of arms and services,

--the military-engineering faculty,

--the foreign faculty.

The postgraduate training faculty for combined arms and branches of arms and services also offers postgraduate education of an economic orientation in the organizational-economic study fields.

b) The Higher Military School of the Ground Forces named for thrice-Hero of the CSSR and Hero of the USSR Army General Ludvik Svoboda in Vysoka Morava with faculties of:

--the combined arms faculty,

--the faculty of branches of arms.

c) The Higher Military Aviation School of the Slovak National Uprising in Kosice, with faculties of:

--the command-engineering faculty,

--the military engineering faculty.

d) The Higher Military Technical School of Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship in Liptovske Mikulas, with faculties of:

--faculty of antiaircraft equipment for air defense of the state,

--faculty of radar and automated command systems,

--faculty of air defense of the ground forces,

--communications faculty.

e) Military faculty of the Higher School of Transportation and Communications in Zilin.

(3) The higher military school of an economic orientation is:

The Higher Military School of Rear Services and Technical Support named for Hero of the CSSR Jan Sverma in Zilin.

(4) Graduates of the higher military schools of technical and economic orientations complete their studies by taking the state final examinations in accordance with Para 41, Section 1 of the law. The higher schools award them the title of "Engineer" (abbreviated "Eng") in accordance with Para 41, Section 2 of the law.

Paragraph 2

Study Fields and Length of Studies

In accordance with Para 86, Article b) of the law, the appendix sets out the study fields and the length of regular studies for the individual study fields in the higher military schools.

Paragraph 3

The following are rescinded:

1. Proclamation of the minister of national defense No 90/1966 of the Collection which publishes an extract from the Order of the President of the Republic on implementing Law No 19/1966 of the Collection concerning higher schools in the area of higher military schools.

2. Proclamation of the Federal Ministry of National Defense No 16/1973 of the Collection on changes in the organization of higher military schools.

3. Proclamation of the Federal Ministry of National Defense No 133/1979 of the Collection on changes in the organization of higher military schools.

4. Order of the minister of national defense No 16 of 12 September 1966 on implementation of the Order of the President of the Republic on 9 September 1966 "Provisions for Implementation of Law No 19/1966 of the Collection Concerning Higher Schools in the Area of Higher Military Schools," file portion 39/1966 of the Collection.

5. Directive of the Ministry of National Defense for strict examinations at the Klement Gottwald Military Political Academy (specialization program), file portion 26/1967 of the Collection.

6. Directive of the Ministry of National Defense for awarding titles to the graduates of the Klement Gottwald Military Political Academy who completed studies prior to the effective date of Law No 19/1966 of the Collection concerning higher schools and Order of the President of the Republic No 15/1966, file portion 26/1967 of the Collection.

7. Report of the Ministry of Education and Culture and the Ministry of National Defense on higher military schools, portion 38/1961 of the U.l. [Constitutional Decree].

Paragraph 4

This proclamation takes effect 1 September 1980.

[Signed] First Deputy Minister Col Gen Eng Rusov

Attachment to Paragraph 2 of Proclamation No 95/1980 of the Collection

System of Study Fields and Length of Regular Studies at Higher Military Schools

Numerical Designator[1]	Main Group Study Group Field of Study	Length of regular studies (in years) Full time	Part time	Orientation of studies at higher military schools (or faculties)
1	2	3	4	5
2, 3	Technical Sciences and Branches of Science Military Engineering Fields[2] Military Industrial Fields[3]			
23	Machine tools and other metal working	5	6	technical
23-51-8	Engineer machinery	5	6	technical
23-53-8	Tank and motor vehicle[3]	5	6	technical
23-54-8	Armament technology[3]	5	6	technical
23-55-8	Aviation machinery[3]	5	6	technical
26	Electronics Technology	5	6	technical
26-52-8	Radar	5	6	technical
26-53-8	Military communications technology	5	6	technical
26-54-8	Aviation electronics technology[3]	5	6	technical
26-56-8	Automation of command--electronic computers	5	6	technical
26-57-8	Engineering services for antiaircraft technology	5	6	technical
26-58-8	Armament electronics technology[3]	5	6	technical
26-59-8	Automating command systems	5	6	technical
28	Chemical Technology			
28-41-8	Military chemistry	4	5	technical

[1]Proclamation of the Federal Statistics Institute No 129/1971 of the Collection on introduction and use of a standard employment classification and standard classification of studies and teaching fields.

[2]The length of studies in the military engineering fields is established for study by graduates of civil middle schools, military gymnasia, 1-year graduate courses and graduates of military middle trade schools without experience. For graduates of 1- and 2-year officer schools and military middle trade schools with experience the length of full-time study is 4 years and part-time study is 5 years for all of the above fields.

[3]In the above military industrial study field, students can also be trained to meet the needs of factories with special products.

36 Construction, Geodes and Cartography			
36-36-8 Geodes and cartography	5	6	technical
36-38-8 Military construction	5	6	technical
37 Transportation, Postal Services and Telecommunications	5	6	technical
37-31-8 Construction and restoration of railroads	5	6	technical
37-32-8 Construction and restoration of highways	5	6	technical
37-33-8 Military transportation	5	6	technical
39 Special Technical Fields			
39-60-8 Military weather service	5	6	technical
5 Medical and Pharmaceutical Sciences and Branches of Science			
51-17-8 Stomatology	5	-	university
51-41-8 General medicine	6	-	university
52-15-8 General pharmacy	4	5	university
6, 7 Social Sciences, Branches of Science and Services			
62-60-8 Economics of the army	4	5	economic
67-11-8 Military-political	4	5	university
75-01-8 Military-pedagogic	4	5	university
9 Military Sciences, Command-Engineering Fields			
91-30-8 Motorized rifle	4	5	technical
91-31-8 Tank	4	5	technical
91-33-8 Reconnaissance	4	5	technical
91-35-8 Rocket troops and artillery	4	5	technical
91-43-8 Air defense of the country troops	4	5	technical
91-37-8 Engineers	4	5	technical
91-39-8 Signal	4	5	technical
91-41-8 Air defense of the country troops	4	5	technical
91-47-8 Aviation	4	5	technical
91-49-8 Aviation pilot	4	5	technical
91-57-8 Radiotechnical	4	5	technical
Postgraduate Study Fields			
06-01-8 Command staff	3	-	technical
97-60-8 Engineering staff	2	-	technical
98-70-8 Organizational-economic	2	-	economic
Specialization in the combined arms rear services	3	-	economic

6285
CSO: 2400

WEST GERMAN REVIEWS OF GDR'S TWO NATION-TWO LANGUAGE PROBLEM

Linguistic Consequences of National Division

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 10 May 80 'Bilder und Zeiten' supplement p 4

[Article by Horst Dieter Schlosser: "Is There Still a German National Language? Linguistic Agreements and Controversies." Translations of writings by below-cited GDR scholars are published under the quoted headings in the following JPRS issues of this series: by Prof Guenter Feudel,"Research Developments in Marxist-Leninist Linguistics," 68736, 7 Mar 77, No 1361, pp 13-20; and "Joint GDR-Soviet Linguistic Research Discussed," 65924, 14 Oct 75, No 1146, pp 1-3; by Gotthard Lerchner, included in "'Abgrenzung,' National Language Problem Still in Focus," 67657, 27 Jul 76, No 1273, pp 5-23. For a comparison of official GDR and FRG dictionaries, referred to below, see JPRS 70803, 20 Mar 78, No 1514 of this series, pp 62-69. For a West German review of the GDR's revised Philosophical Dictionary see JPRS 64368, 20 Mar 75, No 1048 of this series, pp 90-92. Translations of other related information are available in JPRS issues of this series as follows: on importance of ideology in linguistic research, 64957, 10 Jun 75, pp 42-53; and on further joint GDR-East bloc language research, 68288, 30 Nov 76, pp 1-5]

[Text] Thirty years after the establishment of the Federal Republic and the German Democratic Republic respectively it seems appropriate to carry out another study to see whether and what linguistic consequences have been provoked by the division of Germany into two states. Such an inquiry is encouraged not least by the increasingly clamorous GDR assertion that, in the meantime, not only has the German nation ceased to exist but also standard German as a common national language. Should the first assumption be in fact correct, the second would no longer seem quite so preposterous.

GDR linguists pronouncing on the topic may well refer to West German analyses in the 1950's and 1960's, which already drew attention to the linguistic consequences of the division of Germany and fed the fear that the community of the German language might one day be lost altogether. In 1977, at the Twelfth International Linguistic Congress in Vienna, Guenter Feudel of the

East Berlin Academy of Sciences addressed this important international audience. He exploited somber early West German forecasts for his own purposes though admitting that the earlier analyses had been somehow suppressed, and that FRG linguists were now taking a "revisionist" line, pleading for the "unifying tie of the German language."

As far back as 1976 linguist Gotthard Lerchner (Halle) noted in the FDJ newspaper FORUM that it was no longer appropriate to speak of the unifying power of the German language. Instead the German language in the Federal Republic and the GDR had split in at least two different "national linguistic variants." In Vienna Feudel repeated this assertion and, though not explicitly, forecast a future in which Federal Germans and GDR citizens would each have their own national languages. We are bound instinctively to recall such historical developments as the departure of Dutch from the German linguistic community.

Neither Lerchner nor Feudel quote sources for the recent West German attitude alleged to play down the linguistic differences between the Federal Republic and the GDR. Actually such sources are hardly to be found because analyses continue to be published and noted in the Federal Republic regarding the progress of the linguistic divergence of the two German states. A comparison of official dictionaries such as the Leipzig and the Mannheim "Duden" quickly--possibly rather too quickly--provides the evidence.

Years ago Soviet linguist M.M. Guchmann provided GDR linguists with a Marxist concept of the "German national language," although they seem not quite able to handle its range--from the sociohistoric justification to the linguistic description of a standardized written or "high" German. In 1964 Guenter Feudel himself translated Guchmann's book "The Approach to a German National Language," and he is therefore the person most likely to correctly relate these two theoretical poles. Most of all is it to be expected that he remembers the necessity for relating the term "national language" to the historical consciousness of a German nation at the time our literary language evolved--if he is not to be bogged down in all the modern contractions of the concept of the nation. Once the politicization of this concept in the 19th and 20th Centuries is made to provide the basis of consideration, any separate political development in the old Reich (to 1806) must needs appear like the dissolution of a national unity. Yet, for the longest time in the German past the national unity of Germany was "merely" a cultural and, therefore, largely linguistic unity. Despite its special dialect nobody in Austria has ever raised the issue of linguistic community with Germany as blatantly as the GDR linguists; not even the Swiss have done so, although quite evidently German literary language has begun to be supplanted by Schwyzerduetsch, for instance in the news media. And all that despite the fact that in these two instances the national "Abgrenzung" [delimitation, separation] is quite indisputable.

Consequently GDR linguists such as Feudel must grossly misjudge the historic possibilities and limits of the concept of a German national language if

they credit with the greatest explosive force the latest of the special political developments of the German nation.

What are the real facts regarding the coincidence, misinterpreted by Lerchner and Feudel--for whatever reasons--, of some of their arguments and Federal German analyses of actual linguistic separation in East and West? By now earlier fears of a distinct "russification" of the language in the GDR should be stilled, because many of the scientific and technical developments of Anglo-Saxon origin have been linguistically adopted (admittedly quite often via the Soviet Union). Uwe Johnson's early novel "Mutmassungen Ueber Jakob" [Conjectures About Jacob], for example, which at the time conveyed to the public in the Federal Republic the most detailed information about everyday life in the GDR, has familiarized us with Anglo-American technical terms which are used more freely in the GDR than in the Federal Republic. A good example is "dispatcher," a responsible employee who must constantly inform himself about the progress of work in hand and, if need be, reorganize enterprise operations for the purpose of plan fulfillment.

So far GDR arguments have not assigned the "russification" of the German language the same importance for the proof of linguistic separation as did studies on this side. On the other hand it would be equally misguided to read more into the adoption of Anglo-Saxon or French linguistic elements than the fact that the German language in general tends to be open to the influence of foreign tongues (despite all efforts--even more pronounced in the GDR than here--to keep the language pure). In fact, in the sphere of science and technology such an influence is well-nigh inevitable.

It is here, though, that GDR arguments go off on another tangent. They claim that the German language of the GDR differs from that of the Federal Republic especially by greater emphasis on a sociopolitical and technical vocabulary, thus reflecting social progress. This thesis, though, still lacks any empirical proof. The so-called evidence quoted over and over again initially signifies nothing but an aspect of language, which proliferates in all modern communication communities: Technical jargon. Now we must admit that this is very prominent in the public language of the GDR, in particular the mass media, and represents a real difference by comparison to the Federal Republic. GDR newspaper and radio reports use a highly developed technical language to a far greater extent than the corresponding publications of our media.

Whether this is realistic or not, public linguistic usage in the GDR assumes a citizen well versed in science, technology and economics. After all, official political and cultural educational targets over there decide public linguistic usage far more directly than they do in the Federal Republic. At the same time the empirical material available is by no means sufficient for us to be sure whether this implies longer-term consequences for non-public linguistic usage, in other words for the private sector of family and friends. Some observations of everyday speech in the GDR indeed show few traces of such consequences.

The history of language has so far shown that cultural advances usually enter common usage to a very limited extent only (in the West as well as in the East we still speak of the sun rising and setting, not--as would be scientifically accurate--of the earth going through these motions!). Short-lived phenomena, such as technical innovations which are quickly superseded by further improvements and new discoveries, have no more than a slight chance of being permanently included in the vocabulary of an entire linguistic community.

Particularly dubious in this connection is the efficacy of the acronyms popular in the public language of the GDR (such as LPG for agricultural production cooperative, NVA for National People's Army, and so on), albeit GDR analyses constantly cite these as a feature of linguistic separation. Despite printing an extensive register of acronyms, the 1970 Leipzig "Duden" warned in rule 196: "We should not allow a kind of 'Akuesprache' (language of abbreviations) to take over. The oft cited 'time saving' is acquired at undue cost if it results in the maiming, impoverishment and frequent unintelligibility of the language." In fact it is now far more usual than one might assume to see the semi-official acronym "GDR" replaced in GDR written and oral media texts not only by the full title "German Democratic Republic" but also by such terms as "the republic" or "our republic" (just as it is increasingly considered chic here to speak of "this republic"--meaning the Federal Republic).

It would be intriguing to investigate how many of the political and cultural achievements of the GDR, much touted at the time of their introduction in official communications, have by now been dropped linguistically and factually. Already omitted in the 1970 "Eastern Duden" were such terms as "Selbstlauf" [self-sustaining], self-sustainment theory, the "Neubauer" [new farmer], the Hennecke shift or movement (though the Soviet model for quota overage work, the Stakhanovite movement, was still listed). Other dropped acronyms were AuB (for combinations with "worker and peasant") and MAS [agricultural machinery leasing station].

We have here a perfectly normal amendment process which is not restricted to the GDR but should actually be barred there because the official doctrine insists that the increasing penetration of the spoken and written language by "scientific terminology of working class revolutionary ideology" (Feudel) is more important than short-term and changeable outside influences on linguistic usage.

We do have some evidence, though, of linguistic "conservatism" in the GDR also, unless checked constantly and word by word for ideological conformity. An excellent example is a commentary in the East Berlin BZ AM ABEND, written by Karl-Eduard von Schnitzler who--as a matter of course--used the word "Abfallprodukte" [waste products], though the currently topical term used by GDR technocrats is "Abprodukte." In the same commentary Schnitzler even committed what amounts to a cardinal sin against the command--issued by hypercritical spirits in the GDR--always linguistically to indicate the responsible person when giving any kind of political information: He wrote that "World War II began on 1 September 1939."

The GDR media supply many other proofs of the relative immunity of the common linguistic system. We may therefore assume that even in the distant future Germans from East and West will manage to communicate without an interpreter. It is indeed almost touching to observe the strenuous search for some change in the linguistic system. Feudel cannot help but admit that developments in the Federal Republic and the GDR display "many similar trends." At the same time he forecasts that developments "might (!) generally proceed rather differently in the FRG than in the GDR."

It is far more likely that the common language will continue to live not as an irrelevant communication shell but as a unified linguistic system, independent of the different political roles assigned it in different states and even by different groups and individual users of the language. It will manage to do that which the German spoken or written language did long before the constructions of the concept of the nation in the 19th and 20th Centuries, precisely on the basis of its linguistic standardization: The immediate mutual understanding between those who speak the same language, if need be also the conduct of serious controversies such as were carried on at an early stage of the newly established standard language between Luther and his orthodox or radical-reformist opponents, and by all later polemics in the medium of the one German language. Its ability to serve this purpose at the present time also is best demonstrated by the successful 1975 request of the German speaking members of the United Nations for important U.N.documents to be translated into German (and that in common for the Federal Republic, the GDR, Austria and Switzerland).

Evidence of a continuing common national language is not a suitable means for political ingathering. However, we must say that the political situation between the two German states, especially the GDR's delimitation successes in other spheres, is by now so unequivocal that no additional trenches are needed to disperse the danger of a warlike change in the existing conditions. Evidently such additional trenches may be dug in the field of our language only by strenuous efforts and to the accompaniment of theoretical breaches. So far history has not yielded any proof that any community, especially a common language, ever disrupted "peaceful coexistence." On the other hand such disruption may well follow if one party insists on having its undisputedly independent characteristics in one field acknowledged in all possible and impossible other spheres. That, however, is not a linguistic but a psychological problem.

SED Vacillation on 'National Question'

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 15 Apr 80 p 11

[Article by Dr Jens Hacker, Cologne: "'On the Whole the Same Ethnic Characteristics'--The National Dilemma of the GDR." A translation of the below-cited Sep-Oct 1979 East Berlin EINHEIT article by Professors Alfred Kosing and Walter Schmidt is published under the heading, "Nation Versus Nationality Concept Analyzed," in JPRS 74590, 16 Nov 79, No 1738 of this series,

pp 44-53, with references to further writings on the subject by these two German scholars. For earlier West German analyses of this GDR problem see JPRS 74674, 29 Nov 79 of this series, pp 23-31]

[Text] The SED leaders spared no propaganda efforts to prepare the 30th anniversary of the GDR's establishment on 7 October 1979. At that time they lent the greatest possible emphasis to the statement that the concepts of "nation" and "fatherland" had acquired a new substance imprinted by socialism. It was to be considered one of the most important future needs to develop and strengthen "socialist German national consciousness" and "socialist patriotism" in the GDR. Proclaiming also the doctrine of the "adjustment of the socialist nations," East Berlin further sought to provide the "national issue" with prospects pointing far into the future. The national doctrines and slogans of the SED have recently been accompanied by a more emphatic attempt to link to them the issue of the nature and role of the fatherland in socialism. All of this is specially designed to distinguish the GDR as much as possible from the Federal Republic of Germany, although the GDR leaders are still not able to appeal to a national GDR consciousness.

By pushing national delimitation East Berlin also intends to counter two central tenets of Bonn's Germany policy, on which all parties represented in the Bundestag are agreed: Even after the conclusion of the basic inner-German treaty the "German question" remains open, both legally and politically, and the unity of the nation persists. In the Federal Republic far too little attention was given the fact that the SED leaders used precisely the 30th anniversary of the GDR's establishment to revise their long-standing and emphatic policy of national division and concede to the Germans residing in the Federal Republic of Germany at least the attribute "German nationality." The uncomfortable shifting of attitudes by the East Berlin party and government leaders since 1969 must still be attributed to the legacy of Walter Ulbricht.

In the period from 1949 to the end of 1960 neither politics nor science in the GDR left the slightest doubt of the continued existence of an undivided German nation. Addressing his party's Central Committee on 15 December 1960 SED chief Walter Ulbricht first proclaimed a certain--though not fundamental --change. He said that the "Bonn politicians, as lately noted by their official philosopher Jaspers, expected two states to continue for a long time to come." "In fact Herr Jaspers talks of the emergence of two German nations. We consider...this outlook wrong...Wherever a modern nation has arisen, the restoration of the unity of the nation has been historically inevitable, despite temporary division." From 1962 on the SED claimed (for example in the "national document" enacted on 17 June 1962, 10 months after the construction of the Berlin Wall, by the National Congress of the National Front "that the West German imperialists aided by the Western powers...have shattered the unity of the nation." By contrast, in its first program of January 1963, the SED claimed to represent "the real interests of the entire nation."

In subsequent years also the doctrine was maintained that there was only one, albeit divided, German nation. The argument ran as follows: Despite the

existence of two states, the division of the German nation could not result in the emergence of two nations in Germany. At the Seventh SED Congress on 17 April 1967 Ulbricht, for example, said that the nation now consisted "essentially of the two German national groups of two German states independent of each other." Though important political, philosophical and sociological manuals distinguished (in the abstract) between the bourgeois and the socialist nation, they did not speak of two nations in Germany. The "draft of a treaty on the preparation and nurture of normal relations between the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany" of 18 September 1967 mentioned the "sovereign states of the German nation."

The new constitution of 6 April 1968 defined the GDR as a "socialist state of the German nation." This formula was chosen--most adroitly--, because it did not exclude the existence of a second state of the German nation, in other words the Federal Republic of Germany. However, in early 1970 it was replaced by a new formula which had to be interpreted and judged as a specific reaction to the national tenets of the SPD/FDP Federal Government's Germany policy. Federal Chancellor Willy Brandt's first report on the state of the nation of 28 October 1969 used the concept of the nation to modify the formula of the existence of two states in Germany and the special relations between them. On 19 January 1970 Ulbricht riposted by proclaiming a new independent national formula for the GDR: "This is the historical reality: The German Democratic Republic is a socialist German national state, the West German Federal Republic a capitalist NATO state with limited national sovereignty."

The Bonn policymakers pronounced emphasis on the doctrine of the German nation's unity caused the SED to be pushed further and further on the national defensive in the 1970's. In late 1970 Ulbricht added another variant to his formula that the GDR is a "socialist German national State" (which amounted to a claim to sole national representation). On 17 December 1970 Ulbricht proclaimed his national creed in the course of a speech on the preparation of the SED's 25th anniversary. (NEUES DEUTSCHLAND did not print this for publication until 14 January 1971):

"The GDR is the socialist German national state. Within it proceeds the evolution of a socialist nation. Already irreversible facts exist in this context. The FRG is an imperialist state of NATO and embodies the remnants of the old bourgeois German nation in conditions of the state monopolistic ruling system."

Erich Honecker succeeded Walter Ulbricht upon his retirement from office as the head of the SED on 3 May 1971. Honecker retained only Ulbricht's thesis of the "socialist nation" developing in the GDR, not the formula of the GDR as the "socialist German national state." The subsequent months showed how little East Berlin was inclined to conclude an inner-German treaty which, according to the intentions of the Federal Government as enunciated by Federal Chancellor Brandt on 21 May in his 20-point Kassel program, was to be based on the unity of the nation. The Federal Government did not succeed in

anchoring in the basic treaty of 21 December 1972 the concept of the German nation, let alone the doctrine of the unity of the nation; nor does the treaty speak of the German people--only of the "people in the two German states." The preamble to the basic treaty firmly asserts the consensus on dissension in the "national question." This permits both states in Germany to sustain their divergent national attitudes.

At the time there was much speculation whether and in what form the SED leaders would use the 25th anniversary of the GDR on 7 October 1974 to press on with "national" independence and delimitation. By enacting the far reaching revision of the constitution of 6 April 1968 East Berlin decided on a radical "settlement" of the "national question." It renounced membership in the German nation and eliminated the official "unification" claim from the constitution. **Since 7 October 1974 the GDR is no longer a** "socialist state of the German nation" but--to cite article 1 of the revised constitution--a "socialist state of workers and peasants." It is therefore not surprising that the formula used in the preamble--"the vital interests" of the nation" --was also sacrificed in the revised constitution. The preamble now states that the "people of the German Democratic Republic...(have)...realized their right to socio-economic, governmental and national self-determination."

The SED leaders were soon compelled to acknowledge that the total removal of national formulas from the GDR Constitution did not suffice to call into question the continued existence of the German nation. Many GDR citizens wished to know whether they were still Germans. When, on 18 November 1974, Karl-Eduard von Schnitzler gave them a totally inadequate answer on GDR television and, at the same time, revealed the national dilemma which had resulted from the GDR constitutional revision carried out by the party and government leadership, SED chief Honecker was driven on 12 December 1974 to contribute--at a Central Committee Plenum--a new variant to the former national slogans and doctrines, which represented a remarkable correction of the amended constitution.

On the one hand he repeated the earlier stereotyped view (repeated to this day) that a "socialist nation" is developing in the GDR, "which differs in all particulars from the bourgeois nation in the Federal Republic." On the other hand Honecker distinguished for the first time between the citizenship and nationality of GDR citizens. He said that the "overwhelming majority" of GDR citizens were Germans "by nationality": "There is thus no room for any equivocation when completing questionnaires needed here and there. The answer to the pertinent question is simple and clear and without any ambiguity: Citizenship--GDR, nationality--German."

Here the SED chief refers to the definition of traditional German constitutional law, which defines the state people as the total of all citizens and --in the words of Rudolf von Laun--the "people in the natural meaning" as "nationality," a "social group existing independent of the law and the state." In subsequent years prominent philosophers and ideologues experienced in the issue of the national question as well as international lawyers

possessing the necessary flexibility and adaptability were called upon to develop a concept which was to be based on the following assertion: The "socialist nation" is emerging in the GDR, while the "capitalist nation" continues in the Federal Republic of Germany. These theses were not new: Some perplexity remained, though, about the question whether only the "socialist nation" evolving in the GDR was to be of "German nationality," or whether the "capitalist nation" continuing in the Federal Republic of Germany could make that claim also.

The pertinent GDR lexicographic works--such as the "Kleine Politische Woerterbuch" [Little Political Dictionary] and the "Kleine Woerterbuch der Marxistisch-Leninistischen Philosophie" [Little Dictionary of Marxist-Leninist Philosophy] do indeed list the word "Nationality" in addition to "Nation" and the "National Question." However, up to the mid-1970's "nationality" was not used in relation to the national situation in Germany. The first two editions (1967 and 1973) of the "Little Political Dictionary," for example, use the following definition: "Nationality: 1. A man's membership in a nation; 2. national group within a multinational state." By contrast the "Little Dictionary of Marxist-Leninist Philosophy," published in 1974, describes "nationality" as a "concept of Marxist social theory, which defines the physical ethnic basis and, at the same time, the historical beginning of the modern nation."

In his study, published in East Berlin in 1976, "Nation in Geschichte und Gegenwart" [The Nation in History and Now] Alfred Kosing, member of the Institute for Social Sciences at the SED Central Committee and leading GDR expert on the nation question, reported the following conclusions: "The overwhelming majority" (of GDR citizens) are "Germans by virtue of their origin, their language, their habits and traditions--in short their ethnic features, their nationality." He continued: "We are therefore justified in claiming that the German nation in the GDR is of German nationality." Kosing also concedes "German nationality" to the majority of citizens of the Federal Republic of Germany, because they speak the same language and "by and large" display "the same ethnic features: The socialist nation in the GDR and the capitalist nation in the FRG do not differ by ethnic features, by nationality, but by social bases and doctrines because we have here two qualitatively different historical types of the nation."

Kosing's acknowledgment that the "capitalist nation" of the Federal Republic of Germany also has "German nationality" represented something quite new because, in 1974, he was prepared only to subsume the "socialist nation" emerging in the GDR under the term "German nationality." Erich Honecker's thesis of 12 December 1974 also entered the new SED program of 22 May 1976, which states that the "overwhelming majority" of GDR citizens have "German nationality." A distinction is made between them and "citizens of Sorbian nationality."

We must note, though, that Kosing's thesis, according to which the "capitalist nation" in the Federal Republic of Germany has "German nationality" just

like the "socialist nation" in the GDR, has not affected East Berlin's Germany policy. The third and much revised edition of the "Little Political Dictionary," published in 1978, allows the attribute "German nationality" to the "socialist nation in the GDR" alone. Moreover, Gerhard Riege (for years the leading GDR legal scholar on citizenship issues in Germany) and Hans-Juergen Kulke, joint authors of the 1979 study "Nationalitaet:Deutsch --Staatsbuergerschaft DDR" [Nationality: German--Citizenship: GDR], do not even mention the "socialist nation" evolving in the GDR.

In the view of the SED leadership it has been an established fact since 7 October 1979 that even the "capitalist nation" persisting in the Federal Republic of Germany may enjoy the attribute "German nation." EINHEIT (the theoretical newspaper of the SED) No 9-10/1979 was entirely devoted to the celebration of the GDR's 30th anniversary. There Alfred Kosing and his colleague Walter Schmidt (who also works at the Institute for Social Sciences at the SED Central Committee) tried once more to separate the concepts "nation" and "nationality": "The nation in the GDR is socialist by sociohistoric type and by nationality. The nation in the FRG is capitalist by sociohistoric type and also German by nationality."

By the fall of 1974 the government and party leaders in the East were compelled to acknowledge that GDR citizens were not prepared to accept the two-state doctrine expanded to a two-nation formula and the far reaching abandonment of the attribute "German." Altogether dubious is the differentiation between "nation" and "nationality," by which all national references in Germany were to be reduced to ethnic features, thus making the "sociohistoric" element the sole and crucial criterion for the doctrine of the evolution of two nations in Germany. Kosing and Schmidt accuse the political forces in the Federal Republic of Germany of consciously confounding the concepts "nation" and "nationality" by failing to doubt the persistence of an undivided German nation.

They comment: "The nation includes within a dialectical unit economic, political, social and ideological relations which have a class nature, as well as ethnic ties which operate across several social configurations. Here the social-class-like factors and elements determine the origin, evolution and sociohistoric type of the nation. Nationality, on the other hand, merely describes the totality of ethnic attributes, features and ties within the population and the classes, groups and individuals who are its components."

In their polemics against the resolution jointly adopted by the ministers and senators for culture in the Federal Laender with regard to the handling of the German question in the schools neither Alfred Kosing, Walter Schmidt nor other authors have been able to prove that it is inadmissible to cling to the concept of the German nation. Consonant with the attitudes adopted by all parties represented in the Bundestag, the resolution is based on the consciousness of the community of language, history and culture, which is described as an important all-German tie. It continues:

"The efforts to achieve national unity are justified. Individual members of the nation must, in their capacity as citizens, have an opportunity to express their own wishes. The nation unites and embodies these individual wishes ascertained in proper and controlled procedures, and therefrom draws its legitimacy. Such a concept of the nation is not burdened with any excess significance such as racial superiority, historic mission or class mandate, in the name of which the actual wishes of the citizens may be falsified and rendered ineffective." (See FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG, 6 February 1979)

Up to now the SED leadership has failed to demonstrate that a majority of Germans living in the GDR have accepted the doctrine of "two German nations of opposite sociohistoric type having emerged from the former united capitalist nation." If these statements were correct, the majority of Germans living in the GDR would no longer wish to form a German nation. So far East Berlin has not been able to submit a solid argument showing that this assertion is true.

For the SED leadership to use the occasion of 7 October 1979 to grant the attribute "German nationality" even to the "capitalist nation" claimed to exist in the Federal Republic of Germany must mean that it did not want further to isolate itself from its own citizens by imposing a national doctrine from above. The nonexistence of an undivided German nation cannot be commanded by "decree." GDR publications constantly repeat that the "developing socialist nation" in the GDR is an "irrevocable historic fact." This precludes any discussion. However, the constant toying with the "national question" and the construction of more and more national formulas clearly demonstrate that the SED leaders are not sure of themselves and argue from the defensive. Furthermore, East Berlin's politics disclose a rather odd interpretation of history, because there simply are no "irrevocable historic facts."

The GDR leaders--rightly--lack confidence in their own national doctrine and think little of the "national maturity" of their own population. This is demonstrated by the SED program which proclaims the illogical and actually absurd thesis that "the SED directs, as planned, the process of the further development of the socialist nation in the GDR, its flourishing on the social foundations of socialism and its adjustment to the other socialist nations."

Even before the almost total abandonment of national statements in the revised GDR Constitution of 7 October 1974, the opinion was championed over there that the "socialist nation in the GDR" was increasingly adjusting to the "fraternal nations of the socialist community." By now various versions of this formula have been inserted in the renewed treaties of alliance between the GDR and the USSR (of 7 October 1975) and Hungary, Poland, Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia (1977). On 12 May 1972 the GDR concluded the first bilateral treaty of alliance with Romania. However, the government and party leaders of that country totally rejected any thought of

"adjustment among the socialist nations" because this would conflict with its own national consciousness. Nor should we forget that politicians and scholars in Poland and Hungary have also maintained some reservations on this point, at least insofar as they permit themselves to stray from the Moscow line.

Despite the Kremlin's strenuous efforts to push ahead with the integration of the Soviet Bloc on the broadest possible front, the "adjustment" doctrine is bound to be unrealistic for some considerable time to come, because the national differences and peculiarities in the various "fraternal states" are much too great and "leveling" is not at all in the interest of all the countries concerned. We must also remember that some quite sharp differences persist in the Soviet Union also with regard to the national prospects of the closer "socialist community." The Soviet leadership is well aware of the problem of nationalism. That was shown very clearly in the course of state and party chief Leonid Brezhnev's speech to the Supreme Soviet on 4 October 1977, which justified the new constitution. He said the following:

"As we all know a new historic community of people has evolved in the USSR --the Soviet people. Some comrades...have drawn the wrong conclusions therefrom. They propose to introduce in the constitution the concept of a uniform Soviet nation...The sociopolitical unity of the Soviet people certainly does not mean that national differences have disappeared...We would adopt a very hazardous approach if we were to forcibly hurry up this objective process of the adjustment of nations."

It cannot be considered an accident that it is precisely the GDR leadership which pushes the formula of the "adjustment of socialist nations" to an extent unequaled in any "fraternal country." It wishes thereby to compensate the national vacuum in the "first worker and peasant state on German soil" and escape the "national reality" in Germany. The SED leaders are only too familiar with the hazards of its delimitation policy in the "national question." In recent years, therefore, they have made strenuous efforts to persuade their citizens that the working people in the GDR have by the "socialist revolution...for the first time in the long and fluctuating history of the German people" conquered "their own fatherland" and constituted themselves the "socialist German nation."

Lastly East Berlin's policy of national delimitation is designed to counter the postulate of Bonn's Germany policy, maintained jointly by the Federal Government and the Opposition, that the "German question" continues open in political as well as legal terms. On 7 October 1974, by changing article 8 of the constitution of 6 April 1968, the GDR abandoned the constitutional goal of the "reunification" of the two states in Germany. On 12 December 1974, speaking to his party's Central Committee, SED chief Honecker limited himself to the statement that the GDR "represents a socialist Germany...Incidentally, we continue to think that, in the course of the revolutionary world process, socialism will not pass by the Federal Republic of Germany either. That, however, is a matter for the future."

Neither of these statements was included in the new SED program of 22 May 1976. Exactly like the revised constitution, the SED program lacks any all-German outlook, let alone mission. It merely says "that all countries on this globe must inevitably come to socialism and communism." The SED thereby left the door ajar to the possibility at a later and more opportune moment to reformulate a total German future.

Basis of Nation-Nationality Theory

Cologne DEUTSCHLAND-ARCHIV in German Vol 8 No 11, Nov 75 signed to press 3 Nov 75 pp 1176-1181

['Analyses and Reports' feature article by Dr Albrecht Martiny, research assistant, faculty for East European history, Ruhr University, Bochum: "Marxism and National Question." A translation of the East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND article by Professors Alfred Kosing and Walter Schmidt, cited in footnote 29 below, is available in JPRS 64368, 20 Mar 75, No 1048 of this series, pp 43-52]

[Text] The signing of the GDR-USSR friendship treaty on 7 October 1975 has again made clear that the SED's policy of "Abgrenzung" [delimitation, separation] toward the FRG means a narrowing of its long-term policy on Germany. For W. Ulbricht, "socialist reunification" and "consolidation of the GDR" had been two possible variants of one single policy. The question cannot and is not to be answered here as to whether the new SED line is to be viewed as a broadening of the sense of political realism.[1]

In trying to justify their policy toward the FRG, the SED theoreticians rely primarily on two traditional theories: First on utterances by Marx and Engels and second, on statements by Lenin and Stalin--the latter, however, almost exclusively in the form of a national question, into which the more recent Soviet theory has amalgamated them. The present article will attempt to examine the justification and logic of such theoretical backing.

Marx and Engels About the National Question

Neither Marx nor Engels dealt systematically with the national question, with the role of the nations in the revolutionary process. Their position must rather be discerned from a wealth of occasional remarks, from newspaper articles, letters and so forth.

In the Marx-Engels economic-political system, the national aspect plays only a marginal role and, characteristically, usually appears in the narrowed sense of the national state. The national state, to Marx and Engels, amounts to something like a natural precondition for the formation of the domestic market, which in turn appears as an essential developmental condition for capitalist accumulation and, hence, as the logical framework for the emancipation of the proletariat. Marx' remark of 1845 that one could still find "only the bourgeois and their authors insisting on nationality"[2]

brings out clearly how little he understood the dynamics of the national struggles of his times.

Marx stressed especially the transitory nature of the bourgeois national state, given with the nature of bourgeois society. He considered the function of the national state finished by the victory of the proletariat: "With the class opposition within the nation, the hostile position of the nations to one another disappears."[3] Another formulation, in the "Communist Manifesto," sounds similarly optimistic: "The working men have no country. We cannot take from them what they don't possess. Since the proletariat must first of all acquire political supremacy, must rise to be the leading class of the nation, must constitute itself the nation, it is, so far, itself national, though not in the bourgeois sense of the word."[4] When Engels much later (1882), in a letter to Karl Kautsky, conceded that "an international movement of the proletariat" was possible only among "independent nations,"[5] that departure from earlier positions surely reflects above all his experience with contemporary history.

Very great, and decisive to their assessment of the national concept, was Marx' and Engels' disappointment in the failure of the 1848 revolution, which led Engels to some utterly exaggerated remarks directed against the "counterrevolutionary" Slavic peoples of Austro-Hungary.[6] The same attitude is found still later, for instance on the eve of the unification of Italy (1859). "No one will claim that the map of Europe has been drawn for once and for all. All changes, if they are to last, must by and large tend toward granting the large and vital European nations more and more their true and natural borders, determined by language and sympathy, while at the same time the national fragments still found here and there, no longer capable of national existence, remain incorporated in the larger nations where they either are assimilated or survive as merely ethnographic monuments without any political importance."[7]

None of all this indicates any theoretically justified criterion for deciding the question as to which European peoples should have a legitimate claim to an independent national state.

Actually, in Marx and Engels no more can be found than the differentiation between historical and ahistorical peoples, which was owed to Hegel, and the notion that certain nations have a vitality and power of assimilation, variously called social Darwinism--a criterion hard to integrate with "historical materialism."

By the same casual naivete by which Marx and Engels, on the one hand, assumed the formation of a German national state they, on the other hand, denied such prospects to the peoples of Eastcentral and Southeast Europe, with the exception of the Poles and Magyars. Neither of them, it turns out, were completely free of the nationalist trends pervading social structures at the time--with the national factor probably meaning more to Engels than to Marx. Yet another idea stood in the foreground in all such deliberations. In a letter to Engels shortly before the outbreak of the Franco-German war, Marx was rather frank: "The French need a whipping. If the

Prussians win, the centralization of state power will be useful to the centralization of the German working class."[8] It is a remark which clearly shows what, with respect to the unification of Germany, ultimately was in Marx' mind: the emergence of favorable conditions for the German labor movement. Also his rejecting the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine can only be understood by such overriding considerations. Marx foresaw that such annexation could add a burden to foreign policy which might be unhealthy for Germany's internal development and for the, to him, foreseeable confrontation with tsarist Russia.

If one wants to systematically put together the many facts in Marx' and Engels' views of the national question altogether, two criteria can be discerned. Decisive for their view on the historical right of a nation was, first of all, its importance to the European revolution, with their virtually consistent hostility to Russia playing an important part. Secondly, it would be its significance to the development of economic and social progress, which Marx and Engels could not conceive of other than in large national-economic spheres.[9]

A revealing example where their "nation concept had to be decided and tested"[10] was Marx' and Engels' attitude toward the Polish question, that is to say, what stand the labor movement was to take to the reestablishment of the Polish state that had been divided among the conservative powers of Prussia, Austria and Russia.[11] Marx' idea that Poland was to be liberated "in England,"[12] that the leadership of the revolutionary process, in other words, had to come to the proletariat of the economically most advanced nations, was complemented by his expectation that the Poles would combine their emancipation struggle with a class struggle. In view of the backwardness in development, that struggle in Poland could only be a struggle of the peasants against the land owning nobility. Marx' and Engels' advocating the reestablishment of the Polish state was thus logically tied to the condition that the national emancipation would go hand in hand with an agricultural-democratic revolution.

In their interlinking the national with the social revolution, it becomes visible that Marx and Engels subordinated the Polish question to the European revolution. What mattered to them was to shore up their revolutionary strategy, which concentrated on Western Europe, by winning alliance partners in the East.

This, mutatis mutandis, also applies to the foreign policy aspect of the Polish problem: The existence of a Polish state would have to disunite the dividing powers as much--especially, avert the Russian threat to the European revolution--as the decline of Poland had at the time united Austria, Russia and Prussia. Furthermore--in the eyes of Marx and Engels--a Polish agricultural-democratic revolution might become a spark for that kind of movement in Russia itself.

It was precisely this hope which made Engels say in a letter to Marx, after the 1848 revolution had failed, that Poland as a nation was "done with, was

a "nation foutue," that the Poles were to be denied the claim to nationhood from the very moment that the spark would in fact leap over to Russia.[13]

Through a more sober assessment of the revolutionary movement in Russia, Marx and Engels after the 1950's returned to a more positive view on Poland.

While such vacillations in their judgment were only temporary, they still give a clear indication of what Marx' and Engels' evaluation criteria amounted to: the independence of Poland simply does not constitute a value as such, in the sense of the right to self-determination,[14] as it were, but a variable factor with respect to the European revolution.

One should also point out Marx' and Engels' ideas of the borders of a new Polish state. While Engels temporarily advocated a reconstitution of Poland within the borders of 1772 (that is, before the 1st division), he soon thought the Germanization in the Prussian areas so successful that he dropped that idea in favor of expanding Poland at the expense of Russia. This reveals, on the one hand, a contradiction to the agricultural-democratic focal point and furthermore, above all, indicates small interest in and little understanding for the nationality problems in Central East Europe.

When the labor movement developed in Poland, Engels clearly resumed his support for the Polish national endeavors. Engels' preface to the Polish edition of the "Communist Manifesto" (1892) says: 'Poland's independence can only be won by the young Polish proletariat, in whose hands it is well placed. For the workers in all the rest of Europe need Poland's independence as much as the Polish workers themselves."[16]

The position on the Polish question, as sketched here, confirms the above mentioned assessment criteria for nationalist movements, and it impressively demonstrates that Marx and Engels, in orchestrating and simultaneously underestimating the national problem, not only were far ahead of their times, but by their judgment ultimately missed the dynamics of the national emancipation efforts in the Eastern part of Europe.

The More Recent Soviet Theory on the National Question

More still than to Marx and Engels, GDR journalism is relating itself to the more recent Soviet theory on the national question. It shall therefore be attempted here briefly to outline that position.

The Soviet historical journal VOPROSY ISTORII between 1966 and 1970 published a fairly open debate, that is, controversial in nature, on the nation issue.[17] The background of the debate lay in a widespread need for revising the Stalinist position on the national question. Even before World War I, Stalin had--on the suggestion and approval by Lenin--carried on himself a considerable portion of the polemics against the anti-national party leftists (Rosa Luxemburg and others) and, mainly, against Austro-Marxism.[18] He had since rated in the party as the expert on nationality questions.

If one subtracts from the polemic of those days that part which found its motivation in favor of a rigidly centralized party organization in Lenin's struggle against the Jewish "Bund" and the Caucasian social democrats, not much remains but the Leninist formula of the "right of the nations to their self-determination up to (national) secession," which however, when contrasted with Marx' and Engels' rejection of the right to self-determination, did mark a revision of secular significance.[19]

By taking over the self-determination right into the program of the Russian social democracy (1903), Lenin had found a tool by which he could not only combine all forces that were in opposition to tsarism, he also now had a formula which fitted in very well with the idea of revolution and which he, together with his analysis of imperialism during World War I, developed into a worldwide strategy.

Along with the democratic right to self-determination which Lenin had called for and emphatically defended against sharp attacks at the 1919 program party congress, for example, as Stalin's contribution had been regarded for a long time the nation concept he adduced to the Soviet theoretical tradition. The nation, to Stalin, was a "historically developed stable community of people, developed on the foundation of common language, territory, economic life, and a mode of character revealed in a common culture."[20] That nation concept clearly has to be defined as being a cultural-objective type. Especially important is the role attributed by Stalin to the territory.[21] In 1929, Stalin emphatically opposed the attempt to add "statehood" as a criterion to the constituent criteria of the nation.[22] Roughly since that time he also differentiated between "socialist and bourgeois nations."[23] This differentiation must be seen as a problematic attempt to place clearly ethnic-national categories alongside the forms of society of historical materialism. However clearly the nations of the Soviet Union and also of the GDR may differ from Western nations, due to their adhering to a particular social order, it yet remains unclear which criterion it is that will distinguish the soviet nations and peoples, "national in form, socialist in content," from other nations, from those of the Western type, for example. By failing to expand his nation concept by criteria of the (socialist) nation of the new type, Stalin, in differentiating between bourgeois and socialist nation, actually only projected his theory of "socialism in one country only" onto the national question. He was affirmative, in other words, and compensated for his theoretical weakness by attaching a cosmetic label. Here lies the eminently pragmatic and simultaneously conservative feature of the Stalinist theory on the national question.

Soviet journalism nowadays uses the formula of the "unfolding of the socialist nations." This, without doubt, takes its clue from Stalin's concept. For the medium and long range it stands in contradiction to the Marxist-Leninist traditional idea of the "rapprochement" or even "amalgamation" of the nations subsequent to the socialist revolution.

The nation debate in VOPROSY ISTORII was ignited by Stalin's nation concept. To understand that discussion one must be aware that, in the soviet view, national processes, mainly in the "third world" but also in the Soviet Union, have by no means yet been terminated or overcome through new types of societies. While noticeably reduced, there continues to be a vast gradient of development among the soviet nations and peoples. This as well as the difference in their political and legal national status obviously encumbers the formation of coherent theory.[25]

As major emphasis points in the nation debate in VOPROSY ISTORII emerged the discussions of a scientifically tenable typology of ethnic groups and their membership in societies formed by historical materialism. Controversial became mainly the attribution of "people" (narodnost') as a pre-national ethnic category to feudalism.

Along with it, some participants in the discussion sought to expand the Stalinist nation concept by introducing subjective factors, especially the criterion of "statehood."[26]

The fact that the major points of emphasis were raised precisely with regard to these two sets of issues shows their pertinence to the current situation of the soviet nationalities, inasmuch as their developmental prospects within the USSR are affected by both these aspects.

Characteristic of the many problems there are in the definition of the nation is that given by V. I. Koslov and G. B. Starutsenko in the 1967 Historical Soviet Encyclopedia: The nation is "a social-ethnic community of people which first forms during the transition from feudalism to capitalism. The nation differs from the ethnic community preceding it in the earlier stage--from the people (narodnost')--mainly through a greater internal cohesion which finds its expression in the creation of permanent economic ties, the formation of a unified national language, the development of an ethnic (national) consciousness, and so forth."[27]

If that definition is compared with the Stalinist definition, which had thus far been authoritative, the opening of the concept to new definition criteria becomes apparent above all. By explicitly including the "ethnic (national) consciousness" among the determinants of the nation, and by their criticism of "vulgar materialist concepts that deny the important role of superstructure factors, especially of the state,"[28] Koslov and Starutsenko have left the Stalinist tradition far behind.

In examining the theoretical utterances by Marx and Engels about the national question we found, on the one hand, how closely they were tied to the particular historical context in which they were made; abstracting them from that runs the risk of turning them into dogma. It also brought out, on the other hand, the unrelieved conflict between a more or less naive recourse to the idea of the national state as the developmental framework for modern society and the anational task postulated for the proletariat in a world historical perspective.

The Soviet theory on the national question likewise showed a mediate and yet close interlinking with the concrete contemporary situation, that is, with the specific problems inherent in a multipeople state. It stands within the field of tension between the need for planning and managing socioeconomic developments and the practical experience of spontaneous national rules in their own right.

In an authoritative statement in NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, one of the expert SED theoreticians, A. Kosing, attempts to define the national question by differentiating between German "nationality" and "nation" in support of the "demarcation policy" of the SED. Clearly recognizable in this is the confusion of concepts standing out against the background of the Marx-Engels as well as the soviet position on the national question:

"The complex of ethnic characteristics, the nationality, emerging with the merging into feudal peoples, was no doubt an important prerequisite for the subsequent formation into capitalist nations."[29] Nationality is seen here as national character, as "complex of ethnic characteristics" in the ordinary sense. Kosing continues: "Nationality provided the natural historical ethnic foundation for the future nation."[30] Here already the meaning of the word "nationality" shifts in the direction toward the ethnic-national corollary of the feudal form of society, which has clearly become subject of debate in soviet theory, where the term is "narodnost'" ("people" in the precapitalist stage). That this very meaning is intended, is shown by Kosing's quotation from Engels: "Once there were diverse linguistic groups, it was only natural for them to serve as the basis for the forming of the state, for nationalities to begin to develop into nations."[31] This quotation certainly means something very different from a "complex of ethnic characteristics." What Engels rather has in mind, and precisely so, are those ethnic structures that have not yet become nations.

This example makes clear that by differentiating between nationality and nation the SED, independently and unencumbered by traditional ties, with daring, has broken new ground.

FOOTNOTES

1. L. Niethammer and U. Borsdorf have found among the West German population a "national" reorientation, calling it a "cryptonational state-society normalization." Cf. "Traditions and Perspectives of National Statehood," "Aussenpolitische Perspektiven des westdeutschen Staates" (Foreign Policy Perspectives of the West German State), Munich/Vienna, 1972, p 82. A new friendship treaty in any case could amount to another indication of consequence to the Niethammer finding. -- The most recent study of the topic SED and nation, the Bochum social science dissertation by R. Koenen, is by and large merely a compilation of quotations from dictionaries and the SED's theoretical journal EINHEIT. Koenen's position is emphatic: the SED's double-track Germany policy continues undiminished. Yet, as he supports his thesis on

none but pre-1970 utterances, Koenen's argument is not all that convincing. Cf. R. Koenen, "Nation und Nationalbewusstsein aus der Sicht der SED" (Nation and National Consciousness From the Vantage Point of the SED), Bochum, 1975, p 11 and passim.

2. MEW (Marx/Engels Werke, "Works"), Vol 3, p 458, cited from H. Mommsen and A. Martiny, "Nationalism and Nationality Question," "Sowjetsystem und demokratische Gesellschaft" (Soviet System and Democratic Society) (SdG), Vol 4, cols 623 ff.

3. MEW, Vol 4, p 479.

4. Ibid.

5. MEW, Vol 35, p 270.

6. He spoke of "peoples' ruins" and "peoples' dregs." Cf. MEW, Vol 6, p 172.

7. MEW, Vol 13, p 267.

8. MEW, Vol 33, p 5.

9. A somewhat different systematization of the criteria found decisive for Marx and Engels in H.-U. Wehler, "Sozialdemokratie und Nationalstaat" (Social Democracy and the National State), Wuerzburg, 1962, pp 11-15.

10. As put by U. Haustein, "Polish Question," SdG, Vol 5, col 179.

11. A good survey of the problem given by W. Conze in his introduction to "Karl Marx, Manuscripts on the Polish Question, 1863-1864," 'S-Gravenhage, 1961, pp 7-41. Cf. in particular Conze's presentation of the image Marx and Engels had of Poland, inid., pp 10 ff; cf also "Marx i Engels o Polsce," Warsaw, 1971.

12. MEW, Vol 4, p 417.

13. MEW, Vol 27, p 266.

14. That observation must be maintained even in view of the fact that in the debate with P. J. Proudhon at the 1st International, Engels invoked the nations' right to self-determination against the Bonapartist nationality principle. Cf. MEW, Vol 16, pp 153-163. Despite such tactically conditioned concessions, Marx and Engels rejected the right to self-determination.

15. Engels was quite aware that Poland, in the Eastern territories earmarked would be able at best to rely on the land owning nobility, but not on the Lithuanian or Byelorussian peasantry. Cf. MEW, Vol 22, p 18.

16. MEW, Vol 22, p 283.

17. Cf. VOPROSY ISTORII, 1966, Nos 1, 2, 4, 6, 7, 9, 12; 1967, Nos 1-9; 1968, Nos 2, 3, 5-7, 9-11; 1970, No 8. A brief summary in H. Mommsen and A. Martiny, "Nationalism and Nationality Question," SdG, Vol 4, cols 685 ff. Cf also E. Oberlaender, "Der sowjetische Nationsbegriff--Zur Diskussion in 'Voprosy istorii.'" (The Soviet Concept of Nation--On the Discussion in 'Voprosy istorii'), Cologne, 1967.

18. Cf., mainly, Stalin's work, inspired by Lenin, "Marxism and the National Question" (1913), Stalin, "Werke," Vol 2, pp 266-333. Rosa Luxemburg's position can be glimpsed from an article series, "The National Question and Autonomy," PRZEGLAD SOCJALDEMOKRATYCZNY (1908-1909). The Austro-Marxist school (K. Renner and O. Bauer) may be regarded as an especially interesting attempt at further developing a nationality theory for East and Southeast European conditions on a Marxist basis. Cf., mainly, O. Bauer, "Die Nationalitaetenfrage und die Sozialdemokratie" (The Nationality Question and Social Democracy), Vienna, 1907. Cf. also Mommsen's brief summary in SdG, Vol 4, cols 662 ff.

19. Cf. the introduction by B. Meissner to documentation volume "Sowjetunion und Selbstbestimmungsrecht" (Soviet Union and Right to Self-Determination), Cologne, 1962, pp 9 ff.

20. Cf. Stalin, "Werke," Vol 2, p 272. Translation by the author.

21. Cf. H. Rothfels, "The Idea of Nation From the Western and Eastern Vantage Points," "Osteuropa und der deutsche Osten" (Eastern Europe and the German East), Cologne, 1956, pp 7 ff.

22. Cf. Stalin, "Werke," Vol 11, pp 298 ff.

23. Ibid., p 303.

24. Cf., e.g., G. O. Zimanas, "On the Process of National Rapprochement," VOPROSY FILOSOFII, No 7, 1966, pp 3 ff.

25. One may mention here, as one among many unsettled matters, the relation between the concepts of "Soviet people" and "communist nations" found throughout in Soviet journalism.

26. Cf., e.g., B. V. Adrianov in VOPROSY ISTORII, No 9, 1967, p 110. Those participants in the debate who advocated the criterion of "statehood" would normally refer to observations in the "Third World."

27. Cf. Soviet Historical Encyclopedia, Vol 10, col 77.

28. Ibid.

29. A. Kosing and W. Schmidt, "Nation and Nationality in the GDR," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 15 February 1975.

30. Ibid.

31. MEW, Vol 21, p 396, cited from A. Kosing, loc. cit., p 16.

5885
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MILITARY CARTOGRAPHIC SERVICE DESCRIBED

East Berlin VOLKSARMEE in German No 37, 1980 signed to press 8 Sep 80 p 11

[Article by Lt Col W. Goeldner: "A Peek at the Maps--Notes After a Visit to the Military Cartographic Service (MKD VEB): With the Oldest Network of the World; A Road 900 Meters Wide; Hard Fighting in the Valley of Treacherousness; One Scale for all Mapmakers"]

[Text] What is a map?

For anybody who asks this kind of general question, Erich Mater's "Ruecklaeufiges Woerterbuch der deutschen Gegenwartssprache" [Contemporary German Dictionary] contains 137 concepts ending with the word "map."

What is a map?

In Altenburg they would answer the question in this way: visit our playing card museum; at the advanced ticket sales box office of the Distel night-club: sold out; at the train station: rumors to the contrary not withstanding, we do not make out any train cards but only train tickets and the sign will show you when the ticket window is open.

What is a map?

Good student Ottokar might think that map means "...the big, printed piece of paper which the officer in the lead vehicle of the column pulls out of his pocket every time and studies carefully before he shakes his head and asks my Mommy how to get to the maneuver area." That brings us a little bit closer to what we are after because we are obviously dealing here with a topographic map and that is the essence of our question.

What is a map?

A topographic map is the "reduced-size, generalized, mathematically determined representation of the surface of the earth in a plane showing the distribution, the state, and the interrelationships of the various natural and social phenomena."

This concept definition came from Soviet Professor K. A. Zalichev. It is also used by the comrades at the Military Map Service (VEB [State Enterprise]) in their work. In the course of their conversation they again and again point out the internal contradictions within each topographic map:

Each map is an individual thing which however can be reproduced in almost unlimited editions combined with maximum original fidelity;

Each map is a kind of work of art, designed and developed through creative work but at the same time made according to strict rules and regulations;

Each map is, in itself, a model of accuracy in terms of reproduction but also represencs a more or less big compromise in relation to the reality illustrated.

Just exactly what that means specifically is something we learn from the mapmakers--the map editors, the cartographers, the map printers; we also learn that from the copying specialists, the photographer, and the correction specialist; or from the very professional "map layout girls" who glue maps on fabric on huge tables.

A Proud Future for 'Spot Removers'

All mapmakers are professional explorers. That is so not only because they reproduce every piece of the earth's surface in the proper image without however having seen it in nature in each case, in other words, they so to speak have to rediscover it for the purpose of making the map. This is also the case because they feel tied to the age-old tradition of land surveyors, those people who regularly, even before the geologists and the virgin-land pioneers, before the drilling machine operators, the street and city builders, arrive on the spot in order thoroughly to remove those "white spots" which in some of the older maps rather with embarrassment were marked "terra incognita"--unknown land. The mapmaking profession today is a piece of human history. The oldest map, scratched into a clay tablet, is 4,500 years old. The various ways of making maps extend from a primitive observation sketch to the telemetrically transmitted satellite map. But the mapmakers to this very day work with the world's oldest grid: for almost 2,000 years, maps have been subdivided for the purpose of place determination by the degree grid and topographic maps are additionally subdivided by the topographic grid.

Maps are made in certain scales. The scales which army personnel and Military Map Service (VEB) personnel are handling can, so to speak, be summarized in three categories:

Large scales, in other words, those with the small scale numbers, such as 1:10,000;

Small scales, those maps with the large scale numbers, such as 1:3,000,000;

High criteria--in other words, the scales or yardsticks which everybody uses in measuring his own work and that of the group.

What the mapmakers produce is used primarily by the units in the field and, in a very special area, provides backup support for the military protection of socialism. High yardsticks here again are the criteria for party congress preparation: all groups and teams will successfully defend their state title; the comrades and colleages want to meet the Plan '80 targets ahead of schedule in terms of assortment and quality and on top of that they want to turn out finished products amounting to the production output of 3 working days.

It All Began in Sofia

To continue on the topic of the uniformity of scales and criteria also in the broader sense: the mapmakers in the countries of the socialist community--according to an agreement arrived at in Sofia in 1953--work according to uniform basic principles. If one realizes that, for example, even today, topographic maps are made in Great Britain according to such outlandish scales as 1:10,560 or 1:63,630, we particularly clearly see the advantage of socialist teamwork in the field of cartography. In the Warsaw Pact countries, all topographic maps are produced in a conform, lateral-axial cylindrical projection according to the earth ellipsoid of Krasovskiy and the 6°-meridian strip system. Symbols, coloring, and lettering on maps are standardized. It is quite obvious that this kind of standardization also represents a by no means negligible advantage when it comes to collaboration among the brother armies in the defense of socialism. It is also obvious that such internationally-determined requirements can be met only through a maximum of accuracy and quality. Confirmation of all of this can be found in the divisions of the Military Map Service (VEB). It is difficult to select only three examples of this among so many.

Of Sponsors, Examiners, and Checkers

Gisela Kuhwald, a cartographer who has been with the service since 1958, works as a map correction specialist. "What are the most important points here? Care and exactitude," she tells us. On her desk we find, as the most important reference works, the drafting regulations, the instructions and the editorial guidelines, within easy reach. She uses them to gauge the selection in terms of content, the graphic accuracy and the completeness of the data in the map draft which she is supposed to check and process. She loves to show us her graduation project, so to speak, which she made as a cartographer once upon a time, a hand-drawn map segment with a scale of 1:250,000, which cannot be distinguished from a first-form print. "But today we draw by hand on paper only in exceptional cases; the trend is toward automated map production." Being a cartographic specialist is an interesting occupation with good promotion opportunities--not just for girls, either. The Military Map Service (VEB) which also has a training division, offers jobs also for male trainees. "Of course, we help our young colleagues

get started after their specialist examination. In my group, every new worker has an experienced sponsor. That is only proper in a team which is now defending its state title for the ninth time!"

Manfred Roth, a reserve NCO, once upon a time, as senior steward on the MS "Frieden" in Haiphong experienced a terror bombing raid by American bombers. He worked as a photographer at the microfilm facility whose output is important in making sure that the requirements of the field units can be met quickly and expertly. His competition goals: ahead-of-schedule completion of all microfilming tasks coupled with a conscientious degree of self-control "because if the density is not there, if the black-white ratio on the films is not accurate, then the whole thing is useless." His group leader Monika Kaufhold is proud that "reciprocal replaceability is assured in the reproduction sector and we are ready immediately to switch to shift operation in case of increased work requirement."

Wolfgang Placke was a radio operator in the Johann-Philipp-Becker Regiment and is now a map printer working on a Planeta four-color offset machine which turns the final product of the mapmakers out with four "runs" (in other words, maps per printed sheet). The future printing engineer--he is taking correspondence courses--became a SED membership applicant in preparation for the Tenth Party Congress. "Of course, quality first of all depends on the print, on the color, and on the LKO, which happens to be the abbreviation for map offset paper--but we do influence the quality by maintaining the color and the matching and that is what we are really proud of," Comrade Placke assures us.

Not Putting All Eggs in One Basket!

The comrades and colleagues at the Military Map Service (VEB) are justifiably proud of their quality products. With equal justification they expect expert knowledge on the part of the users in handling topographic maps. Based on their experience, they point out:

That not every forest trail can be shown on a 1:200,000 map; a reduction in the map scales signifies not only an area reduction but also a reduction in the objects that can be illustrated;

That complete and realistic reproduction sometimes is impossible; there are quite a few "tricky little valleys" in the Harz mountains, and not only there, little valleys where streams, railroad tracks, roads, railroad stations, little villages, and ruins and finally contour lines literally struggle against each other for predominance in a very tiny space. The cartographer is the umpire and he must bring about a compromise. Compromise does not mean in every case that somebody is being compromised but here is an example: on a general map of 1:6,000,000, we are supposed to illustrate a road which is about 10 m wide. On the map, that is done with a minimum stroke width of 0.15 mm. Converting that back to reality, this would mean that the road would be 900 m wide.

Only the person who tries not to put everything on one map but to have the correct map for every job--only that person will be successful.

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TIGHTER AIR SPACE SURVEILLANCE ORDERED

West Berlin DER TAGESSPIEGEL in German 11 Sep 80 p 3

[Article by Michael Mara: "The GDR Sees Danger From the Air: New Instructions in Training Guidelines for Border Troops"]

[Text] The Border Guard units of the GDR have been ordered to keep the air space along that country's Western border under observation more intensively. A training guildeline from the central command of the Border Guards, explains that "violations of the GDR's air space by aircraft from countries which are members of NATO had increased." The commando operation to free the American hostages being held in Iran, which had failed, has proved, the explanation went on to say, "that the imperialists will stop at nothing." This allusion suggests that the leadership of the Border Guards does not rule out the possibility of activities in which Westerners might help citizens of the GDR to escape through the air.

Another reason for the demand for careful observations and surveillance of the air space at the border could be the successful escape of two GDR families from Poessneck (Thueringen), during the night of 15/16 September 1979, in hot-air balloons they made themselves. The daring escape operation, which has attracted worldwide attention, obviously was noticed too late by the Border Guards.

What Does Not Fit the Image of the Enemy...

This has never been mentioned officically in the Border Guard units because it apparently does not fit the stereotyped image of the enemy which is used to motivate the troops to perform their guard duty efficiently, for according to that depiction of the situation the borders of the GDR must be guarded against threatening encroachments from the West. Not a single word in reference to the escape in balloons is mentioned in the training guide on air space surveillance.

Instead, Erich Honecker is quoted. At the beginning of this year, he asserted to party functionaries, that "provocations and plots directed against our national frontiers and violations of our air space" were increasing "in

scope and severity." Therefore, the head of the party claimed on that occasion, the GDR must "always be armed for any eventuality." Referring to this "policy of provocation," it is stated in the previously-mentioned training guide that they have "every reason to defend the GDR's air sovereignty actively and to keep careful track of their adversaries' activities. "The armed forces must be ready, every hour of every day, to foil provocations." It is possible to do this even if they have been prepared "long in advance." In this connection, the officers, noncommissioned officers and training personnel are given detailed instructions on the surveillance of air space.

In general, it is "extremely important to detect" flying objects" in plenty of time" and give exact, complete and accurate reports to headquarters quickly. Such reports are what is chiefly needed "to make actions by the forces which watch over the security of the GDR's air space" possible and permit the taking of decisive steps "to thwart imperialist adventures which would jeopardize world peace."

Emphasis on International Law

In that connection, the central command of the Border Guards states emphatically that "we only have the sensible actions of the organizations, staffs and units which are responsible for the security of the GDR's air space to thank for the fact that such actions by enemy forces have so far not produced any grave consequences." The violations of the GDR's air sovereignty constitute actions embodying "utter contempt for the sovereignty and integrity of the GDR." They are offenses against the provisions of international law and the principles concerning recognition of the unassailability of national frontiers laid down in the basic treaty between the GDR and the FRG. In official protests to the government of the FRG, the GDR has expressed itself in similar terms and suggested that the FRG agencies concerned "must bear exclusive responsibility for the consequences resulting from such air-space violations." It must be said that it is mostly sports aircraft which--often by mistake--fly over the GDR's borders and "penetrate" its air space.

Violations of air space by military aircraft belonging from the other side occur in both German states, and not much fuss is made about it in the FRG. In view of East Berlin's special sensitivity in regard to the "unassailability of national frontiers" and the abnormal conditions at the border between the two Germanies, however, Westerners who fly for sport should not ignore the GDR's warnings.

9258
CSO: 2300

ROLE OF, ATTITUDE TOWARD SHOP STEWARDS HIGHLIGHTED

Budapest ELET ES IRODALOM in Hungarian 6 Sep 80 p 16

[Report by Andras B. Balint: "Trust the Shop Steward"]

[Text] Colleague Perenyi has been working for the enterprise for years. He is a quiet, diligent man, an outstanding employee. Nobody was surprised when the trade-union committee nominated him for section steward. His professional knowledge and reliability guarantee that he is able to suitably discharge the duties of this important office. He was elected unanimously.

Perenyi was on leave and learned about his election only a week later. He visited the secretary of the trade-union committee, who immediately expressed his best wishes and requested Perenyi to represent the interests of the workers to the best of his ability. Perenyi scratched his head and, with his customary modesty, said that he would gladly do everything, but there was a small hitch. The secretary raised his eyebrows. What kind of hitch? "I am not a member of the trade union," mumbled Perenyi, and began to search his pockets for his cigarette lighter.

He joined the trade union that very day, now that such high honor befell him.

I am walking through the yard of a plant in a Pest suburb, examining the piles of rejects and heaps of scrap. An old factory, with old shortcomings. It could do with some rejuvenation.

Well, never mind. I do not have to concern myself with such things on this occasion. The purpose of my visit is different. I am looking for Poker Face, an old acquaintance who allegedly was elected shop steward. His mouth is big enough once he drops his dead pan. You only have to get his goat.

The secretary of the enterprise's trade-union committee briefed me on the developments as follows:

"Since he did not hold any office, we thought he would be pleased with his nomination. Well, do you think he was pleased? He said he had trouble

enough. After all, there were his garden and livestock . . .. But after lengthy persuasion he finally accepted. He is here today, you can interview him."

I found my man behind the shop, pushing toward the shop's door a large industrial truck loaded with pipes.

"Lend a hand," he shouts from behind his reflecting glasses as soon as he recognizes me. "Can't you see that I am short of help?"

Pointing at the pipes, I asked him: "Are you taking these to be welded?"

"Where else? Did you think I was going to blow soap bubbles through them? Its the end of the semester, and we must push production."

Inside we sat on trestle chairs.

"I have 20 minutes for the press and reporters. NEPSZAVA already took up ten minutes. The remaining time is yours." And he offers me a cup of coffee.

"Congratulations on your election."

"Forget it. They elected me, so what can I do? I didn't even want to hear about it. But it is all the same now, I have accepted."

"Why were you reluctant?"

"The whole thing wouldn't bother me if my duties were the same as those of the previous steward. Selling stamps, collecting the applications for organized holidays, and so on. But since the abolition of the shop committees and the enterprise trade-union councils, the duties of the stewards have been broadened, and they have a say in everything. This is what I am afraid of. The steward is in the middle, and he is squeezed and slapped from above as well as from below. Who needs that?"

"Are you regretting already

"I wouldn't say that. It is barely a few weeks since the election, and I have not encountered any serious matters so far. But there will be trouble here, just as there was in the past. Isn't it better to remain a simple member? There would have been a person better qualified than I, but he refused the nomination outright."

The system of stewards has been a pillar of the Hungarian trade-union movement from its very begining. Before the liberation, the stewards directed the trade-union groups, they organized the strikes and actions of solidarity. After the liberation, the trade union wielded independent political power and played an important role in reconstruction, in the nationalization

of industries and in preparing the merger of the worker parties. Later the trade unions were pushed into the background, and the party's sectarian leadership regarded practically as superfluous the trade unions' function of safeguarding the interests of their workers. Subsequently the structure changed and the workers' interests were represented primarily by the shop committees, the works committees and, at the highest level, by the enterprise trade-union councils. The councils were abolished this year and replaced by committees of stewards. The tasks of the lower-level committees were taken over by the stewards and chief stewards. Of the previous committees, only the enterprise trade-union committees have been retained.

The deputy chief of the SZOT [National Council of Trade Unions] Organizing Department says: "The elections in the trade-union local organizations this spring proved that most locals found suitable persons, members who enjoy respect in the factory or office.

"You ask how managers are reacting to this. Well, not all of them are happy, because they feel that some of their decisions might encounter opposition. But the objective was to make the steward a partner, not a minor subordinate who dances to the boss's tune. The trade unions do not enjoy any respect where they have not succeeded in nominating suitable stewards, or where the director is a very strong personality."

The powers of the steward are fairly broad. His consent is necessary in setting the personal basic wages of his coworkers, in proposing them for decorations, premiums, social benefits and aid; he has the right to express an opinion, to submit a proposal and to control any matter that affects the interests of the workers. And he may propose that the trade-union committee exercise its right of veto whenever the manager acted improperly or made a decion that violates socialist morality. The committee's veto rescinds the illegal decision.

All this is very nice. But where will you find a steward who will actually avail himself of his opportunities and exercise all his rights. Recently I attended a political debate on democracy at the workplace. A young economist argued that the trade union at his enterprise was unable to function effectively for two reasons. First, all trade-union officials were immediate subordinates of the big boss and professionally were far below him. Secondly, the boss gives the trade-union officials numerous benefits (for example, he illegally freed the trade-union secretary of other work assignments), and in exchange for this he wants only one thing: that they do not interfere in anything. And there is indeed no dispute between them. Year after year, you read in the annual report that relations between management and the trade union are excellent.

And no wonder.

I read in TARSADALMI SZEMLE: "The trade-union steward performs his duties well if he consistently fights for the partial interests of the individuals and groups whom he represents, preferably on the basis of higher interests,

but occasionally also without regard for the higher interests formulated by management and approved by the party organizations as well . . .. Managers and even party organizations sometimes demand of trade-union stewards that they approve, unconditionally and without criticism and opposition, management decisions that--as the managers are firmly convinced--are direct incarnations of higher-order interests. Such demands are understandable, but we cannot approve of them in any circumstances."

The SZOT official says that the steward should be a partner. But how? In 1978, at a large enterprise in the building materials industry, 75 percent of the shop stewards had only eight grades of formal education (or perhaps not even that much), whereas one-half of the managers had secondary education, and one-third were university graduates. How can the steward with only six grades of formal education be a partner of the director who is an engineer?

When I asked Poker Face about this, he replied: "A partner? No way. I myself am a skilled worker, and even I am afraid. Funny things have happened here."

"What kind of things?"

"It happened last year. Kovacs, the department manager, started disciplinary proceedings against the maintenance foreman. The foreman was dismissed without notice, on gorunds of incompatibility. At a party he had made some derogatory remarks about the boss. Somebody had secretly recorded his words on tape and played them back to Kovacs. The latter blew his top and brought the disciplinary decision."

I was making notes. Poker Face stared at me.

"I hope you don't intend to write about this."

"Why do you think I am here?"

"Then I too will be fired. At least change the names. OK? Well, the foreman appealed to the labor arbitration board and also filed a civil law suit against Kovacs, for violation of the foreman's personal rights. At the proceedings of the arbitration board, the enterprise's legal counsel repeated the resons for the disciplinary action and requested the board to confirm the dismissal. The foreman contended that he was not incompatible, had not incited anyone against Kovacs but retained his opinion of the latter, and this was no grounds for dismissal."

Poker Face lit a cigarette and blew symmetrical rings into the air.

"Next came the group steward, the maintenance clerk. He was supposed to testify in the dismissed foreman's defense. And he did indeed testify. He said that the foreman was truly incompatible if he claimed that the highly esteemed Comrade Kovacs had . . .. Well, you understand. The arbitration board confirmed the dismissal, without debate."

"And the tape recording. Was that true? Can such a thing happen?"

"Hold your horses. The foreman won the civil law suit. He then hurried to the labor court. After a ten-minute hearing, the disciplinary action was rescinded and my fellow worker was reinstated in his job."

"Could I speak with him?"

"By no means. He was reinstated, worked for a week, and then he gave notice. With head erect, he went to work in a neighboring factory. He is earning a forint more per hour. And he deserves it, in view of his skill."

"Eva, how long have you been active in the trade union?"

"For 20 years. For one thing, this is my field of research. For another, I too am a trade-union official, here at the institute."

"A manager recently asked me from whom was the trade union protecting the workers. From the people's power?"

"In the Rakosi era the trade unions' authority was curtailed with this argument. Even today there are dogmatists who belittle the trade union, look down on the trade-union officials and practically regard the workers' organization as a burden. However, everyone at his own post must fight for his right. The party recognized a long time ago the role of interest relations in socialist society. It recognized their role and said that they must be taken into consideration. This is also the basis of the organized protection of the workers' interests."

"Some spokesman or other of the Western labor movement will nevertheless underestimate and belittle our trade unions."

"Today only the most obdurate anticommunists do this. The fact that Hungary's Sandor Gaspar has been elected president of the World Federation of Trade Unions is a recognition of not merely his person. Western delegations frequently are amazed at the broad authority of the Hungarian sister unions. In some instances our trade unions exercise what amounts to public authority. Management and the government may take certain steps only with the trade union's consent."

"What do you have in mind?"

"The SZOT must countersign all decisions of the Council of Ministers that directly affect the workers. Last year, for example, extensive debate preceded the decision on the amount of supplementary pay to be granted after the price increases."

"It could have been more."

"There was not enough money, and we were simply unable to vote more. But I could cite instances when the trade union's opposition was successful and

we were able to reach sound compromises. In the case of employment for youths, on the issue of overtime . . .."

"Tensions arise also in our country between employers and employees, in the same way as in the West. There, if negotiations finally break down, the employees go on strike. Can this happen in our country?"

"During the past twenty years, in entirely exceptional cases, work stoppages in the nature of warnings did occur. They were of short duration. For even though our socialist system does not prohibit the expression of one's opinion even in this form, such crude means generally are unnecessary in our country, because the opponents are not class enemies. The less so because over there a strike reduces the capitalist's profit, but here we would be reducing our own assets."

A friend, a technician at an iron and steel works, told me the following: "The end of the year was approaching and we were lagging in plan fulfillment. There was not enough raw material, and without it we were unable to produce. Well, a large shipment arrived in November and we could start working. Management begged and ordered that everyone should put in as much overtime as possible, and promised to pay us handsomely. No special encouragement was necessary. The workers needed the money, the double and even higher pay for overtime. Believe it or not, some workers put in 48 hours without interruption, merely catching a few winks in the storeroom or the boiler room. The trade union was persuaded that the enterprise's interests came first, because the domestic market had to be supplied, and our export commitments had to be met . . . .

"But wait, I am not yet finished. We drove ourselves until the end of December. Christmas, New Years and everything merged into one. And then the raw material ran out. We overfulfilled the plan, and a quiet January arrived. There was time to rest. However, the workers were not pleased even with this, because they were able to take home barely 2000 forints: their simple pay and nothing else. There were complaints and wide dissatisfaction. And who talked the most to quiet the workers? You guessed it, the trade-union secretary."

Briefly about the other tasks. Not because they are of secondary importance, but because our topic is the steward and the protection of the workers' interests. However, we must mention the "other" matters since they are an essential part of trade-union work.

The trade union performs an important cultural function. It maintains the plant's cultural center, organizes political seminars, manages the library, recruits workers to attend theater performances, etc. It has helped hundreds and thousands to broaden their general education, to complete the schools for workers and to gain qualifications as skilled workers.

The trade union participates in the allocation of the social and cultural funds, distributes aid, assumes a lion's share of industrial safety. It

organizes relatively low-cost vacations for adults and children, providing meals and entertainment for vacationers.

The trade union regularly inspects the factory dispensaries and devotes close attention to workers assigned to jobs under hazardous or harmful conditions. Together with management, the trade union organizes the enterprise's housing program and helps to select the applicants who need homes of their own the most. It helps young people to adjust and advance, and it organized programs for young people who are not KISZ members.

All this was brought up at the political debate mentioned earlier. A young lawyer, one of those whizz kids, asked why we have only industrial unions. In his opinion, in debates at the work place or in questions concerning social policy or education and culture, the interests of the blue-collar workers and those of the intellectual in management are not identical, although they are employed in the same industry. At one time the trade unions accepted only employees as members, and employers had their own organizations. Yes, he realized that the director and the chief of the department also were employees, but their position in the social hierarchy was quite different from the position of the blue-collar workers.

My discussion with Poker Face is nearing its end, and he is getting ready to go back to work. But then he again sits down on the trestle chair.

"One thing more. At last week's meeting of the committee of stewards I heard with consternation that the number of trade-union members at the enterprise dropped by 30 since last year, while the number of blue-collar workers increased somewhat. The majority simply do not pay their dues and thus expel themselves from the trade union. But there were a few who turned in their membership cards."

"You don't say. And what was their reason for doing so?"

"They did not receive aid or were removed from the premium list, unjustifiably in their opinion. In other words, they were dissatisfied with the trade union. Some of them were right. At the first meeting of our group I told the fellows that I would do everything in my power for them if they helped me. If they told me and discussed with me what, how and why they wanted, I would get it for them with my bare hands. And for myself as well."

"In other words, you wanted them to trust their steward . . .."

"Of course, this applies only to those members of my group who deserve my help. The loafers, the ones that only talk and have no sense of responsibility do not deserve even to let the sun shine on them."

1014
CSO: 2500

IMPORTANCE OF POLITICAL DIALOGUE FOR PEACE

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 15, 5 Aug 80 pp 20-23

[Article by Victor Duculescu of the Stefan Gheorghiu Academy]

[Text] The evolution of international relations places in the forefront of the present time the demand for completely abolishing resorting to force and threatening with force, for prohibiting any kind of interference in the nations' internal affairs, for solutions exclusively through treaties and political dialogue for any litigations between states. Under the conditions of intensification of the contradiction between the imperialist policy of force and dictate and hegemony and redivision of the world into spheres of influence and the policy of detente, national independence and peace and disarmament and security, the active cooperation for regulating the great problems confronting mankind today is becoming the vital desire of broader and broader political circles and social forces and of people all over the world.

The "cold war" concepts and practices in no way can represent a viable alternative for solving the world problems of the 80's. The policy of force never has succeeded in offering viable solutions for solving the problems with which mankind has been confronted during its thousands of years of history. Also, resorting to force and threatening with force and interference in the internal affairs of other nations always have caused an emphasis on states of tension and strain. Of course, it is a positive thing that force and threatening with force today are actions prohibited by international incriminated by important international documents, primarily the very Charter of the United Nations. As the American professor Louis Henkin rightfully stated, "the main development of international law in our era is the law of the United Nations Charter, which removes the use of force in international relations outside the law."*

* Louis Henkin, "How Nations Behave, Law and Foreign Policy," second edition, published for the Council of Foreign Relations by Columbia University Press, New York, 1979, p 135.

Although a broad constellation of international documents, resolutions governmental and nongovernmental, bilateral or multilateral documents assign the prohibiting of force and threatening with force as a standard of behavior which is obligatory for all states, without any exception, the practical application of this basic principle of international relations is a process which takes pleace slowly, encountering many obstacles along its path. Flagrant violations of the standards of unanimously recognized international law continue to take place, actions of force and threatening with force are resorted to and military preparations are being intensified to maintain or fortify the influence of the leading circles in various states in different parts of the world.

The facts prove that very often some diplomatic offices and statesmen do not even conceive of eliminating force from their way of thinking let alone from the practice of their political actions. Whereas there is unanimous agreement that resorting to force as such between states is a remnant of the past, in exchange, the most varied pretexts are sought in order to find ways to "legitimize" the use of it. "Humanitarian" reasons, claimed "interests" of some states or groups of states which supposedly are in danger, "historic rights," "superior objectives," old and new geopolitical doctrines and theories are frequently invoked as a support for the policy of force, hegemony and dictate. As Yugoslav author Cvijeto Job correctly observed, "If we would accept all the 'explanations' for aggressions or interventions, there would be no more aggression and intervention would become something good, indispensible and inevitable and always useful."[1] Noting the same aspect, political scien ist Werner Levi drew attention to the fact that "the greatest difficulty in making the law against the use of force effective is that the states find a great variety of reasons for using force."[2]

Despite the pertinent arguments showing the need for taking and fortifying the course toward detente and avoiding military conflicts and solving litigious problems between states exclusively through treaties, we still encounter in western literature viewpoints which try to theorize on the idea of the "inevitability" of military conflicts at the local and even global level. For example, the old theories on the correlation between war and policy elaborated by Karl von Clausewitz still enjoy an audience in specialized circles. Of course, if the idea of the correlation between war and policy (more precisely, between war and a certain policy) could be kept as a research hypothesis, it is certain that some conclusions of today's followers of Clausewitz are totally unacceptable for modern political science; they attempt to "develop" his theory and "adapt" it to the phenomena of today's world. Thus, Peter R. Moody, Jr., an American researcher from Notre Dame University, in a study dedicated to Clausewitz' doctrine, arrives at the incredible conclusion that "modern society and total war evolve together. Their relationship is at least that of a symbiosis but, more likely, that of a relationship between

1. Cvijeto Job, "La Non-Ingerence et la Non-Intervention" in REVUE DE POLITIQUE INTERNATIONALE, XXXI, No 720, 5 April 1980, p 7.

2. Werner Levi, "Contemporary International Law: A Concise Introduction," Westview Press, Boulder, Colorado, 1979, p 306.

body and soul." That same researcher feels that the current international structure--causing conflicts--"is apt to change only as a consequence of total war."*

It is clear that such opinions reflect states of affairs established in flagrant contradiction with the nations' interests and the aspirations for equality and peaceful collaboration of nations and that they express concepts proven obsolete in the organization of international relations. The relationship between modern society and war is far from being "symbiotic"; on the contrary, there exists a clear incompatibility between society's progress and military conflicts between states, regardless of whether it takes the form of "local wars" or "total war." The least careful analysis of the evolution of interstate relations shows that war never was a factor in the progress of human society but, on the contrary, always caused incalculable losses and hindered the economic and social development of mankind and his progress along the path of progress and civilization. Especially in today's international situation, under the conditions of the existence of particularly complex problems, any conflict can only lead to a stress on political tension ,representing a grave danger for the people in those zones as well as for peace and international security. That is why it is necessary that everything be done, as continually stressed by our party and state, to solve any conflict only through treaties, to avoid the break-out of other new ones, and to normalize relations between all states.

Whereas it is true that the policy of force in itself bears the possibility for unleashing conflicts at various levels and even a "total war," in exchange it is inconceivable that a total abstraction be made of the existence of a series of factors in the world today, in evaluating the problems of the imminence or lack of imminence of military conflicts, which act precisely against the degenerating of conflicts between states into wars and which, of course, make it fully possible to regulate these con flicts through treaties, through peaceful means and avoid new wars. On the other hand, it is difficult to allow the idea that a change in the international system would be possible as a result of a "total war." As we know, there would not be either victors or losers in such a war. Today it is unanimously admitted that a nuclear war would lead to incalculable destruction, questioning the very existence of all civilization, and everything which human genius created throughout thousands of years. Referring to the various reasons or pretexts which could be invoked to aid in launching armed conflicts, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stressed in the speech he gave at the recent forum of the young generation that "there is no reason, no justification, no ideal in whose name mankind should be thrown into war and destroyed! We must give a decisive NO to this policy and fight for a policy of peace, of collaboration and equality of rights!"

In our age of the deepening of world interdependencies and the coexistence of countries with different areas, populations, directions and traditions, political negotiations and dialogue between states are the single rational alternative for a long-lasting and effective solution to the problems of international

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* Peter R. Moody, Jr., "Clausewitz and the Fading Dialectic of War" in WORLD POLITICS, Vol XXXI, April 1979, No 3, pp 433, 432.

life. Regardless of whether it is a question of bilateral talks or multilateral actions which involve the participation of many states, political dialogue offers the peoples' representatives the single effective method for closing any sources of tension and conflict and for working out formulas for collaboration which do not create unilateral advantages but which equally satisfy the interests of the particular countries as well as of other countries and peoples.

The abolishment of force and resorting to treaties is not a proof of the partners' weakness but, on the contrary, a full recognition of their equality and the sovereign rights of all states, an appeal to reason, to a mature understanding of the realities of today's world, which demand the equitable solution to conflicts in the spirit of peace, collaboration and good-neighborliness. This also explains why more and more social forces and broader and broader political circles today are coming out for solving the divergent problems between states through negotiations and to initiate treaties for all problems where a common interest exists.

These realistic opinions also were brought out during the last World Congress of Political Sciences in Moscow in 1979. Max Mark, an American specialist from Wayne State University, for example, felt in a report presented during this congress that "the current evolution of world problems may best be described as a process of getting away from the traditional policies based on force and the threatening with force."[1] Detente "as a policy which results from existing international realities," G. Arbatov, well-known Soviet scientist, pointed out in turn, "is the single effective answer to the provocation of international tensions and the rising dangers of conflict in the modern nuclear era. The detente process requires abolishing outdated concepts and adapting to the new world realities in order to cope with the existing and future problems."[2]

Theses on the "timeliness" of the so-called "humanitarian interventions" currently are being broadly disseminated among circles concerned with continuing to justify the resorting to practices of the policy of force and dictate. What do the authors of such theses maintain? In an article published in this April's well-known publication LE MONDE DIPLOMATIQUE, entitled "Respect for Sovereignty or the Duty To Intervene?", Prof Mario Bettati of the University of Southern Paris, seeking arguments to justify admitting some "exceptions" from the principle of nonintervention in the internal affairs of other states, actually initiates a true "campaign" against national sovereignty. He tries to justify his thesis by no more or less asserting that "the shrine of sovereignty no longer can hide the prisons of liberty and nonintervention no longer can protect the refuges of the tyrants, while noninterference no longer can guarantee the gravediggers' job."[3]

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1. "International Political Science Enters the 1980's," abstract of papers presented at the XI World Congress of the International Political Science Association, Moscow, 12-18 August 1979, Edited by Richard L. Merrit, Volume I, p 15.

2. Ibidem, p 6.

3. Mario Bettati, "Respect des Souverainetes ou Devoir D'Intervention?" in LE MONDE DIPLOMATIQUE, XXVII No 313, April 1980, p 11.

It is clear, even for the least informed observe , that such theses or theories, without in the least serving the cause of human rights, do not serve the detente process in any way or the idea of respect for the principles and standards of international law. On the contrary, basically pleading for "legitimization" of demonstrations of force and for finding subterfuges which justify intervention in the affairs of other states--but not for a peaceful, negotiated solution to conflicts and problems of international life--they incite the imperialist and reactionarycircles which are hostile to detente and peace, to the nations' sovereignty and national independence. Not one consideration, not one pretext, regardless of the form in which it is presented, can justify resorting to force and threatening with force and interference in the affairs of sovereign and independent states. Detente and peace, understanding and collaboration among nations can only be built if the policy of force and dictate, interference in the internal affairs of other states and the policy of spheres of influence are rejected and only if a policy based on respect for independence and national sovereignty and on full equality of rights is promoted.

Of course, it is understandable that negotiations must be carried on in a spirit of full equality of rights, respect for the interests of each party and receptiveness to the partner's opinions in order for them to be productive and to truly serve the interests of the nations' peace and progress.

Rejecting any theories for organizing relations among nations which tend to underestimate the value of sovereignty and find pretexts for interference in the affairs of other states and for resorting to force, the nations have powerfully shown that in no way are they disposed to accept the role of "objects" of history and passively be present for the evolution of international relations. As Giancarlo Pajetta correctly noted in a recent article," No country is big enough to impose its will and no country is too small to refuse to play the role of protagonist. It is not a matter of simple feeble intentions. Zimbabwe has proven to us that the demand of South Africa and Great Britain or the force of weapons and technology were not enough to impose a solution which no longer could be supported. And there is still another smaller country, a neighbor with the American power--Nicaragua--which did not accept either to be wiped off the map or to be transformed into a dependent province."*

The refusal of nations to accept solutions imposed by force results from awareness of the fact that such solutions harm their free, independent development and attempt to direct their policy in relationship with the interests of foreign circles and to involve them in undesirable political actions which do not answer their vital interests. That is why a real, lasting solution to the major problems today facing mankind requires profound democratization of international relations, active participation of all states and peoples in regulating these problems and in the job of building security and peace.

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* Giancarlo Pajetta, "The Struggle for Peace in a Changing World, the New Internationalism" in RINASCITA No 13, 1980.

It is remarkable that many scientists and researchers who seek to decipher such complex and contradictory phenomena of our era arrive at a more realistic understanding of the changes and transformations which are taking place in the modern world as well as the requirements resulting for the practice of international relations. For example, the researchers Th. Coulombis and J. Wolfe, subjecting to a critical analysis various theoretical methods for organizing relations among countries, among which is the much praised "balance of power," conclude that this balance "is unsure as well as unstable." [1] Really, establishing relations between states on "the balance" of force which various countries possess is a "solution" which not only is not viable and is dangerous, but also totally contrary to historical realities and the great revolutionary, social and national changes produced in the world. Under the conditions where the ideas of liberty and independence and of democracy and progress are being asserted more and more powerfully, it is more and more difficult to dispute the conclusion that all countries, regardless of their size, material and human potential, social system or partnership in military alliances, are equally entitled to take part in solving the problems of international life. Each nation, large or small, possesses a capacity, its own personality and vocation by virtue of the inalienable sovereignty it has available, to participate together with all the other nations on the basis of full equality of rights with them in solving the great problems today facing mankind.

Those solutions cannot be lasting and effective which are based on taking into consideration the narrow interests of certain states or categories of states which ignore the legitimate interests of the other countries and nations or which seek to reduce international political dialogue to the sphere of those countries which have available a large economic, military or scientific-technical capacity. Criticizing the ways for organizing world relations conceived as a "system of balance" between several large centers of power, political scientist Thomas Perry Thornton correctly observed that such a concept "ignores completely the half of mankind living in the least developed countries. A definition of a world system which excludes or ignores these peoples would be morally nacceptable and shortsighted from a political point of view."[2]

The supreme interests of peace and progress for mankind require not a "balance" of centers of power--a balance inevitably subject to the fluctuations and dependent on the spiraling course of arming--but a realistic, constructive policy of detente and peace, of security and disarmanent, of active and responsible cooperation among all nations, a policy based on the elimination of force and the threatening with force from their mutual relations, on the promotion of new, truly democratic relations of full equality of rights. Only on this basis can the interests of each nation as well as of the international community in its totality be satisfied equitably and can a lasting peace in the world be assured.

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1. Theodore A. Coulombis, James H. Wolfe, "Introduction to International Relations, Power and Justice" Prentice Hall, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey,1978, pp 169-170, 158.

2. Thomas Perry Thornton, "Primus Inter Paras" in "The United States in World Affairs, Leadership, Partnership or Disengagement?", University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville, 1975, p 100.

The organic correlation between the policy of peace and detente and non-interference in the internal affairs of other nations on one hand and the policy of solutions exclusively through peaceful means, bv treaties, for all the litigious problems between states on the other is proven strikingly in all international activity by the broad opening and high principledness promoted by Romania.

In the spirit of the deeply innovative guidelines worked out by the 9th party congress, our party and state have asserted themselves as active promoters of the policy of peace, detente and broad international collaboration, of regulating all litigious problems among states bv peaceful means, of strict respect for the new principles and standards of international relations. Among other things, this has been expressed in the highlv prestigious actions initiated by Romania in the United Nations, other forums or international organs. It is enough for us to mention as an example the Romanian initiative promoted at the last General Assembly session, among which were the following: "Regulating differences among states bv peaceful means," "Development and consolidation of good-neighborliness among states," "Freezing and reducing military budgets," in order to understand the dialectical tie existing in Romania's concept between prohibiting demonstrations of force in international life and promoting new relations of friendship and cooperation, of equality and mutual respect among all peoples of the world.

Carrying out a tireless and brilliant activity at the head of the Romanian party and state, in the 15 years since he has been at the leadership of the nation's destiny, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu has had a considerable number of contacts and meetings inRomania as well as in other countries with heads of states and governments, leaders of political parties, scientists, personalities in international life, with these meetings resulting in important documents of bilateral collaboration. At the same time, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's direct participation in promoting Romanian foreign policy has been carried out in the signing of a very large number of treaties, solemn declarations, statements, joint communiques, agreements of long-term collaboration, which proclaim new principles for relations among states and reasssert our country's firm attachment to these principles and to the cause of the independence and sovereignty of all nations.

Through the contributions of exceptional value made to world political dialogue, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu has raised the prestige of bilateral and multilateral diplomacy and has given a new, increasingly richer content to these institutions. The direct participation of the Romanian chief of state in numerous meetings with statesmen and political leaders has had an especially positive effect, particularly in the problems connected with the existence of international crises, situations in which the president of our republic alwavs has brought out brilliantly the categoric advantages of solutions negotiated in relationship to the policy of force.

The virtues of hign-level political dialogue and its beneficial effects on relations between states, peoples and nations once again were eloquentlv illustrated by the fruitful results of the recent visit which the president of socialist Romania Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu together with Comrade Elena Ceausescu made in France at the invitation of President Valery Giscard d'Estaing

and Madame Anne-Aymone Giscard d'Estaing, an event of particular significance both at the level of bilateral relations as well as modern international life in general. The new, high-level Romanian-French dialogue, the meetings and talks between the two presidents and the important documents signed on that occasion open broad prospects for deepening the bilateral cooperation between the two countries and for deepening the friendship between the Romanian and the French nations, powerfully demonstrating that countries with different social systems can collaborate closely in all areas in the interest of their peoples and the cause of detente and peace in Europe and throughout the world.

At the same time, President Nicolae Ceausescu's visit to France and the exchange of opinions which took place at that time once again brought out the demand for taking decisive action for the development of relations between states on many levels and for strengthening their collaboration on the basis of strict respect for national independence with a view to solving the complex problems confronting mankind, reducing international tension and continuing and consolidating the policy of detente and peace. As Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out during his visit, "the present world political context demands most stringently the solution of any conflicts or litigious problems between states only through political treaties, absolutely rejecting the use of force or threatening with force as a means for solving the problems." In this spirit, the Romanian-French Statement, an important political document, expressing the profound concern of the two sides with the deterioration of the climate of international relations, reasserts vigorously "the need for all states to respect the principles of independence and sovereignty, not to resort to force and the threatening with force, noninterference in the states' internal affairs, regulating all conflicts by political means as well as the right of each people to elect freely their path for development, which are at the basis of the policy of detente."

The course of events in the world arena truly showsthat only by strict practical application of all these principles can the normal development of relations between states be assured and can detente and peace throughout the world be consolidated. Along this line, the conclusions brought out during the official Romanian-French meetings and in the documents signed all represent active, broadly-resounding contributions to affirmation of political dialogue, to extending relations between states regardless of their social system, to giving an impetus to the concerted efforts of all countries with a view to strengthening peace and consolidating European and world security and to establishing new, truly democratic international relations.

The problems of the modern world, no matter how controversial and complex they are, can find solutions in all cases by resorting to the method of treaties. As Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stressed, "Proceeding from the indivisible nature of peace and security in our era, Romania is militating consistently to solve all hotbeds of conflicts and tension which still exist in different places in the world through treaties, through peaceful means." Our country feels that the litigious problems can find real solutions only through treaties, with the basic thing in this direction being to absolutely reject the

use of force and to firmly promote the independence and liberty of each nation and the inalienable right of each nation to develop independently.

In the current international situationmore than ever before, we need the energetic and unified action of all the progressive forces of mankind, of nations everywhere to settle conflicts and to find negotiated solutions to the problems outstanding, eliminating hotbeds of tension and conflict, whose presence seriously affect peace, security, independent development and progress of peoples. It is the firm conviction of our country that in the conflict between right and force, the future necessarily belongs to the right, to new principles of international relations, to the policy of detente, national independence, peace and broad collaboration among all peoples of the world.

8071
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CORRUPTION, CRIMES OF PARTY MEMBERS REVEALED

Immoral Doctor Expelled From Party

Bucharest MUNCA DE PARTID in Romanian Aug 80 pp 90-91

[Text] A communist must be honest, sincere, principled and correct, must not tolerate lies and falsehood, must combat attempts to lead him into mistakes before the higher organs and his comrades in work and to shirk responsibilities and duties. These are the basic, fundamental standards of the code of communist ethics and equity which must be mastered, applied and respected by each party member, regardless of the position he holds in society and the jobs entrusted to him. Once again they were invoked at the general meeting of the base organization at Gaesti Unified Hospital, Dimbovita County, which had a single point on the agenda: discussion of the violations committed by Nicolae Deca, physician.

The report presented to the general meeting shows: "He was sentenced twice and hid the fact that he had criminal records when he was accepted into the party." While he was a pupil, together with a colleague, he stole a pendulum clock and a volleyball net from the school accountant's office, an act for which the Ilfov County Tribunal sentenced him to four months' correctional imprisonment. Just several years following this "experience," another tribunal, this time the military one in Constanta, imposed punishment for an even more serious act: concealing the infraction of robbery to the harm of the public wealth--4 years correctional imprisonment and 2 years correctional interdiction, a penalty which was executed. How was it possible for his fraudulent entrance into the party ranks? In the autobiography he compiled, N. Deca "omitted" specifying these times, mentioning brightly that in the period in which he actually was paying his penalty, he allegedly was working as a reader at the Agigea State Agricultural Enterprise. Instead of remaking the film of his life and activity carried out by the person requesting entrance into the party to know him as well as possible, the base organization bureau at the Leordeni Commune Hospital, Arges County, hurried to place his request into discussion, forgetting that one of its basic obligations was to watch that only people deserving of such a great trust from all viewpoints should enter the party. And the base organization bureau had this obligation even more since Dr Deca had been working only 2 years in the hospital and, as a result, little was known of him and his family.

From 1975, when he was accepted into the party, Dr N. Deca's behavior continued to suffer serious "injuries," adding other violations to the ones committed. Thus, he demanded a certain amount of money from a patient who wanted to be placed into retirement at the Gaesti Hospital, where he was transferred in 1977, caught in the act by the state organs.

In his family, too, his behavior deviated, with his simply abandoning his wife and two children. Instead of being concerned with their education, guidance and supervision and struggling to consolidate his family, he maintained extramarital relations, resulting in a child. Actually, he also hid this fact when he was accepted in the party, proving to be just as insincere.

But even faced with so much evidence, N. Deca tried to deny and dispute the truth and not recognize anything of what had been discovered by the party organs. During the individual discussions held by the base organization bureau, he stated that all this was a scenario; full of rage, he encouraged them to openly tell him whether he could work in this unit anymore.

He adopted a rebellious attitude toward the city and county party organs, failing to admit the acts and minimizing the seriousness of the deviations.

These are the reasons for which the general meeting decided to expel N. Deca from the party. An expulsion demanded and imposed by the seriousness of the violations committed and the flagrant contradiction existing between his behavior and the standards of socialist ethics and equity.

Such a dishonest, unsincere and immoral element was able to slip into the party ranks only due to the inadmissible ease and lack of responsibility shown by those called on to examine his activity and to verify beforehand each period of his life with maximum responsibility and exactingness. From here we have the need for conclusions with broader validity and for exercising a solid, multilateral control in order to assure that only those worthy of this high, special honor actually enter into the party.

Wheat Stolen by Guards

Bucharest MUNCA DE PARTID in Romanian Aug 80 pp 91-92

[Text] During the harvesting, when the field smelled intensely of the new bread, as anywhere else in the country, the people in Dabuleni in southern Dolj County were hurrying to gather the rich fruit of the field on time and without losses. Everything was taking place at an alert rate specific to the time. In the village here and there was an old man or a child. It seemed that every job was taking place in the most perfect order. And that is how it would have been if...

If some individuals with base and dishonest concerns, looking for money, had not profited from the fact that the people were absorbed in their work from morning to night so that they could thrust heir hands, up to their elbows, in the public granary. Who were they?Machine operators Marin Onicala, head of the mechanization section Gheorghe Trifu and watchman Constantin Vasile and engineers Nicolae Pantu and Vasile Dumitru, heads of the farm at the

Dabuleni State Agricultural Enterprise. Yes, yes, there is no mistake, Pantu and Dumitru are engineers! They, men invested with the responsibility of leadership work and, implicitly, the duty to take action to defend the public wealth, methodically planned to commit the action and participated in it. They got hold of 3,600 kg of wheat and 700 kg of barley and, in order to erase any kind of track, they thought, they took it on the backroads, through forests and field roads, and took the grain directly to the mill in Bucinisu, in the neighboring county of Olt. They ground it but when they were about "to place the sacks in the cart,"they had to pay for their act.

This case, qualified and judged as being theft of public wealth, requires a deeper examination of the factors which favored the production of it. For example, the party leadership recommended that both the combines' activity as well as the transport of the grain from the field to the storage be carried out in groups and under permanent control of delegates established by the commune party committee and people's councils. Also, it was requested that each kilogram from the production obtained be weighed and written in the records and that the road of the grain from the field to the granary be as short as possible and without losses. As it seems, in Dabuleni these specifications were totally not taken into account by the commune party committee, which means a lack of responsibility and indiscipline.

True, the grain robbers were judged in a public trial but those who were party members were expelled from the organization but, in order to learn the maximum lessons, the county party committee has the duty of placing this unusual case into discussion by the aktiv and to adopt firm and preventive measures.

Cultural Official's Religious Activities

Bucharest MUNCA DE PARTID in Romanian Aug 80 pp 92-93

[Text] 29 June 1980. On that day, those serving schools throughout the country celebrated the traditional "Teacher's Day," a sign of the value given by our party and state to the striving of those who light the start of the road of life for the entire generations of schoolchildren.

Unfortunately, there also were some regrettable exceptions. In Ciortesti Commune, Iasi County, for example, Prof Ion Mircescu, director of the commune's culture house--who naturally should have been the spark for educational actions that day--had other concerns which were totally alien to the special importance of that day and caused him , through his social position, as well as other teaching cadres to proceed similarly. As best man for the wedding of instructor Elena Cracuta (a UTC member), he addressed some colleagues with an invitation to take part in celebrating the religious wedding of the above-named person at the church in Coropceni's church.

Correctly, the teaching cadres who did not accept to be wedding guests at a church pagaent, other residents of the village and pupils wondered how the director of the culture house, a party member invested with the high responsibility of organizing the cultural-scientific activity in the commune mentioned, could abdicate from the written and unwritten standards of his mission with

his heading a religious ceremony and then at the head of a table with gifts (the 70,000 lei collected at this time uncovering him as a businessman), actions clearly in contrast to the principles and philosophical prinvictions which he actually had the duty not only to propagate but also to respect.

Of course, an explanation of the fact exists, with Ion Mircescu's moral profile also being shadowed by other negative demonstrations. In the 1978-1979 school year, while he was director of the commune school, the county school inspector penalized him for flagrant violation of some of the standards in the Statute of Teaching Cadres (among which was receipt of some amounts of money outside the rights established), recommending that the local party and state organs change him from his job as director. The best thing the comrades from the CiortestCommune leadership thought to do was to name him director of the culture house. The appointment was accepted easily by the county party committee and nobody asked whether a man removed from the job of school director for moral violations is the most appropriate person to be concerned with the cultural-scientific education of the commune residents.

The Iasi County Party Committee has the duty of carefully examining the existing situation in Ciortesti, effectively helping the party and state commune organs to apply the party's moral standards steadfastly and controlling how the basic duties are carried out by those cadres who have duties in the area of developing the socialist awareness of the people--duties which, as we know, are incompatible with the concessions made to mysticism and religious practices.

'Fictitious' Workers in Sibiu Plant

Bucharest MUNCA DE PARTID in Romanian Aug 80 p 93

[Text] The Metalurgica Enterprise is one of the economic units in the Municipality of Sibiu which for years has constantly obtained remarkable achievements for all plan indicators. The opinions this collective enjoys, however, are shadowed by some practices which flagrantly go against the legal standards in such an important area as the one of the full use of the labor force. Without any right, the enterprise's director, Comrade Alexandru Bucur, ordered that the female workers in the sections clocked in as working in the locksmith or welders should be brought to do various office jobs.

On several payrolls checked at random, Maria Mosca, for example, figures in position 23 as a worker in the formation of foreman Martin Roth from the metallic construction section, with all the hours worked. Actually, she "helped type acts in the office for supply, sales and transport or as a computer center operator," according to what Comrade Alexandru Bucur said. Also, Doina Muntean merely is called worker in the formation of Victor Botezan in the metallic construction sector 1, while she has been working for months as a telephone operator. And these kinds of examples could continue.

There also is at this enterprise another category of fictional worker but, however, not with pay. Of course, we are referring to the soccer players. For example, Gheorghe Vulcu, Anton Covaci, Karl Schneider, Ion Coman are employed as locksmiths, I. Jedele as electrician, I. Popa as foreman, Francisc Kurty as technician for technical quality control, while the trainer Liviu Coman as locksmith for section I and so forth. They are seen extremely rarely at the workbench.

It is surprising that this situation, known by the enterprise's party committee, has not brought a combative attitude, especially since the people in production repeatedly have shown their dissatisfaction anddisapproval.

Upon notification by the editors, the secretary of the Sibiu Municipal Party Committee analyzed all these aspects at one of his meetings, at the same time establishing the political and organizational measures intended to assure reestablishment of all activity at the enterprise mentioned on legal bases, introduction of the necessary order in the organization of work so that each member of this collective is employed according to his training and paid in proportion to the work he provides.

8071
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MEMBERS OF CENTRAL ELECTION COMMISSION LISTED

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I, No 74, 22 Sep 80 pp 2-3

[Excerpts] On the basis of Article 26 of the Election Law No 67/1974 of the People's Socialist Republic of Romania, the Council of State of the People's Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that the following Central Election Commission is confirmed for the election of deputies to the Grand National Assembly which will take place on 9 November 1980:

Chairman: Ioan Ceterchi, minister of justice; Deputy chairman: Gheorghe Petrescu, deputy chairman of the Central Council of the General Union of Trade Unions; Secretary: Gheorghe Chivulescu, member of the executive committee of the Association of Jurists; Members: Maria Bobu, deputy chairman of the bureau of the National Council of Women; Floarea Barbu, deputy chairman of the National Union of Agricultural Production Cooperatives; Nicu Ceausescu, secretary of the Central Committee of the Union of Communist Youth; Gheorghe Gomoiu, lieutenant general, secretary of the Higher Political Council of the Armed Forces; Ladislau Lorincz, deputy chairman of the Council of Workers of Hungarian Nationality; Ernest Breitenstein, deputy chairman of the Council of Workers of German Nationality; Ioachim Moga, first deputy section chief in the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party; Gheorghe Balaita, secretary of the Writers Union; Mariana Belis, deputy chairman of the Central Committee of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Organizations; Cornel Onescu, first deputy chairman of the Committee for Peoples Councils Problems; Octavian Paler, chairman of the Council of Journalists; Rodica Bujor, deputy chairman of the Council of the Union of Communist Students Associations of Romania.

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NEED FOR INCREASING, IMPROVING WORKER CANTEENS

Bucharest MUNCA DE PARTID in Romanian Aug 80 pp 56-58

[Article by Maria Dutescu, deputy chairman of the Council for Social Problems and Raising the Standard of Living of the Central Council of the General Union of Trade Unions of Romania]

[Text] A special spot in the enterprises' social activities is held by the canteens and buffets, created with the purpose of providing the workers with rational food. Both the trade union organs and organizations are concerned with their good operation, regulated by Law 9/1971 and they, under the leadership of the party organs and organizations, are called on to guide, aid and regularly check on the activity of the canteens, provide them with all necessary goods on time, prepare diversified meals which are of good quality and at the lowest possible cost price.

Understanding that rational food during the working program--as a means for maintaining and strengthening the workers' state of health and raising output in work--is inconceivable without canteens' aid, the trade union organs have increased their concern for their good organization and operation. On the basis of the experience accumulated, they intervene effectively to develop the activity of the canteens, with attention primarily being directed toward creating all the possibilities for serving a hot meal to the greatest possible number of workers.

A first step they made was to establish a meal break during the working program so that it in no way affects the good development of the production process. At the same time, opportunities were found so that the break for meals by sections and jobs be spread out over different hours in order to avoid crowding. In most places, serving of the meal during the working program--thus, in 15-20 minutes--has necessitated, however, creating a network of microcanteens at the main jobs, with the number of these meal service units rising to nearly 3,000. In this direction, the committees of the trade unions and people's councils in the big units, such as the Hunedoara Iron and Steel Combine, the Brasov truck enterprises, Electrotimis in Timisoara, 1 May in Ploiesti, Electroputere in Craiova and others, have obtained some of the best results in extending microcanteens so that they now cover the requirements at the level of the plants and sections and all sectors and places of work.

Of course, the existence only of these conditions does not also mean a rush of workers at the canteens and microcanteens, this being determined by the quantity, diversity and price of the meal. That is why the Central Council of the General Unions of Trade Unions of Romania, the committees of the unions of trade unions by branches, the territorial organs and trade union committees have been concerned more closely with the leadership committees of the canteens, aiding them in developing a managerial spirit. They have proceeded from a priority approach to provision in solving these aspects of the problem.

The great majority of city, municipal and county councils of the trade unions have organized controls at the canteens for the stage of provisions, particularly for the winter period, resolving the problems occurring together with the commercial organs. Also for this purpose working meetings have been organized with the leaders of the supplier commercial enterprises, which have an understanding to contribute to the good provision of the canteens for the winter of 1979-1980.

The trade union organs have given greater attention to increasing the quantities of food preparations and other products which would be offered to workers in the more than 2,300 buffets and stands, giving them the incentive to create the conditions needed for this activity, that is, setting up adequate space. Along with the fact that they present the workers with good-quality, fresh and low-cost products, they at the same time, in another way, come to the advantage of the workers, since the profits obtained are used to improve the meal served to the subscribers.

Under the leadership of the party organs and organizations, the trade unions also utilize another important source for improving the meals at the canteens and reducing their price, being concerned with the development of the annex farms. In recent years this activity, however, was hampered by certain mentalities, according to which it was easier to buy meat than to produce it. So there was not a great development of their own hog-raising complexes and only 662 existed at the end of 1979 with 22,800 animals, which means that more than 1,000 canteens did not have such resources available.

In order to eliminate these shortcomings, at the directive of the party leadership and Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu personally, a program to raise around 240,000 hogs and 1 million chickens has been drawn up and is being implemented at all the canteens and canteen-restaurants which operate in the big units and the big industrial platforms. This action, intended to utilize the resources existing for the purpose of improving the food and reducing the cost of it at the same time is seeking that, as it unfolds, it also lead to a reduction in the distribution of meat from the state central stock, thus relieving the large quantities used in the collective consumption. It is clear that in implementing this program the trade unions are being called on to become involved with all their capacity, along with the collective leaderships of the enterprises. Thus, in Bihor, Bistrita-Nasaud, Constanta, Galati and Neamt counties, where the trade union committees, in close cooperation with the workers councils and under the leadership of the party organizations,

have taken all measures to rapidly set up farms with simple, cheap resources at the big canteens or canteen-restaurants, even now they have succeeded in reaching--and in some places exceeding--the figures forecast for populating them with animals. For poultry, however, only three counties--Bihor, Hunedoara and Vilcea--have reached the figures from the program.

If the action is taking place slowly in some counties, such as Ialomita, Cluj, Bacau, Arad, Maramures, Sibiu, Teleorman and the Municipality of Bucharest, it means that the aid given by the trade unions is still poor, and their territorial organs have the duty to take measures to bring them to contribute with all their forces to its good success. This same job also must be done by the county, municipal and city councils of trade unions in Maramures, Vaslui, Covasna, Vilcea, Harghita, Sibiu and Satu Mare, where little land has been taken from the areas identified as canteens and other collective consumption units to cultivate them with vegetables. Here, too, as in the area of hog- and poultry-raising, the trade unions must take energetic action to cultivate each square meter of land with the industrial and agricultural enterprises with vegetables for the purpose of obtaining as large quantities of meat and vegetables as possible for current consumption and for the fall-winter provisions.

It is necessary to a greater extent for the territorial organs to intensify their guidance and control so that the trade unions can fully make their contribution to the success of this important action.

A gratifying indicator of the concern with the good operation of the canteen in the end is the number of subscribers in proportion to total personnel. One may evaluate it as possitive that last year in counties like Ialomita, Dimbovita, Constanta, Gorj, Maramures and so forth, an increase in subscribers was registered, with the percentage of them in total employed personnel being much above the countrywide average.

The leadership committees of the canteens play an important role in obtaining these results; with the differentiated and regular aid of our trade unions, they are asserting themselves as active organs with initiative and responsibility for the quality and way the workers are served hot meals. These kinds of leadership committees of the canteens with appreciable activity are working at the Electrobanat Enterprise in Timisoara, Dimbovita in Bucharest, the Brasov Truck Enterprise and so forth, where the number of subscribers exceeds 30 percent of total worker personnel, serving them an appropriate meal at prices below 5 lei or even below 3 lei, (including dessert), as is the case at the canteen for the Dimbovita Enterprise in Bucharest. The method of periodic analysis has been made permanent in the current practice of these trade unions; these analyses of the canteens' activity take place in committee plenums or bureau meetings. Following the resultant conclusions, effective decisions are adopted regarding the operative and concrete aid for the canteens and their leadership committees. At the same time, the presidents of the trade union committees, vice chairmen of the workers councils propose measures to these leadership organs which are intended to lead to an improvement in the canteens' activity. There are many trade union committees and, primarily, we

are referring to those in the PloiestiChemical Equipment Enterprise, Progresul Enterprise in Braila, the Bucharest Heavy Machinery Enterprise, the Brasov Tractor Enterprise, which through their members which are specifically assigned regularly seek to have good operation for the canteens and application of their own decisions.

The committees of the trade union unions by branches, the city, municipal and county councils of the trade unions use the method of organizing operational working meetings where problems referring to raising the trade unions' contribution to the good management of the canteens are discussed and to which both presidents and members of the trade union committees, committees of leadership of the canteens, canteen heads as well as leaders of the commercial enterprises are called. The findings, conclusions and proposals made in this framework by the workers control teams have proven effective.

In the current practice of the territorial trade union organs the initiation of exchanges of experience also have entered into current practice, an occasion on which representatives of the host canteen present their own activity, achievements, methods used by the leadership committee as well as the way in which relations are structured with the unit's leaders, with the commercial enterprises and so forth. Generally, also taking place on such occasions is a visit to the canteen and its annexes. Despite the fact that working conditions differ from canteen to canteen depending on the specific nature, each participant draws many conclusions which are useful for his own activity so that this method of aiding the canteens used by the trade unions also meets with the interest of those working in these units in order to obtain better results. Such exchanges of experience which are particularly useful recently were organized by trade union councils in sectors 4 and 5 in Bucharest, the trade union county councils in Arges, Braila, Hunedoara and others.

In more and more cases, the material presented to the meetings and the exchanges of experience are being accompanied by films or slides which catch certain positive or negative aspects "live" in the operation of the canteens.

A new, stimulating element added in recent years to the ones intended to lead to the improvement in the activity of the units which serve hot meals to the workers in the enterprises and institutions is the annual contest organized by the Central Council of the General Union of Trade Unions of Romania for the title "canteen with the best results." This form of competition carried out on the countrywide level and which has included all of the more than 2,000 canteens, seeks through the criteria at its base, primarily, to raise the quality and diversification of the menus, to provide accessible prices, appropriate sanitary conditions, good management. At the same time, the contest aims at raising concern of the trade unions and leadership committees of the canteens with establishing and developing the microcanteen network both in the sections and workshops as well as in the dormitories for singles. The discussions organized at the county and national level with the occasion of concluding each competition period within the contest, an occasion upon which not only a review is made of the results obtained but also a broad analysis of the canteens' activity, can mobilize the trade unions to even more efficient work.

Being aware of important responsibility belonging to them to provide hot meals for workers on time and of good quality, the trade union organs and organizations will intensify their actions to guide and aid the canteen committees as well as the regular checking of the method of operation of these food units, steady provision with the necessary goods, improvement and diversification of menus and strict respect for the hygienic-health rules.

At the same time, the trade unions will increase their concern with the development of the annex farms for raising hogs and poultry, with cultivating each portion of productive land within the units and generalizing the positive experience gained by the leading canteens so that the canteens can justify fully their name as base sections of the erterprises.

8071
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IRON GUARD, ANTONESCU PERIOD RECALLED

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 17, 5 Sep 80 pp 36-39

/Article by Dr Ion Spalatelu: "One of the Darkest Times in the History of Romania"/

/Text/ Over their multimillennial history, the Romanian people have had--not infrequently--to overcome countless perils and pass through many hard times and tragic events. Among them there was inscribed with black letters, of sad memory, the establishment of the military-fascist dictatorship.

An event with consequences of the worst sort for Romania, the Legionary-Antonescu dictatorship represented the most terrible debauchery of reaction, terror and violence on a mass scale, looting and embezzlement of the country's riches, savage repression of all the democratic, patriotic forces and, especially, of the working masses, the communists and the antifascists. The seizure of state power by the Legionaries--agents of Hitlerism in Romania--inaugurated a profoundly antinational political course, which had among other tragic results the criminal betrayal of the homeland's vital interests, the enslavement of the country by fascist Germany. There was then borne out in all respects the warning of the Romanian Communist Party, which, firmly attached to the basic interests of the whole populace, had discerned with a patriotic sense the course of events, stating clearly that "the establishment of a military-fascist dictatorship in Romania would mean a bloody, terrorist dictatorship of the leaders of the capitalists and big landowners against the workers, the peasantry and the oppressed nationalities, the abolition of all the parties, the persecution of all the progressive intellectual elements, the banning of any free expression of thought, unlimited reaction and the throwing of Romania into a state of savagery and barbarity."

Alarmed by the fate that fascism and the Legionaries were preparing for the people, for the whole country, the RCP acted consistently to unite around the working class--the most advanced part of Romanian society--the widest progressive national forces in the struggle for democracy, national sovereignty and independence. In the interwar period, precisely this wall of

firm opposition and growing resistance of the masses of people to the rightwing and extreme rightwing currents inhibited fascism's rise to power in Romania, the attempts by Hitler's Germany to subjugate it. The determined antifascism of the Romanian people caused Romania to be numbered among the last European countries in which fascism came to power and then only in the presence and under the protection of Hitler's troops.

The establishment of the military-fascist dictatorship in Romania became possible under the extremely complex external conditions of the rise of fascism on an international level, of the aggravation of the revanchist policy of dictation and cynical violation of the principles of international law, of disruption and enslavement of the peoples. The seizure of the power in the state by the dictatorial and fascist regimes in a number of countries led to the continual aggravation of the international situation in the interwar period, to the activation of the revanchist, revisionist territorial policy of a direct attack on the peace and security of the peoples.

Right at the end of the third decade and the start of the next one, the irresponsible acts of encouragement and support for the actions of Hitler's Germany by some imperialist powers became more and more numerous. In 1935, with their complicity, Hitler's Germany obtained "the right to equalize" its military potential with that of the great powers, an event that caused it to denounce the Treaty of Versailles and to turn to open and massive armament. On 7 April 1935, the foreign minister of the Third Reich, Konstantin von Neurath, expressed with alarming arrogance "the necessity of revising the borders of the East so that the voice of the small states is no longer heard."

The fascist states'--especially Hitler's Germany's--policy of arbitrary territorial revisions, of flagrant violation and disregard of the system of treaties after World War I, was also aimed directly at the unity and integrity of the Romanian national state. This is why Romania, through the eminent statesman and diplomat Nicolae Titulescu, acted to strengthen the Little Entente, formed of Romania, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia, as well as the Balkan Pact, which included Romania, Yugoslavia, Greece and Turkey. In June 1934, our country established diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union. At the same time, the traditional ties with France and England were cultivated and strengthened. All these actions were meant to protect Romania from Hitler's aggression, there being possessed the support of the Romanian Communist Party, of all the democratic and progressive national forces.

The imperialist policy of world domination and redivision promoted by Hitler's Germany, fascist Italy and militaristic Japan registered a succession of encroachments and acts of expansion, leading to the outbreak of World War II, which caused mankind incalculable losses of material and spiritual assets, over 50 million people--men and women, youngsters and adults--in all corners of the globe. Subordinating to it the majority of the European

countries and establishing Hitler's "new order," Germany turned practically to the savage looting of their riches, to the extermination of their population through deportation and the internment of millions of citizens in the death camps. The steamroller of fascism passed destructively over more and more countries and peoples.

Through its key strategic position in the southeast of the European continent, through the fact that it was a big producer of petroleum and one of the richest countries in agricultural and food products, having at the same time a geographical location favorable to Hitler's anti-Soviet aggression, Romania occupied a special, separate place in Nazi Germany's plans of expansion and invasion. All these considerations caused the Hitlerian circles to devise and undertake at an early time many actions for subjugating Romania to the interests of the Third Reich.

As is known, at the start of the fourth decade, the ultrareactionary leaders of the Romanian bourgeoisie and landowners, exhibiting tendencies to eliminate bourgeois democracy, to limit civil rights and liberties, turned openly to encouragement and support for the most diverse actions of the fascist elements. The creation of the fascist Iron Guard organization as early as March 1930—with the direct support of the Hitlerian circles--and its actions for affirmation in the country's political life had consequences of the most serious sort for the Romanian people. "The creation of the fascist-type terrorist Iron Guard organization and its imposition on the country's political life constitute," Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu points out, "the most characteristic phenomenon of the ultrareactionary tendencies promoted by the circles of the Romanian oligarchy. The Legionary movement, the agency of Hitlerism in Romania, wholly subservient to German imperialism, conducted a profoundly antinational policy, gravely prejudicing the interests of the Romanian people. In collusion with the representatives of the monopolistic bourgeoisie, it betrayed the people's interests, subordinated the country to the domination of Hitler's Germany, endangering the very existence of Romania as an independent and sovereign state."

Both the existence and the practices of the Iron Guard always had their roots in a soil foreign to Romanian soil. Right from its appearance, the Legionary movement, that is, the Iron Guard, was used by the Nazi circles in actions of espionage, sabotage and subversion in Romania. In 1932, the Legionaries had close ties with the Hitlerian elements in Romania grouped together in the "Volksgemeinschaft" organization, controlled directly from Berlin. From the outset, many of the Guardists entered the employ of Hitler's "special" services. Shortly after taking power, Nazi leaders Alfred Rosenberg, Rudolf Hess, Heinrich Himmler and Reinhard Heydrich drew up a detailed plan for carrying out pro-Hitler activity in Romania.

The main way used to stimulate the Iron Guard to betray the national interests consisted of the subsidization of it with large sums of money by Hitler's government and the Nazi Party. In just a single year, 1935, the Hitlerian activity abroad cost 295 million marks--a fact recorded in

documents--with Romania being fourth in order on the list of the Gestapo's concerns. Many concrete facts illustrate the system of subsidizing the Legionary movement. The newspaper of scandal and hooligan abuse, PORUNCA VREMII, of a fascist orientation, was subsidized with German capital through the espionage agency within the "Soia" society. The Legionary publication SFARMA PIATRA received money directly from the German legation in Bucharest. In an investigation made by the security forces, in July 1938, several files with receipts were found in the offices of representatives in Bucharest of the well-known German firm "I. G. Farbenindustrie," it following from them that the Guardists had received over 4 million lei in the course of just a few months. This "aid" became extremely substantial on the even of important events (elections, festivals and so on). The Legionaries with important positions in the Guard, who furnished direct services to the Reich, were remunerated on separate payrolls, which were kept in the archives.

At the same time, some representatives of the Romanian political and ruling circles, involved in the affairs with Hitler's Germany, came more and more to the assistance of the fascist groups within. Big financiers and political figures also known for their reactionism supported morally, but especially materially, the rise of fascism in Romania. By concluding the "non-aggression pact" with the Iron Guard during the election campaign for the parliamentary elections in December 1937, Iuliu Maniu (PNT [National Peasant Party]) and Gh. Bratianu (PNL [National Liberal Party]), leaders of so-called "historical parties," offered it the political endorsement needed for it to appear to be "a national political formation." Moreover, a number of ultrareactionary elements among the bourgeoisie and landowners, "failures of our public life," as the newspaper LUMEA NOUA of 26 February 1936 judged them, joined the Legionary movement. Among them were Gen Gh. Cantacuzino-Granicerul, a big landowner and industrialist, becoming in the 1935-1938 period the head of the Iron Guard, disguised as the "All for the Homeland" party; "Prince" Al. Cantacuzino, "Princess" Zoe Studrza and so on.

In their evil actions, the Legionaries found basic support for themselves in the "ideas" of reactionary authors like A. C. Cuza, N. C. Paulescu and N. Crainic and of "theoreticians" of fascism like N. Ionescu, Tr. Braileanu and M. Manoilescu and, above all, in the Nazi ideology in Adolf Hitler's "Mein Kampf" and Alfred Rosenberg's "The Myth of the 20th Century." From all of them the Guardists scraped together a conglomerate of confused and contradictory views in praise of force and death, views imbued with primitivism, obscurantism, irrationalism, racism, anti-Semitism, anticommunism and so on. Supplemented with a bombastic, jingoistic and demagogic phraseology, all of them served as a screen for the activity of subordinating the country to Hitlerism and the establishment of a terrorist regime.

Despite the extraordinary material support provided by external and internal reaction, the Iron Guard never managed to assert itself as a mass political group but always remained a foreign body on Romanian soil, isolated

and hated by the people. In it there were gathered elements from the periphery of society--soldiers of fortune, assassins, declasses from the petite bourgeoisie and lumpen proletariat, individuals with sadistic instinctual impulses, who bore in them dissatisfaction with humanity in its entirety, with the democratic norms of life. "It would seem," Legionary I. Mota wrote in black and white, "that I and my comrades are some sort of strange beings with two lives, some sort of ghosts raised from a dead world to bear the spirit of terror in the world of today. We are just that.... The cruel reign of the ghosts is approaching!"

From the very outset, the Romanian Communist Party discerned the immense danger that hovered over Romania on the part of external and internal fascism, drawing into the struggle against it all the democratic and antifascist social and political forces. The danger that threatened us was great--the RCP pointed out--but our determination for unity and struggle had to be even greater. "We communists," it said in the resolution of the RCP Central Committee in October 1935, "are ready to defend Romania's independence with weapon in hand if our country should be compelled to wage a national war of defense against fascist imperialism." Clearly distinguishing the extremely grave danger from Hitler's Germany, the RCP Central Committee warned, through the decision of its plenum in July 1936, that "the triumph of Hitlerism leads to the dismemberment of Romania...."

The patriotic appeals of the communists found a resounding response among the broad working masses. The heroic struggles of the railroad and oil workers in 1933, the unbroken string of labor strikes in all those years of the tumultuous fourth decade, held both in Bucharest and in other localities throughout the country in 1936 and 1937, the great antifascist demonstration on 1 May 1939, one of the strongest demonstrations in Europe against Hitlerism on the offensive, and the impressive patriotic demonstrations and meetings during which the determination of the broad masses in Romania to block the path of fascism was expressed more and more strongly are vivid testimony in this regard.

Important actions for rallying the democratic forces in Romania on a common platform were performed successfully under the guidance of the communists: the concluding of the agreements on anti-Hitler struggle on 24 September 1935 in Bacia (Hunedoara) between the Plowmen's Front and MADOSZ (the Union of Hungarian Working People in Romania) and on 26 November 1935 in Bucharest between the Democratic Bloc and the Socialist Party (Poporici). At the start of December 1935, in Deva, representatives of the communists, the socialists and the peasantry organized into the Plowmen's Front, of the Hungarian working people (MADOSZ), of the citizens belonging to the Democratic Bloc and of other political organizations and groups signed in Tebea, under Horea's Oak, the agreement on the Antifascist Popular Front, initiated by the Communist Party. A number of local organizations and members of the Social Democratic Party, the Socialist Unity Party, the Radical Peasant Party, the Conservative Party (G. Filipescu) and local organizations of the National Peasant Party and the National Liberal Party rallied

to the united front of antifascist struggle initiated by the Romanian Communist Party, a fact that demonstrated the existence of a strong antifascist state of mind among the Romanian people.

Under these external and internal conditions, especially after the imperialist Munich agreement in September 1938, which led to the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia, giving at the same time to Germany a free hand to subjugate the countries in southern and eastern Europe, its pressures on Romania were also intensified. The Romanian-German economic agreement in 1939, followed by other onerous treaties, put Romania's economic and political life more and more under the control of Nazi Germany. The German Reich and fascist Italy imposed in August 1940 the odious Vienna Diktat, by means of which the northern part of Transylvania, an old Romanian territory, with the Romanian population in the majority, was stolen and given to Nazi Germany's ally, Horthy's Hungary. In those hard times, Romania stood alone before Hitler's policy of force, terror and dictation, without any outside help, abandoned by all the powers of Europe.

Hitler's Germany was interested to a high degree in totally subordinating Romania to it by establishing at its helm a fascist government that would completely meet its needs. This objective was facilitated by the internal political situation created in Romania as a result of the ruling circles' policy of continually yielding before Hitler's pressures and the offensive of the internal fascist groups.

At the start of September 1940, things were aggravated even more as a result of the territorial cessions, which raised from one end of the country to the other a strong wave of rage and indignation on the part of the masses, of the whole populace. The war of the forces of fascism against the world could not detour around Romania's borders for very long. The royal dictatorship, disgraced and without authority, could no longer cope with the situation, yielding more and more to the pressures of Hitler's Germany. Carol's bankrupt policy and the total discrediting of the "historical" parties led to the creation of an extremely grave political crisis. In the given situation, in order to protect himself and be able to save his throne, King Carol II oriented himself toward the solution of instituting an ironhanded government.

The most suitable man was Gen Ion Antonescu. He had been connected with the Iron Guard for years and years, a reason why the Nazi circles approved of him. He had distinguished himself by means of the bloody decisions made during the repression of the insurgents in the Galati area in 1907 (for the blood spilled then and for the color of his hair, he was also called "the Red Dog"). It was then understandable that the Hitlerites, being aware of the inability of the Legionaries to run the country, were to prefer a general known for his fascist extremist views and actions.

The Legionaries launched a campaign of support on his behalf by means of disturbances instigated in Bucharest and in the country. On 4 September

1940, Antonescu received the official mandate for forming the government, and on 5 September, King Carol II signed the decrees by means of which he suspended the constitution, dissolved the parliament and entrusted to the general the leadership of the government with dictatorial powers. On 6 September 1940, Carol abdicated in favor of his son, Mihai, fleeing the country a second time. A government in which the majority of the ministers were Legionaries was then formed. On the date of 16 September 1940, Romania was proclaimed "a national Legionary state."

The darkest page in Romania's history then began. The military-Antonescu regime--an expression of the alliance between the military group around Ion Antonescu and the Iron Guard--represented the dictatorship of the most reactionary and chauvinistic circles of the ruling classes. The bloody repression and the suppression of the opponents became the main method of affirmation and maintenance of the Legionaries in state life. Terrorism was raised to the rank of a state policy. The police and the security forces, the main factors in the apparatus of repression, were taken over by the Guardists. Moreover, the whole Iron Guard was transformed, on the model of the Nazi formations, into an armed paramilitary organization, which unleashed a huge wave of assaults and assassinations.

The bloody path of the existence of Legionarism, marked by many crimes--the murder of Prime Ministers I. G. Duca and Armand Calinescu in 1933 and 1939--registered during the Legionary government countless other victims from all the social and political categories, people who acted for democracy, for culture and progress, for the safeguarding of Romania's national interests.

Shortly after the establishment of the Legionary-Antonescu dictatorship, in November 1940, called with good reason "the bloody month," "the month of crime," "the month of criminal vengeance," the gun became the only "argument," the only "language" in the communication of the Legionaries with the people. Documents of the time recorded in the first days of the Legionary government acts of terrible tragedy: "The people are taken to the Legionary headquarters and maltreated horribly...," it being noted that only "in the Middle Ages were such means of violence used!" The Legionaries aimed their blade particularly at the communists, at all the antifascist, patriotic political organizations and personalities, at the intellectuals and the officers who spoke out and acted firmly for the reestablishment of Romania's sovereignty and against the domination of Hitler's Germany.

On the night of 26-27 November, in the Jilava prison, a group of Legionaries, led by Dimitrie Grozea, slaughtered over 60 former high officials, among whom were General Argesanu, former prime minister, Victor Iamandi, former minister of justice, judges, officers and other civil servants. "I was assigned," Legionary assassin Gh. Cretu said, "to cell 18. The signal was heard at 0030 hours. I opened the door of the cell. I ordered, 'Attention!', after which I fired, executing by shooting all 14 detainees who were inside.... The execution took approximately 10 minutes."

But the thirst for blood was not satisfied. After an hour, on the same night, in the lockups of the police station in the capital, six more persons were killed, their corpses being thrown into the Baneasa forest.

The murder of world-famous Romanian scholar Nicolae Iorga, former prime minister, of Univ Prof Virgil Madgearu and of other noted personalities belonged to the same chain of assassinations. Constantin David, a member of the RCP Central Committee, Ocsko Tereza and countless other militants of the working class were assassinated in a bestial manner.

The Legionaries considered the assassinations in the first months of their government just the start of a vast plan of criminal, terrorist actions. "We want these people," Legionary leader Vasile Posteuca wrote on 2 December 1940 in the newspaper CUVINTUL, "to feel, if they do not feel, to waste away, to die by the thousands.... We too (the Legionaries--our note) want to see these people trembling, wailing..., facing death and dying.... Understand, Romanian people, and submit."

No matter how incredible such words may seem today, they are real. The Iron Guard acted madly, trying to transform Romania into a veritable death camp.

The apogee in this regard was attained during the Legionary revolt on 21-23 January 1941, when Antonescu and the Legionaries bloodily got even not only with each other but also with the people. The huge wave of monstrous crimes attained then a dreadful degree of violence and ferocity. In Bucharest, scores and scores of bodies of those killed were hanged by the neck on hooks in the slaughterhouse used by butchers. In various places in the capital, the lone soldiers caught unawares by the Legionaries were doused with gasoline and burned alive. Over 490 dead and wounded, Romanians, Jews and other nationalities--this was the tragic balance sheet of that day of total and bloody debauchery on the part of Legionarism.

Concomitant with the Legionary death squads, other squads of the Iron Guard roamed through villages and cities, in columns of stolen cars, pouncing everywhere and breaking shutters and shop windows with picks and crowbars and looting thousands of stores, private houses, public buildings, appropriating enormous quantities of material goods, sums of money, valuables of all sorts. This was the concrete affirmation of what the Iron Guard had proclaimed far and wide for a long time, that the Legionaries "are not the enemies of the bourgeoisie but, on the contrary, the protectors of it and founders of a new bourgeoisie conscious of its role in the Legionary state," as Traian Braileanu, the Gardist minister of education, said in the newspaper CUVINTUL of 3 November 1940.

The robberies, the thefts, the abuses committed by the Legionary gangs put on easy street, almost totally disorganized the economy in the months of the Legionary-Antonescu government.

The Legionary-Antonescu government turned to massive layoffs of workers and functionaries, especially among those who were not members of the Guard, to the terrorization of intellectuals of a democratic persuasion, including Mihail Sadoveanu, Tudor Vianu, Ion Marin Sadoveanu, Florin Stefanescu Goanga and many others. At the same time, many communists, social democrats, bourgeois politicians, citizens hostile to the fascist dictatorship were interned in concentration camps. Thus, as the RCP noted in the documents "De la Regimul Legionar la Dictatura Militara" /From the Legionary Regime to the Military Dictatorship/, the Legionary regime "collapsed in disgrace, blood, fire and robbery." Shortly after seizing power, the Legionary-Antonescu dictatorship opened the country's borders to the troops of Nazi Germany. In the October 1940-January 1941 period, over 170,000 of Hitler's military personnel entered Romania. In the October 1940-August 1944 period, the expenses imposed on the Romanian state for maintaining Hitler's military mission reached the figure of over 67 billion lei (in valuta of 1938). At the same time, the fascist government entered into the tripartite pact, thus including Romania in the political-military bloc of the states under the hegemony of Nazi Germany.

The removal of the Legionaries from power, in January 1941, done against the background of the general anti-Legionary state of mind of the working masses, led to an even more precise understanding of the political orientation and collaboration between General--later Marshal--Antonescu and Hitler's Germany. At the same time, the Nazis took under their protection the Legionary leaders who had fallen out with Antonescu in order to preserve them and use them when necessary as a reserve crew and a group for espionage and sabotage. In his turn, Gen I. Antonescu, after the revolt, through "An Appeal to the People" in which he scolded "my dear children, whose faults I have shouldered for 5 months," gave assurances that he was going to prepare "the great political system of the state. From the Legionary spirit I will create an order suited to the new feeling that has settled upon the world in a community with Germany and Italy...."

Antonescu's military-fascist regime fully justified the expectations of the Hitlerites, who brought him to and kept him in power. Under the conditions of the total suppression of the people's liberties, of the more and more marked infeudation to Nazi Germany, Romania was thrown, against its will, into Hitler's anti-Soviet war, a war hated from the bottom of the heart by the whole Romanian populace.

The Romanian people always viewed the Legionaries with hatred and loathing, as a group foreign to their aspirations and interests, to their mental and moral makeup, to their democratic and humanistic, patriotic and internationalistic traditions. Under the conditions of those years of sad memory, the RCP took the antifascist and anti-Hitler struggle to new heights, united closely all the progressive, antifascist, democratic forces around it in a wide resistance movement, under the motto "To the Revolutionary Struggle for the Overthrow of the Military-Fascist Dictatorship." The people's antifascist state of mind constituted the basis of the Communist Party's

decisive actions in the struggle against the Antonescu dictatorship and for the country's liberation from fascist domination and the country's removal from Hitler's war and its entrance into the antifascist coalition.

Responding to the party's fiery call to the struggle for the total annihilation of fascism, the Romanian people launched the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution for national and social liberation. The triumph of the armed insurrection in that heroic August 1944, a work of the wide patriotic forces united around the RCP, represented a deathblow for fascism. As Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stated, "The memorable act on 23 August 1944 opened for the Romanian people the way to the gaining of social freedom, to the achievement of the highest aspirations of those who work, to the victory of the socialist revolution and the transition to the construction of the new order. Under the leadership of the Communist Party, the fearless standard bearer of the national interests, Romania has eliminated forever the yoke of imperialist domination, has gained its full state independence. The Romanian people, taking their fate into their own hands, are freely and independently forging their new life, as they wish--the socialist life."

In the years of the antifascist struggle, as in the bright years of the construction of the new social order, the moral and political traits of our glorious working class manifested themselves with great vigor. Immediately after liberation, at the start of September 1944, the new trade unions were created, unified unions, whose role has been and is to assemble the forces of the working class into a united front and to direct them toward the great objectives that inspire the whole Romanian nation, free, independent and sovereign.

The Romanian people's heroic struggle put a definite end to the domination of those who had brought the country to the brink of a national disaster. Under the party's banner, the Romanian people gained their right to a new life, acquired their national and social freedom, forging on the land of Romania the bright edifice of socialism and preparing for the transition to communism.

The remembrance of the tragic events occurring four decades ago brings out strongly the significance of history's lessons, the grave consequences that can come about through tolerance and a conciliatory attitude toward fascism, through a lack of vigilance and firmness toward the policy of aggression and violation of the interests of the peoples. The recrudescence of neofascist practices of violence and assault, of propagation of racism and chauvinism, of bitter hatred for democracy and progress strongly requires all the progressive social forces, the politicians, the peoples to do everything so that history does not repeat itself, so that the steamroller of fascism never again moves through the world.

12105
CSO: 2700

ECONOMIC UNITS MUST SET UP CANTEENS FOR WORKERS ABROAD

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I, No 74, 22 Sep 80 pp 1, 2

[Text] The Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees:

Sole article--Council of State Decree No 162/1978 on the rights and obligations of working cadres sent abroad for the execution of work and for technical assistance, contracted for by Romanian economic units, is amended as follows:

1. Article 3, paragraph 1 will read as follows: "(1) The units sending the cadres are obliged to organize canteens or to insure conditions for preparing meals. The expenses incurred by the organization and operation of the canteens or the expenditures incurred in insuring conditions for preparing food, including expenditures representing the benefits which are given to the cadres working in the canteens, are taken care of by the units sending the personnel, within the limits of the sums provided for this purpose in the documentation which is approved, according to the law, for each contract separately, both for existing canteens and for those which will be organized in the future."

2. Article 8, paragraph 2 will read as follows: "(2) Working cadres who are under the overall contract system receive benefits in the currency of the respective country, in accordance with the volume of work actually done, with the observance of the deadline specified in the contract and within the limits of the sums specified in the sale report. The overall contract supplement, defined as the difference between the sum stipulated in the overall contract agreement and the sum of the monthly advances received up to the level of compensation of the workers during the period of the execution of the work contracted for, is given 50 percent in lei and 50 percent in the currency of the respective country, at the time of the completion of the work contracted for."

3. The table in the annex to Council of State Decree No 162/1978 is amended in accordance with the annex to the present decree. [Footnote:] The annex is being distributed to the institutions concerned.

[Signed] Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Bucharest, 19 September 1980
No 277

CSO: 2700

BRIEFS

CHANGE IN LAW--The Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Article 8, paragraph 1 of Law No 10/1073 on the Committee for Peoples Councils Problems is amended and will read as follows: "The Committee for Peoples Councils Problems is composed of 115-125 members." [Excerpt] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I, No 75, 23 Sep 80 p 1]

OFFICIAL APPOINTMENTS--The president of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Mircea Popescu is relieved of his position as deputy chairman of the State Planning Commission and that Comrade Mihail Tenea is relieved of his position as deputy minister of industrial construction and appointed deputy chairman of the State Planning Committee. [Excerpt] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I, No 74, 22 Sep 80 p 3]

CSO: 2700

END

JPRS 76717

29 October 1980

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1822

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29 October 1980

EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1822

CONTENTS

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Polish Leaders Thank Soviet Leaders for Anniversary Greetings
(PRAVDA, 9 Aug 80) 1

Warsaw Pact Maneuver Reveals Operational Tactics
(OSTSEE-ZEITUNG, 12 Sep 80) 2

ALBANIA

Inadequate Measures Against Damagers of Socialist Property
(Zigur Kame; ZERI I POPULLIT, 22 Aug 80) 6

Powers of Village, City District, City Peoples Councils
(GAZFTA ZYRTARE, Jul 80) 8

BULGARIA

Editorial Urges Observance of Air Force Flight Regulations
(Editorial; NARODNA ARMIYA, 19 Sep 80) 37

Author Calls for Sober Depiction of Internal Security Heroes
(Bogdan Gloginski; RABOTNICHESKO DELO, 13 Sep 80) ... 40

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

France Praised for 'Realistic Position' in Relations With CEMA
(Paul Freiberg; IPW-BERICHTE, Sep 80) 43

[III - EE - 63]

POLAND

'TANJUG' Assesses Baltic Strikes After PZPR Proposals
(TANJUG, 25 Aug 80) 58

'TANJUG' Reports on Polish Workers' Demands
(TANJUG, 27 Aug 80) 59

SFRY's 'BORBA' Reports Gierek's Address to Polish People
(BORBA, 20 Aug 80) 60

'BORBA' Reports on Strike Situation
(BORBA, 21 Aug 80) 62

'LE MONDE' Sees Kania's Aim as Regaining Party's Full Dominance
(Editorial; LE MONDE, 20 Sep 80) 65

'LE SOIR's' Mathil Views Significance of Strike Developments
(Pol Mathil; LE SOIR, 2 Sep 80) 67

Stanislaw Kania Compared to Kadar, Brezhnev
(Pol Mathil; LE SOIR, 9 Sep 80) 69

Dutch Paper Views Strikers' 'Surprising Victories'
(Editorial; DE VOLKSKRANT, 25 Aug 80) 72

Dutch Paper Views Polish Authorities-Strikers' Agreement
(Editorial; DE VOLKSKRANT, 1 Sep 80) 74

Iberian Press Comments on Polish Strike Situation
(Editorial Reports, various dates) 76

21-24, 26 Aug 80 Papers
2 Sep 80 Papers

Briefs
Gdansk PZPR Committee Session 79
'Crucial Moment' in Crisis Seen 79

ROMANIA

Role of Workers' Letters in Affirming Socialist Democracy
(Andrei Cervencovici; ERA SOCIALISTA, 5 Sep 80) .. 80

Report on Bucharest World Forum of Historians
(Damian Hurezeanu; ERA SOCIALISTA, 5 Sep 80) 91

YUGOSLAVIA

Briefs
Macedonian Moslem Meeting 99

POLISH LEADERS THANK SOVIET LEADERS FOR ANNIVERSARY GREETINGS

LD121521 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Aug 80 p 1

[Text] To Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and Comrade A. N. Kosygin, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

Esteemed Comrades:

On behalf of the PZPR Central Committee, the Polish Council of State and Council of Ministers and on behalf of the Polish people we send you, the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, the USSR Council of Ministers, and the fraternal Soviet people warm thanks for your friendly congratulations and wishes on our national holiday--the 36th anniversary of Poland's resurrection.

The profound changes which have taken place in all spheres of our country's life are a graphic confirmation of the correctness of the socialist path of development chosen by the Polish people 36 years ago. The results of the close fraternal cooperation based on the fraternal friendship and indestructible alliance of the People's Poland with the USSR are also based on the foundation of our achievements.

Continuing the work of building a developed socialist society and implementing the eighth party congress decisions, our country together with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist states will continue to make its contribution to consolidating the unity and strength of the socialist community in the joint struggle for peace and progress in Europe and throughout the world.

We take this opportunity to convey to you, dear comrades, and to the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and USSR Council of Ministers and all Soviet people the most heartfelt wishes for further successes in communist building and in the struggle for peace and socialism.

[Signed] E. Gierek, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee; H. Jablonski, chairman of the Polish Council of State; and E. Babiuch, chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers

CSO: 1800

WARSAW PACT MANEUVER REVEALS OPERATIONAL TACTICS

Rostock OSTSEE-ZEITUNG in German 12 Sep 80 p 3

[OSTSEE-ZEITUNG report of third day of "Comradeship-in-Arms 80" maneuver: "Soviet Airborne Troops Deployed; Precise Operation of Transport Pilots and Paratroops"]

[Text] On the third day of battle heavy transport planes with paratroops from the Soviet Union approach the maneuver area. The battle orders read: A sector of terrain deep in the "enemy" operational area is to be occupied to achieve favorable conditions for the attacking main force of the ground troops.

The action is observed from the command posts by Secretary General of the SED Central Committee and Chairman of the Council of State of the GDR Erich Honecker, Chairman of the National Defense Council Willi Stoph, Chairman of the Council of Ministers Horst Sindermann, the speaker of the People's Council and other members and candidates of the Politbureau. Along with the commander of the maneuvers, Army General Heinz Hoffmann, minister for national defense of the GDR, other members of the GDR party and state leadership are present, as well as the defense ministers of the fraternal socialist countries.

Strong gusty wind drives the clouds across the sky. The morning stillness is suddenly broken. Modern fighter bombers attack the "enemy" position in the landing area. Bombs and rockets explode incessantly. Columns of smoke and dust rise everywhere. Far above fighter aircraft are circling. The area is sheltered against "enemy" air attack.

Deep regular throbbing fills the air. Contours of heavy transport planes come into view. The first plane arrives at the landing area. Doors open. Like pearls on a string paratroopers jump from the transport craft. A short free fall, then the parachutes open. A few seconds later a broad band of white domes covers the sky; the parachutes glide uniformly to the ground. Submachineguns rattle. The paratroops touch ground, immediately untie their parachutes and go into action--in short order this advance party occupies the area and secures it for further action.

The next column of four-engine Ilyushin transporters arrives. Suddenly small guidance chutes appear at the rear gates, square packets fall from the planes.

Gigantic cargo parachutes open and stabilize their descent. The parachutes glide slowly to the ground. Immediately above ground braking rockets fire. Tons of equipment--airborne BMD tanks and armored personnel carriers with antitank rockets--land softly.

Further IL-76s follow. The main force of the airborne unit approaches. Hundreds of parachutes are now floating in the air at the same time. On ground the battle units get organized, the drivers and gunners of the BMD unstrap their vehicles from the platforms. The soldiers with the blue berets climb aboard, follow the advance party, and open fire.

A BMD--armed like the battle vehicles of mechanized infantry with cannon, machine gun and guided antitank rockets--drives at great speed to the observation point. The commander of the unit, Lieutenant Colonel Semyonov, reports to the commander the successful conclusion of the airborne landing. He receives orders to occupy favorable positions to defend against "enemy" attacks.

With this airborne landing--50 years ago for the first time a Red Army unit was dropped by parachute at maneuvers--the "Blue Berets" continue the glorious battle traditions of their branch. All airborne units had been designated guard units in the Great Patriotic War. Some 196 of their members were designated Hero of the Soviet Union. Their example inspires today's soldiers to achievements such as those reached on that day during the "Comradeship-in-Arms 80."

The airborne operation from a height of 600 meters under difficult meteorological conditions has been concluded. Soviet soldiers and officers have lined up to receive testimonial from Erich Honecker. The demonstration of outstanding military competence, solid training, courage and bravery of the members of the airborne troops and the transport pilots of the Soviet Army are highly praised. Erich Honecker congratulates the Soviet soliders. The same praise is voiced by Army General Heinz Hoffman and Marshals Dmitriy Ustinov and Viktor Kulikov.

Soldiers of Three Armies Establish a Bridgehead

The second maneuver terrain in the central sector of the GDR: The commander describes the military situation. A water barrier has to be forced under strong "enemy" fire. Conditions for a rapid advance of the troops, their crossing on a broad front and continuation of the attack on the other bank must be established. The commanders, Lieutenant General of armored troops

Roman Savochkin of the Soviet Army and Major General Pavol Wrlik of the Czechoslovak People's Army [CVA] make the decision to establish a bridgehead with massive employment of rockets, artillery, helicopters and fighter planes.

By radio and telephone orders reach the headquarters and command posts of the concerned units of the NVA, the Soviet Army, and the Czechoslovak People's Army seconds later. Massive artillery barrages interrupt the silence. Helicopters and fighters drop without intermission bombs and rockets on the "enemy" bank. The river here is about 300 meters wide. Transport helicopters land airborne troops. The advance party in concentration breaks through the "enemy" positions. Soldiers of the three participating fraternal armies establish a bridgehead in heavy battle. A few meters above the water surface helicopters are hovering. While the rotors cause heavy waves, underwater demolition divers jump in twos with lightning speed.

Equipped with diving suits, flippers and oxygen equipment they reconnoiter the crossing points to the "enemy" bank. In twos the divers remove obstacles and mine fields under heavy fire. Road markers are set. The path is clear.

In "enemy" fire armored personnel carriers dive into the river. Their tracks churn up the water.

In quick drive, with cannon and machineguns firing, the positions on the cleft bank are reached. Waves upon waves follow. Mechanized riflemen of the NVA Robert Uhrig unit and the CVA Jiri Podobrady regiment demonstrate high military competence. Like anti-tank gunner Waldemar Marks they keep their promise to "hit with the first shot." His competence as "Best of the Regiment" is shown also by his Czechoslovak comrade-in-arms, the BMP driver Jiri Denemark.

The last armored personnel carriers of these units are on the "enemy" bank. Now tanks of the Soviet Army cross the stream in an amphibious drive. At the same time ponton engineer regiments begin with bridge construction on the flanks of the crossing sector. Transport vehicles with universal drive approach the water. At a medium water speed at the crossing points the ten-meter long pontons, weighing tons, are dropped immediately into the water from these special vehicles of the Krazs and Tatra type. Every move of the engineers is a correct one. The drivers of tugboats keep the 60-megapond bridge in balance, and prevent its drifting off. In spite of fire tanks, artillery and heavy vehicles pass the two-track bridges at high speed.

The "enemy" succeeds in destroying bridge elements by artillery and air bombardment. Critical minutes for attacking units. But again the engineers prove themselves, going into action with determination and removing

the damage. As in the further course of maneuvers, this action shows the high level of military knowledge of the soldiers of the Czechoslovak People's Army, the National People's Army, and the Soviet Army.

The Soviet soldiers in action here are members of the guard tank regiment that during the Great Patriotic War advanced from the gates of Moscow via Volokolamsk, Kiev and Gdynia to Berlin. The designation of "Hero of the Soviet Union" granted to 10 soldiers and officers, as well as a further 2,500 orders and medals, testify to the battle gallantry of that regiment in the Great Patriotic War.

9240
CSO: 2300

INADEQUATE MEASURES AGAINST DAMAGERS OF SOCIALIST PROPERTY

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 22 Aug 80 p 3

[Article by Zigur Kame, director of control in the Ministry of Finance: "Strong Control, Based on the Opinion of the Masses"]

[Excerpts] State control, which is exercised over the entire process of the production and dissemination of the social product, is an inseparable part of the organizing and management activity of state and economic organs. Financial control, in particular, control-auditing, is a component and inseparable part of this control.

Without denying the improvements which have been made, the shortcomings which are evident in the administration and protection of socialist property, especially in some sectors of the people's economy, make it necessary that measures to perfect this control be further strengthened. Despite the continual recommendations and the duties assigned in regard to the strengthening of the work of the control-auditing organs, in practice we still run into attitudes of underestimating and disregarding this work. The fact that in some districts, such as Fier, Puke, Tropoje, Tepelene and Librazhd, the necessary number of auditors and controllers has not been incorporated into the structure is an indication of the existence of these wholly unallowable attitudes. On the other hand, unsuitable individuals, without the necessary qualifications, have been given these positions in Elbasan, Lezhe, Diber and Kukes districts. And what is even worse, the same situation exists in some ministries.

Most of the enterprises and institutions and all the agricultural cooperatives are audited by the auditing and control organs of the executive committees. With the exception of the Ministry of Industry and Mines, the Ministry of Communications and the Ministry of Construction, the ministries have very few units under direct financial control. However, this does not remove the responsibility of the ministries for the control of their economic and financial activity and of the enterprises directly under their jurisdiction. However, they do not give the necessary assistance to the control and auditing organs of the districts and do not properly

execute investigations on the implementation of laws. The Ministry of Domestic Trade and the Ministry of Light Industry and the Food Industry have begun to do a better job in this area but the Ministry of the Communal Economy, the Ministry of Agriculture and others are not doing their job properly.

Our laws and regulations stipulate definite measures of punishment and assign material responsibility to all those who cause damage to socialist property. But sentimental and liberal attitudes, in many cases, have weakened their full activity and full compensation is not made for damage caused. For example, measures against those who cause shortfalls, damage and violations of financial discipline are weak in Tirana, Diber, Mirdite and other districts and in enterprises belonging to the Ministry of Industry and Mines and the Ministry of Agriculture. In particular, the matter of the compensation for damages caused to socialist property, is not properly treated. For example, in Skrapar, Lushnje and Kruje districts, only 22 percent of the damage is compensated for. This shows that the organs and individuals charged with issuing compensation orders in the enterprises, executive committees and ministries have had liberal attitudes toward damagers of socialist property and violators of financial discipline. The control and auditing organs are also responsible for this situation since they have not done their duty as they should to strengthen their work and to be intolerant toward such attitudes.

The reduction of the time between inspections is important in preventing damage to socialist property. The intervals between inspections are unjustifiably long and this has a bad effect on the process of preventing shortfalls and remedying them. Also, there are overall, global inspections, which are not properly prepared and organized; they have no effect and produce no results. This is illustrated by the fact that in some enterprises and agricultural cooperatives the violations continue even though inspections are made. There are no re-inspections to see if tasks have been implemented.

Above all, the results in the protection, administration and strengthening of property will improve to the extent that the opinion of the masses of workers is solicited and brought to bear against every negative manifestation, involving the revolutionary opinion and activity of the public in inspection activity.

CSO: 2100

POWERS OF VILLAGE, CITY DISTRICT, CITY PEOPLES COUNCILS

Tirana GAZETA ZYRTARE in Albania No 5, Jul 80 pp 97-124

[Albanian People's Assembly Presidium Decision No 255 of 30 June 1980: "On Determining the Tasks of the People's Councils of the Villages, United Villages, City Quarters and Cities and of the Quarters of Tirana City"; passages between slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] On the basis of Article 78 of the Constitution and of Article 12 of the Law "On the People's Councils," the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania has decided:

1. To approve the tasks of the people's councils of the villages, united villages, city quarters and cities and of the quarters of Tirana City.

2. In accordance with these tasks, the Council of Ministers, the ministries, the other central institutions and the executive committees of the district people's councils must re-examine the legal acts that they have enacted and make relevant changes.

3. The ministries, other central institutions and executive committees of the district people's councils must adopt appropriate organizational measures for the complete implementation of these tasks.

This decision comes into force immediately.

Tirana, 30 June 1980

Decision No: 255

For the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania:

Xhafer Spahiu, Secretary — Haxhi Lleshi, Chairman

Tasks of the People's Councils of the Villages, United Villages, City Quarters and Cities and of the Quarters of Tirana City

The people's councils of the villages, united villages, city quarters and cities and of the quarters of Tirana City--in addition to the general tasks stipulated in the Law "On the People's Councils"--also implement these concrete tasks in the relevant territorial administrative units.

In the execution of these tasks, the people's councils are guided by the fundamental principles sanctioned by the Constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and by the Law "On the People's Councils."

Tasks of the Village People's Council

I. /In the political and administrative field:/

1. The village people's council organizes the work for the knowledge and the execution of the laws by the working people.

2. Takes care of maintaining order and peace, of preventing penal acts and other violation of the laws and calls to account the representative of the police organ.

3. Calls to account the brigade leader or the person in charge of the sector of the agricultural cooperative, of the agricultural enterprise and of the institutions that conduct activities in its village for the fulfillment of the plan tasks and for all problems under its jurisdiction.

4. Cooperates with the social organizations in solving state and social problems.

5. Monitors the implementation of the statute of the agricultural cooperatives and of the Labor Code in the agricultural enterprises and of the other legal acts that have emerged from their execution.

6. Is concerned about the work of the village people's court and people's prosecutor and calls the latter to account.

6. Encourages and supports revolutionary initiatives and actions.

8. Regularly organizes the presentation of reports by the workers of trade, communal services and employees to the people.

9. And organizes audiences for the population; it examines, verifies and solves the proposals, observations, complaints and requests of the members of the agricultural cooperative and of the workers of the agricultural enterprise within its jurisdiction, against the illegal activities of the brigade leader or of the person in charge of the

sector. The decision of the village people's council is binding for the brigade leader, the person in charge of a sector and the other persons with responsibility.

II. /In the agricultural field:/

1. The village people's council examines and approves the draft production plan and the draft financial plan of the work brigade or the sector and controls its implementation.

2. Minitors the implementation of the Declaration of the Central Committee of the Albanian Workers Party and of the Council of Ministers of 29 April 1967 and of other decisions.

3. Assists and checks the complete participation in work of the members of the cooperative and of the agricultural enterprise workers.

4. Exerts control over the protection of the agricultural lands and over the systemization, utilization and improvement of its productive capacity, as well as over the protection of agriculture.

5. Monitors the execution of the legal provisions on the protection and administration of forests, grasslands, hunting, fishing areas and medicinal plants.

6. Monitors the implementation of the tasks and regulations in regard to the struggle against plant diseases and contagious diseases in domestic animals.

7. Monitors the organization and utilization of water for irrigating the land of the cooperative members.

8. And calls the brigade leader of the livestock sector to account in regard to the conditions and development of the livestock sector and takes care of animals on the land of cooperative members.

III. /In the field of defense:/

1. The village people's council takes measures to assure the military mobilization of the people and of materials and participation of the citizens in the execution of military drills, and of the exercises to test preparedness and combat alerts, and monitors the military training of the citizens.

2. Implements the regulations on the drafting of the citizens.

3. Executes the tasks entrusted for the state civil preparedness for wartime, as well as for the situation and preparedness of civil defense (MCR) services and formations.

4. Monitors the work for the building of air-raid shelters for the village needs and adopts measures for their preservation and maintenance.

It monitors the fortification works executed by the inhabitants of the area.

5. And directs the work for the organization of the operational watch and communications service. It monitors the system of warning the population, the system of observation and so forth. It organizes the work for the knowledge of civil defense signals by the population and the use of these signals. It monitors the maintenance of warehouses of the volunteer forces.

IV. /In the planning and finance field:/

1. The village people's council presents, to the united village people's council, the needs for relevant funds for education, culture, health, trade and communal works and requests credits for improving housing conditions.

2. Monitors the fulfillment of the budget plan sent by the united village people's council for the village.

3. Exerts its control over and analyzes the fulfillment of economic and financial tasks of work brigades or of sectors in the village.

4. Monitors, analyzes and adopts measures on the preservation and administration of socialist property.

5. Examines requests for economic aid presented by members of the agricultural cooperative who are unable to work and who have no income and sends them to the united village people's council for approval, and monitors the implementation of the decision.

6. And monitors and takes measures against the nonauthorized practice of professions and against private business and prosecutes the offenders.

V. /In the field of construction:/

1. The village people's council gives its opinion about the village plan and executes it.

2. Takes measures to prevent illegal construction. It decides on the suspension of projects built in disharmony with the village plan and without building authorization, makes a report on this action and sends it to the village court and, immediately, informs the united village people's council.

3. In accordance with the village plan, it determines the place and the order of construction projects and of repairs of economic, social and cultural facilities and of privately-owned houses.

4. It gives its opinion to the united village people's council on the requests made for new construction.

VI. /In the field of communications:/

1. The village people's council organizes, when necessary, the work for the opening of roads and monitors their maintenance.

2. And organizes, with its own forces, the work for the reopening of the roads obstructed by snow and for their repair when damages have occurred as a result of a natural disaster, and for the re-establishment of communications.

VII. /In the field of trade:/

1. The village people's council monitors the implementation of the plan for the circulation and collection of goods and takes care of the regular supplying of the people with consumer goods and plans the distribution of building materials. It also attends to the fulfillment of the plan for purchases and sales and the plan for agricultural products for exports.

2. And monitors the execution of the legal provisions by the state trade units and the agricultural cooperatives for good service and for the exact application of prices set by the responsible organs and of the rules for weight and measurements, for cleanliness and so forth.

VIII. /In the field of the communal economy:/

1. The village people's council exerts control over the administration and maintenance of the state buildlings in the village.

2. Monitors the work of all units of the communal services in the village.

3. Is concerned about the beautification of the village and of cultural and social objects with gardens and so forth by means of voluntary work.

4. Takes care of the maintenace of the electric and telephone systems.

5. Takes measures to supply the population with hygienically pure drinking water and monitors the protection of the purity of water sources and the maintenance of fountains, wells and reservoirs of drinking water.

6. And determines the location of cemeteries and takes care of their maintenance.

IX. /In the field of education and culture:/

1. The village people's council monitors and takes measures for assuring compulsory school attendance in the 8-year schools and for achieving the proper number of students in the middle schools with or without interruption of work.

2. Monitors the work done by schools for the comprehensive education of students and takes measures to satisfy the needs of school, cultural house, kindergarten, the museum and so forth.

3. It activates the village intelligentsia on the various problems, enlists its opinion and entrusts it with the study of these problems.

4. Directs and monitors the cultural center and is concerned with establishing cultural and artistic groups and other activities developed for the education of the masses.

5. Manages the physical-educational activity of the village (setting up sports teams and their activities).

6. Manages and monitors the work carried out in kindergartens and approves the admission of children in kindergartens and is concerned about increasing their participation in kindergartens.

7. Monitors and takes measures for the preservation and maintenance of monuments and of commemorative plaques at sites where events of the struggle for freedom and independence have taken place, especially, events of the Anti-Fascist National Liberation Struggle and of the building of socialism of the monuments of art and culture and of other works that have a historic value.

8. Manages the activity of the museum and is concerned about its continual enrichment.

9. Monitors the building of schools and of cultural and sports projects and their repair.

10. Decides on and grants the right to study to students who are sent to lower technical and vocational schools and to middle schools and gives its opinion on granting scholarships.

11. Approves and monitors the educational plan campaign for the preparation of the new school year.

12. And takes care of the opening of vacation centers for children during the summer.

X. /In the field of health:/

1. The village people's council takes care of the people's health by means of compulsory vaccination and the struggle against contagious diseases, adopts measures for the cleaning of streets and squares and monitors the painting of the various dwellings and buildings and the work for the hygiene of the village (cleaning of conduits and the purification of the drinking water with chlorine).

2. Monitors the work of the doctor, the midwife and all other workers of the health departments.

3. Manages and supervises activities in kindergartens and approves the admission of children to them.

4. Directs the work of the demographic commission and looks after the protection of the health of mother and child.

5. And creates the guardianship commission; and sees to the placement of orphans, the aged and the mentally handicapped in appropriate institutions.

XI. /The tasks in various fields:/

1. The village people's council monitors the direct participation of cadres in production.

2. Designates the workers that are required to work in the economic enterprises, in accordance with the plan approved by the united village people's council.

3. Allows the distillation of raki [brandy] in the areas authorized by the executive committee of the district people's council.

4. On the basis of the plan, it approves the list of workers who are sent to training courses.

5. Monitors the implementation of state discipline by employees and other workers. It grants leave, according to established regulations, to school directors, health workers and salespersons. All these people must notify the people's council when they leave for reason of work.

6. Proposes the granting of moral incentives.

7. Regulates the integration in the work force of the new forces in agricultural enterprises, as well as the persons with limited capabilities and the disabled.

8. Takes care of the execution of the legal provisions on vital statistics.

9. Manages and monitors the work of bakeries and the operation of grinding mills.

10. Appoints or grants admission papers for work to service workers in the health, educational and cultural institutions, to those of the communal services and to the salespersons in the trade system, in accordance with established criteria and, when it is necessary, it takes or demands the adoption of disciplinary measures on the basis of the provisions in force.

Appoints and dismisses from work the person in charge of the cultural center.

Appoints and removes from work the workers of the trade units and of the services administered by the agricultural cooperatives.

11. Encourages the activities of the people's prospectors for useful mineral ores, of the collectors of folklore, of the workers of the people's health sector and of those engaged in archeological explorations and so forth.

12. And establishes and checks the schedule for services in all state premises and in the agricultural cooperatives.

/Footnote:/

The village people's council, which is directly connected with the district, also executes the tasks of the united village people's council.

Tasks of the United Village People's Council

I. /In the political and administrative field:/

1. The united village people's council manages and monitors the village people's councils in all their activities and organizes the work for the ideological and vocational education of counsellors.

2. Calls to account the directors of the agricultural cooperative, the agricultural enterprise and of other sectors and institutions that carry out activities in its area in regard to the fulfillment of the plan and other problems under its jurisdiction.

3. Cooperates with social organizations in solving state and social problems.

4. Supervises the implementation of the Statute of the Agricultural Cooperatives and of the Labor Code in the enterprises operating in its territory, as well as the other acts that have emerged from their implementation.

5. Organizes the work of making the laws known to the working people and preventing penal acts and other violations of the laws, and takes care of keeping order and peace; and calls to account the representative of the police organ in regard to its activities, instructs him and monitors his activity.

6. Organizes audiences for the people, and examines, verifies and solves the proposals, observations, complaints and requests of the

of the agricultural cooperative, of the workers of the agricultural enterprise and of other sectors that are under its jurisdiction, against the illegal activities committed by the leadership of the agricultural cooperative or the administration of the agricultural enterprise and of other sectors. The decision of the people's council is binding for all these organs.

7. And encourages and supports revolutionary initiatives and actions.

II. /In the field of agriculture:/

1. Monitors the implementation of the Declaration of the Central Committee of the Albanian Workers Party and of the Council of Ministers of 29 April 1967 and of other decisions.

2. Controls and takes measures for the conclusion and execution of contracts, for the realization of centralized net revenues, and for the use of credits in accordance with the plan, and with effectiveness, and for their repayment on schedule.

3. Assists and monitors the full participation in work of cooperative members and agricultural enterprise workers.

4. Exerts control over, and seeks to take measures for, the protection of the land, the utilization and improvement of the productive capacity of the land and the protection of agriculture.

5. Monitors the implementation of the legal provisions for the preservation and administration of forests, grasslands and hunting, and fishing areas, of fruit tree growing and of medicinal plants.

6. Calls to account the leadership of the agricultural cooperative in regard to the situation and development of livestock and takes care of domestic animals in the yards of cooperative members.

7. And monitors the implementation of the tasks and regulations for the struggle against contagious diseases in domestic animals and against plant pests.

III. /In the field of defense:/

1. The united village people's council monitors and controls the assurance of the military mobilization of the people and materials and the participation of the citizens in the execution of military drills, of exercises to test preparedness and combat alerts, and takes care of the military training of the citizens.

2. Takes measures for the fulfillment of its entrusted tasks on schedule, for the state civil preparedness for war and for the situation and readiness of the services and of the civil defense formations (MRC).

3. In cooperation with the responsible commands, it helps organize, operate and supply the necessary material base for the military training centers.

4. Monitors and follows up the implementation of the work plans for civil defense and the administration and maintenance of the air-raid shelters of the population.

5. Organizes the operational watch service and takes measures for the permanent readiness of the system of communications, of informing and signaling air-alerts and of the stations for air detection and observation.

6. And takes measures to keep in good conditions the fortification works of the army, of the FVVP [?Voluntary Patriotic Work Forces] and of the MCR situated in its territory.

IV. /In the field of planning and finance:/

1. The united village people's council examines and approves the draft plan of production and finance of the agricultural cooperative, of the agricultural enterprise and of the health, educational, cultural, trade, communications and post and telecommunications sectors.

It monitors and follows up the execution of the plan.

2. It drafts and approves its budget.

a) In the revenues section, the following are included: the revenues from the wealth which the people's council has in its administration; the revenues from the productive work of students; the revenues from the school kindergartens; the revenues from the collection of fines imposed by the responsible crgans; the part of the budget of the district people's council for the sectors of education, culture and health and so forth, without investments; the revenues from the payments for the children of kindergartens and creches; the revenues from the production bases of middle schools; the part that is designated by the general meeting of the cooperative, in accordance with its proposal, on the basis of the statute, for the maintenance of cultural centers, kindergartens and creches that are established by the cooperative itself for the maintenance of the museums, the communal buildings and for the aid fund.

b) In the section of expenditures, the following are included: the funds for communal constructions from the revenues of the united village people's council itself, for the maintenance, equipment and salaries of the personnel; the other expenditures for kindergartens, schools, the cultural house, village museums, creches, hospitals, maternity homes, dispensaries, and consulting centers; the expenditures for the

apparatus of the united village people's council and for the village people's councils under its jurisdiction; the funds for the maintenance, equipment, salaries and other expenditures for cultural projects, creches, and kindergartens; and the aid fund which is financed by the agricultural cooperative.

3. It examines and approves the requests for the funds of the village people's councils and for credits for the improvement of living conditions.

4. Analyzes, controls and monitors the execution of the budget; discovers new sources of revenues and continually takes measures for strengthening the system of savings.

5. Monitors and analyzes the economic and financial activity of the agricultural cooperative, of the agricultural enterprise and so forth, and establishes the tasks for the future.

6. Exerts control over, analyzes and takes measures for the preservation and administration of socialist property; and analyzes the activity of the control-review commission of the agricultural cooperative.

7. Approves the requests for economic aid by the members of the agricultural cooperative who are incapacitated for work, who have no income and who are without aid.

8. And collects the fines levied by the responsible organs, fines which belong to its budget.

V. /In the field of construction:/

1. The united village people's council gives permission for new constructions within the building limit of villages and permission for enlargement and repairs, in accordance with the legal provisions.

2. Monitors the execution of the villages plans and takes measures for averting the building of illegal constructions.

3. Determines the order of construction for each village.

4. Informs the executive committee of the district people's council about the constructions executed in contradiction with the village plans and about the buildings which are in danger of falling, and requests their demolition.

5. In cooperation with the leadership of the agricultural cooperative and with the assistance of the relevant sections of the executive committee of the district people's council, it prepares the design tasks for the drafting of the village plan and for the partial studies of the village urbanization.

VI. /In the field of communications:/

1. The united village people's council monitors the work for the protection and maintenance of village roads and for the cleaning of lateral canals and of all the roads located in its zone.

2. Approves the building and widening of roads that link the villages between them or that connect with national roads.

3. Aids and monitors the organization of labor forces for the re-opening of roads obstructed by snow, for their repair when damaged as a result of natural disasters and for reestablishing communications.

4. Takes care of the distribution of the press and correspondence in villages.

5. And takes care of the development of domestic transportation in villages by the means of carts and oxcarts and so forth.

VII. /In the field of trade:/

1. The united village people's council supervises the fulfillment of the plan for the circulation of goods and the purchasing and selling of agricultural products for domestic trade and for exports.

2. Takes care of supplying the people with consumer goods and approves the distribution of building materials and other materials for each village.

3. Makes studies on the trade system and makes proposals to the executive committee of the district people's council about its extension.

4. And monitors the measures for the timely supplying of the zones cut off during the winter period with clothing and footwear.

VIII. /In the field of the communal economy:/

1. The united village people's council decides on the expansion of the system of communal services and monitors the execution of the tasks in this field.

2. Administers and keeps in good conditions the watermains entrusted to it for supplying drinking water.

Directs the construction of the system of watermains and of roads of the village in accordance with the village plan.

3. Looks after the maintenance of the electric power and telephone system and, in cooperation with the communal enterprise and the post and telecommunications sector, assigns electricians and wire-watchers in accordance with the needs of villages.

4. Monitors the administration and maintenance of the state-owned buildings located in the village.

5. And decides the housing of workers in the state-owned houses and in the houses built by the agricultural cooperatives established in the village and implements the regulations of rents for dwellings.

IX. /In the field of education and culture:/

1. The united village people's council checks and monitors the work done by the educational institutions for the comprehensive education of students, for the development of education and for compulsory school attendance.

2. Manages the cultural, artistic and physical-educational activities in the united village.

3. Takes care of the dissemination and propaganda of books and film.

4. Monitors the campaign for the preparation of the new school year and takes measures for its complete implementation.

5. Assigns to the village people's councils those persons who have the right to study and to have scholarships for all the categories of lower and middle schools, and gives its opinion on the right to study and on scholarships in higher schools.

6. Approves the students who will pursue studies in boarding schcols of the zone.

7. Administers the schools, cultural houses, museums and kindergartens for children.

8. Monitors and checks on the building of schools and of cultural and physical-educational projects and their expansion and restoration.

9. Takes care of the opening of vacation centers for children during the summer.

10. And decides upon the dismissal of students from compulsory school for the cases stipulated in the special provisions of the Ministry of Education and Culture.

X. /In the field of health:/

1. The united village people's council manages and monitors the activity of health institutions and the work of health workers.

2. Monitors the execution of preventive and curative measures for the protection of the people's health.

It takes care of the health of mother and child.

3. Pursues and controls the activity of the health institutions for the health education of the people.

4. Takes care of the establishment of health institutions in villages and of their administration.

5. Takes care of the functioning of demographical commissions of the groups for the protection of environment from pollution and for epidemiological detection and observation.

6. And takes care of, monitors and stimulates studies on the introduction of folk medicine in the practice of public health care, in the spirit of the 11th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Albanian Workers Party.

XI. /In various fields:/

1. The united village people's council directs the Bureau of Vital Statistics.

2. Monitors the activity of the post and telecommunications service.

3. Monitors the execution of the work plan in production by workers.

4. Takes care of the placement in work of disabled persons.

5. Assigns, to the village people's councils, the workers required to work in the economic enterprises and those who will attend training courses.

6. Examines the requests of the citizens who move from one village to another in search of work, housing lots, housing and so forth and makes its decisions on the basis of the general interest.

7. Examines and approves the requests of the citizens from the city who establish themselves in the village, requests for work and for housing and so forth.

8. Grants permissions for the transformation of privately-owned houses.

9. Is concerned about the exact execution of regulations of weights and measures and monitors the adoption of measures by the agricultural cooperatives and enterprises for their expansion in all the links of the movement of products.

10. And monitors the implementation of regulations by trade units and communal services units in regard to good service, prices of goods, their cleanliness and for the implementation of schedules and so forth.

/Footnote:/

The tasks of the united village people's council are also the tasks of its executive committee, where there is one, with the exception of those carried out by the people's council itself.

Tasks of the City Quarter People's Council

I. /In the political and administrative field:/

1. The city quarter people's council organizes the work for the knowledge, propaganda and implementation of the laws by workers.

2. Takes measures for maintaining order and peace and for averting penal acts and other violations of the laws and calls to account the representative of the police organ.

3. Calls to account the directors of enterprises, institutions and sectors and the workers of the services of the zone administered by the people's council in regard to the problems under its jurisdiction.

4. Cooperates with social organizations in solving state and social problems.

5. Takes care of the functioning of the quarter's court and of the work of the prosecutor and calls the latter to account.

6. Organizes audiences with the people; examines, verifies and solves the proposals, observations, requests and complaints of the citizens under its jurisdiction and takes measures when their rights are violated.

7. Encourages and supports revolutionary initiatives and actions.

8. And regularly organizes meetings where the workers in trade and services and employees report to the people on their activities.

II. /In the field of planning and finance:/

1. Every year, the city quarter people's council forecasts its expenditures for the needs of communal, health and educational work and so forth and sends them to the city people's council for approval.

2. Monitors the execution of the budget sent by the city people's council.

3. And monitors, analyzes and adopts measures for the protection of socialist property.

III. /In the field of defense:/

1. The city quarter people's council adopts measures for assuring the military mobilization of the people and of materials and for the participation of the citizens in executing class military training and the training to test preparedness and for combat alerts and monitors the military training of the citizens.

2. Executes regulations on the drafting of citizens.

3. Implements the tasks entrusted to it for state civil preparedness for war, as well as for the situation and readiness of the services and of formations of civil defense (MCR).

4. Monitors the work for the construction of air-raid shelters for the needs of the city quarter and takes measures for their preservation and maintenance.

5. Directs the work for organizing the operational watch and communications service. Monitors the system of warning the population and the system of observation and so forth, organizes the work for the knowledge of civil defense signals by the population and for training with these signals. And checks on the keeping of warehouses of the volunteer forces.

IV. /In the field of the communal economy, construction and trades:/

1. The city quarter people's council decides on the housing of the citizens in dwellings and on the change of dwellings.

2. Decides the granting of bank credits to the citizens for the repairs of their houses.

3. Takes care of the maintenance of dwellings by tenants and directs the housing councils.

4. Monitors the work for the construction and maintenance of roads, watermains, canals and wells and so forth, and takes measures for the economical use of drinking water and electricity.

5. Takes measures for the cleaning of streets and squares, for the maintenance of parks and gardens and for the beautification of the empty spaces between the dwelling blocks by means of voluntary labor.

6. Monitors the work of laundries, public baths and so forth.

7. Takes measures for averting illegal constructions; decides to stop the constructions which are being executed in contradiction with the plan and without building permits and, in this case, makes a report and sends it to the city quarter court and, immediately, informs the city people's council.

8. Gives its opinion on the expansion of the network of trade and communal services.

9. And monitors the execution of regulations by trade units and communal services units for good service, implementation of the schedule for regularly supplying shops with industrial and agricultural goods, for the strict application of prices, for cleanliness and for high quality work and so forth.

VI. /In the field of education and culture:/

1. The city quarter people's council is concerned about proper operation of schools, the progress and behavior of students and so forth.

2. Monitors and takes measures to prepare for the beginning of the new school year and for the implementation of compulsory school attendance.

3. Takes care of school maintenance and repairs and equips schools with necessary materials.

4. Takes care of and organizes the work for the extracurricular education of children.

5. Looks after the preservation and maintenance of cultural monuments, engraved stones and commemorative plaques, and sites where remarkable events of the past have taken place, especially of the Anti-Fascist National Liberation Struggle and of the period of the building of socialism and of other works.

6. On the basis of the plan sent by the city people's council, decides on the rights to study in the lower and middle schools and gives its opinion on the rights to study in the higher schools and on granting scholarships.

7. And monitors the activity of kindergartens and approves the admission of children to kindergartens.

VII. /In the field of health:/

1. The city quarter people's council monitors the activity of health institutions.

2. Monitors the execution of the measures for hygiene and cleanliness in residential quarters and in the various public places and for the protection of environment from pollution.

3. Supervises activities in creches and approves the admission of children to them in accordance with the plan set by the city people's council.

4. Creates the guardianship commission. Takes care of placing orphans, old persons and the retarded in appropriate institutions.

5. Sees to the compulsory vaccination of the population.

6. Guides the demographic commission and monitors and organizes the work and the measures for the protection of the health of mother and child.

7. And monitors the work for the health education of the population and the work of the health workers in the problems of hygiene and health.

VIII. /In various fields:/

1. The city quarter people's council gives work to the citizens in accordance with the plan approved by the city people's council.

2. Appoints or gives work papers to the workers of the trade service, of kindergartens and creches, of the 8-year schools and of the system of communal services. In regard to the sales persons in the trade network, in accordance with established criteria and when it is necessary, it takes or requires the adoption of disciplinary measures on the basis of the provisions in force.

3. Makes proposals for granting moral incentives.

4. Monitors and takes measures against the exercising of unauthorized crafts in private business and prosecutes the offenders.

5. Takes care of the execution of legal provisions and vital statistics.

6. And monitors the execution of regulations concerning the maintenance and exact use of the means of weights and measures.

Tasks of the City People's Council

I. /In the political and organizational field:/

1. The city people's council manages and monitors the quarter people's councils in all their activities and organizes the work for the ideological and vocational education of counsellors.

2. Calls to account the directors of enterprises, institutions and sectors in regard to the fulfillment of the plan and other problems in its jurisdiction.

3. Cooperates with the mass organization in solving state and social problems.

4. Takes care of the work of the city people's court and calls it to account.

5. Organizes the work to make workers familiar with the laws in order to prevent criminal acts and other violations of the laws. Keeps order and peace and calls the police department to account and guides and monitors it.

6. Organizes audiences for the people. Examines, verifies and solves the proposals, observations, complaints and requests of the citizens under its jurisdiction and takes measures when their rights are violated.

7. And encourages and supports revolutionary initiatives and actions.

II. /In the field of planning and finance:/

1. The city people's council approves the economic and financial draft plans for the health, education, culture, trade, communal services and post and telecommunications sectors.

2. Drafts and approves the budget.

The revenues section includes payments for children in kindergartens and creches and fines set by the responsible organs.

The expenditures section includes: funds for operational expenditures for the communal sector, for the building of dwellings and for the maintenance of kindergartens, creches and schools; for maintaining the administrative apparatus of the people's council or of the executive committee of the city people's council; and for granting economic aid to people incapacitated for work, who have no income and have no assistance.

Monitors, controls and analyzes the implementation of the budget, discovers new resources of revenues and continually takes measures to strengthen the system of savings.

3. Exercises control over, and analyzes, the economic and financial activities of the institutions, sectors and other economic units under its jurisdiction and assigns them tasks for the future.

4. Exercises control over, analyzes and takes measures for the protection of socialist property.

5. Collects the fines set by the responsible organs, the fines that belong to its budget.

6. Determines the number of workers to be assigned to work by the people's councils of the quarters.

7. Studies the question of the opening of new work fronts, especially for women, and gives its opinion about it.

8. Monitors the placement in jobs of all the forces fit for work.

9. Takes care particularly of finding work for the disabled, for those persons with limited capacities and for mothers with many children and so forth.

10. And monitors the execution of the legal provisions dealing with job hiring and placement.

III. /In the field of defense:/

1. The city people's council monitors and controls the assurance of the military mobilization of the people and materials and the participation of the citizens in the execution of military drills and of exercises to test preparedness and combat alerts, as well as the military training of the citizens.

2. Takes measures for fulfilling, on schedule, the tasks entrusted for state civil preparedness for war and for the situation and readiness of services and of civil defense formations (MCR).

3. In cooperation with the relevant commands, it helps in the activities of organizing, activizing the relevant training centers and supplying them with the necessary material base.

4. Monitors and controls the execution of the plans for civil defense projects and the administration and maintenance of air-raid shelters for the population.

5. Takes measures for providing the FVVP with depots and guards for the depots and for supplying their commands with facilities for offices and with telephone communications.

6. Organizes the operational watch service and takes measures for keeping in permanent readiness the system of communications, the means of warning and of signaling air-raid alerts and the detection and observation points.

7. And takes measures for keeping in good conditions the fortification works of the army, of the FVVP and of the MCR.

IV. /In the field of the communal economy:/

1. The city people's council decides on the funds for investments and constructions granted for communal projects in the city and monitors their implementation.

2. Takes care of the proper administration of the government buildings through the communal enterprise and the people's councils of the quarters.

3. Approves the distribution of bank credits funds for repairs of private houses in accordance with the needs of the quarters.

4. Studies and approves, on the basis of the city plan, the expansion of dwellings, of the drinking water system, of electric and telegraph cables, of waste water canals, of the beautification and green areas of the city and the maintenance of cemeteries.

5. Monitors the implementation of the plan for supplying the population with fuel.

6. Monitors the distribution and use of drinking water.

7. Plans and distributes the number of dwellings for each residential quarter, with the exception of those designated for transferred workers and for expropriation.

8. Approves the plans for the maintenance of the state-owned dwellings.

9. Requests, from the responsible organs, reports on dwellings that are in danger of falling.

10. And decides on the compulsion of the citizens who occupy dwellings in contradiction with regulations.

V. /In the field of construction:/

The city people's council attends to the implementation of the city plan and grants permission for new constructions of every kind, for enlargements and repairs, within the city limits of constructions.

VI. /In the field of communications:/

1. The city people's council monitors and controls the work for the protection and maintenance of city streets and for the preservation of street signs.

2. And monitors the regulations for the circulation of the means of transportation and of the people in the city, the regulations governing of the movement of workers and the stopping of buses and the activity of the agencies for the urban transportation of the population.

VII. /In the field of trade:/

1. The city people's council looks after the regular supplying of trade units with industrial and agricultural goods.

2. Monitors and requests reports on the execution of the plan for the circulation of goods.

3. And manages the administration of markets.

VII. /In the field of education and culture:/

1. The city people's council controls and adopts measures for the good progress of the teaching and educational work in kindergartens, children's homes, 8-year schools and in the various courses.

2. Takes measures for implementing compulsory school attendance and for fulfilling the educational plan for middle and pre-school education.

3. Monitors the work and takes measures to get ready for the beginning of the new school year.

4. Monitors progress and takes measures for the implementation of the tasks by teachers.

5. Is concerned about the invigoration of cultural, artistic and physical-educational life.

6. Manages kindergartens for children.

7. Decides on the dispensing of pupils from the school obligation, in accordance with the relevant order of the Ministry of Education and Culture.

8. Takes measures for and monitors the organization of summer vacations for children and approves the opening of summer areas and camps.

9. And assigns, to the quarters, the students who have the right to study and to scholarships in all the categories of lower and middle schools and gives its opinion on the rights to study and on scholarships for higher schools.

IX. /In the field of health:/

1. The city people's council monitors the activity of health institutions; monitors the implementation of preventive and curative measures, and takes care of the health of mother and child.

2. Monitors the implementation of the hygiene and health regulations in the enterprises, institutions and city quarters.

3. Monitors and controls the work of the health institutions for the medical education of the people.

4. Monitors the execution of the tasks by the medical personnel.

5. Administers nurseries for children.

6. And takes care of the work of the demographical commissions, of the environmental protection group and of the epidemiological detection and observation activity.

X. /In the various fields:/

1. The city people's council manages the Bureau of Vital Statistics.

2. Grants to the citizens permission to live in the city, implementing the regulations set by the Council of Ministers, and has the obligation to expel from the city the citizens who reside in contradiction with the regulations in force.

3. Takes measures for expanding the system of trade, health, communal services and post and telecommunications services.

4. Takes care of the exact application of established rules of weights and measures.

5. Grants permissions for transformations of privately-owned houses.

6. Sets the work schedule for trade units and communal services in agreement with the responsible enterprises.

7. Sets the time for turning on the lights in the city.

8. And monitors the implementation of regulations by trade units and communal services units, for the best service possible for the execution of the schedule, for the regular supply of shops with industrial and agricultural goods, for the application of regulations concerning weights and measures and prices, for cleanliness and for the quality of work and so forth and takes appropriate measures for all this.

/Footnote:/

--The city people's council, which has villages in its jurisdiction, also executes the tasks of the united village people's council.

--In cities where there are no quarters, the city people's council also executes the tasks of the people's council of the quarter.

--The tasks of the city people's council also are the tasks of its executive committee, where there is one, with the exception of those that the people's council implements by itself.

Tasks of the Tirana City Quarter People's Council

I. /In the political and administrative field:/

1. The Tirana City quarter people's council organizes the work of familiarizing workers with the laws in order to prevent penal acts and other violations of the laws. It sees to the keeping of order and peace and calls to account the police department and guides and monitors its activities.

2. Cooperates with the mass organizations in solving state and social problems.

3. It is interested in the functioning of the quarter people's courts and calls them to account and shows concern for the work of the people's prosecutors.

4. Calls to account the directors of enterprises, institutions and sectors in regard to plan fulfillment and other problems under its jurisdiction.

5. Organizes audiences with the people; examines, verifies and solves the proposals, observations, complaints and requests made by the citizens and takes measures when their rights are violated.

6. Regularly organizes reports sessions to the people by trade and by services workers and by employees and so forth.

7. Encourages and supports revolutionary initiatives and actions.

8. And organizes the work for the ideological and vocational education of counselors.

II. /In the field of planning and finance:/

1. The Tirana City quarter people's council approves the draft economic and financial plan for the sectors of health, education and culture, for the trade branches and the operating expenditures of the communal services.

2. Drafts and approves the budget.

The section on revenues includes the payments for children in kindergartens and creches and the fines set by the responsible organs.

The section on expenditures includes: the operating expenses funds for the sector of communal services, for cleanliness and for the maintenance of the streets and for green areas; the funds for running institutions dependent upon and administered by the quarters and funds running the administrative apparatus of the executive committee of the people's council of the quarter; and for granting economic aid to people unable to work, who have no income and who have no assistance.

3. Monitors, controls and analyzes the budget implementation; discovers new resources of revenues and continually takes measures for strengthening the system of savings.

4. Exerts control over and analyzes the economic and financial activity of institutions, sectors and other economic units under its jurisdiction and sets their tasks for the future.

5. Exercises its control over, analyzes and takes measures for the protection of socialist property.

6. Collects the fines set by the responsible organs, fines which belong to its budget.

7. Decides on the placement of the forces available for work, in accordance with the plan approved by the executive committee of the district people's council.

8. Examines and gives its opinion on the opening of new work fronts, especially for women.

9. Monitors the placement in work of all forces fit for work and issues admission papers for work.

10. It is particularly concerned with giving employment to disabled persons, to those with limited capacities and to mothers with several children and so forth.

11. Monitors and controls the satisfying of the needs of enterprises for manpower.

12. And monitors the execution of the legal provisions concerning appointment and placement of workers in work.

III. /In the field of defense:/

1. The Tirana City quarter people's council takes measures for assuring the military mobilization of the people and of materials and for the participation of the citizens in the execution of military drills, of exercises to test preparedness and of combat alerts, and takes care of the combat readiness of the citizens.

2. Executes the regulations for drafting the citizens.

3. Takes measures for fulfilling, on schedule, the tasks that have been entrusted to it for the state civil preparedness for war, as well as for the situation and readiness of the services and formations of the civil defense (MCR).

4. In cooperation with the responsible commands, it helps organize, operate and supply the military training centers with the necessary material base.

5. Monitors and controls the execution of the plan for civil defense projects and the administration and maintenance of air-raid shelters for the population.

6. Takes measures for supplying the FVVP warehouses with guards.

7. Organizes the operational watch service and takes measures for keeping in permanent readiness the systems of communications, of warning, of signaling air alerts and of detection and observation points.

8. And takes measures for keeping in good conditions the fortified works of the army, of the FVVP and of the MCR.

IV. /In the field of the communal economy:/

1. The Tiranan City quarter people's council takes care of the proper administration of state buildings through the communal enterprise sector.

2. Decides on granting bank credits for the repairs of private houses.

3. Monitors the use of drinking water.

4. Decides on and grants authorizations for the housing of the citizens, with the exception of the workers who are transferred and of the MMP [Ministry of People's Defense]. Approves the change of dwellings.

5. Approves plans for the maintenance of state-owned dwellings.

6. Confirms the condition of the dwellings which are in danger of falling.

7. Decides on expelling, in a compulsory manner, the citizens who are housed in contradiction with regulations.

8. Is concerned about the maintenance of dwellings by tenants.

9. Monitors the execution of monthly plans by the communal enterprises for the maintenance of dwellings, streets, sidewalks, canalizations, green areas and so forth.

10. Monitors the qualitative implementation of the works carried out in accordance with approved funds and takes charge of the projects that are completed.

11. Takes measures for the cleaning of streets and squares, for the maintenance of parks and gardens and for the beautification of the empty spaces between the housing blocks, by means of voluntary labor.

12. Gives confirmation of citizens who have permission to reside in Tirana City; it prcceeds in the quarter court, demands the expulsion of those who have no residence permits and monitors the execution of the decision.

13. And accepts the documents and gives its opinion, to the executive committee, of the district people's council, in regard to granting residence permits in Tirana City.

V. /In the field of building, communication and trade:/

1. The Tirana City quarter people's council pursues the implementation of the plan for the quarter and grants permits for new constructions of all kinds, for dwellings and repairs within the limit of constructions of the quarter.

2. Takes measures for preventing illegal constructions. It decides the suspension of the constructions built in contradiction with the plan and without construction permits, makes a report on the latter and sends it to the quarter court and, immediately, informs the executive committee of the district people's council about their destruction.

3. Takes care of the regular supplying of trade units with industrial and agricultural products.

4. Monitors and requests reports on the fulfillment of the plan for the circulation of goods.

5. And controls the execution of regulations by trade units and communal services, units dealing with good service, the application of prices, cleanliness and quality of work and so forth.

VI. /In the field of education and culture:/

1. The Tirana City quarter people's council takes care of and takes measures for the maintenance of teaching and educational work in kindergartens, creches, pioneer houses and in the 8-year middle schools, with the exception of those which have a national character.

2. Takes measures for the implementation of compulsory school attendance and for the fulfillment of the education plan in the middle and pre-school education.

3. Adopts measures to get ready for the beginning of the new school year.

4. Monitors activity and takes measures so that teachers will execute their tasks.

5. Monitors and checks the cultural, artistic and physical-educational activity in the institutions, enterprises and schools located in the quarter.

6. Monitors and controls the work in the libraries situated in the quarter.

7. Administers children's kindergartens and approves admissions of children to them.

8. Decides on excluding students from compulsory school attendance, in accordance with the relevant instructions of the Ministry of Education and Culture.

9. Organizes and manages summer vacations for children.

10. Takes care of the preservation and maintenance of cultural monuments, engraved stones, commemorative plaques and places where remarkable events of the past have taken place, especially during the Anti-Fascist National Liberation Struggle and during the period of the building of socialism, and of other works.

11. Decides on the rights to study for all the categories of lower and middle schools, in accordance with the plan sent by the executive committee of the district people's council, and gives its opinion on the rights to study in higher schools and scholarships.

12. And takes measures for the maintenance of schools and for their repair and equipping with appropriate inventory.

VII. /In the field of health:/

1. The Tirana City quarter people's council monitors the activity of health institutions. It monitors the implementation of preventive and curative measures. Takes care of the health of mother and child.

2. Takes measures for the application of hygiene and health regulations in enterprises and institutions.

3. Monitors and controls the work of health institutions for the health education of the population.

4. Checks the execution of the tasks by the medical personnel.

5. Administers children's creches and approves the admission of children to them.

6. Manages the demographical commission and takes care of the functioning. of the environmental protection group and of the epidemiological detection and observation.

7. Creates the guardianship commission and controls its activity.

Decides on the placement of orphans, the aged and the mentally retarded in appropriate institutions, in accordance with approved criteria.

VIII. /In the various fields:/

1. The Tirana City quarter people's council manages the Bureau of Vital Statistics.

2. Takes measures for extending the system of trade, of health and of communal services in accordance with the requests and needs of the population.

3. Grants permission for the transformation of privately-owned houses.

4. Sets the working hours of the trade units and communal services in agreement with the relevant enterprises.

5. Appoints or grants admission papers for work to the personnel of the health, educational and cultural institutions and of the communal services, as well as to the sales persons of the trade system, in accordance with established criteria. When it is necessary, it takes or requests the adoption of disciplinary measures, on the basis of the provisions in force.

6. Monitors the organization and implementation of scientific works by the institutions and sectors under its jurisdiction, for the best possible solution of the present problems and of those in the future.

7. Proposes the awarding of moral stimuli.

8. Controls and takes measures against the exercising of unauthorized professions and of private business and takes proceedings against the offenders.

9. And monitors the application of regulations for the maintenance and exact use of the means of weights and measures.

/Footnote:/

The tasks of the people's council of Tirana City quarter also are the tasks of its executive committee, with the exception of those carried out by the people's council itself.

9150
CSO: 2100

EDITORIAL URGES OBSERVANCE OF AIR FORCE FLIGHT REGULATIONS

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 19 Sep 80 p 1

[Editorial: "High Discipline Urged on the Ground and in the Air"]

[Text] The level of military discipline is directly related to the political awareness of personnel, has a tremendous influence on the conduct of fliers in combat, and assures successful mastery of complex modern aviation technology and weaponry. Our party has done everything necessary for the Bulgarian People's Army to be highly organized and disciplined, to fulfill its missions in exemplary fashion and be ready to deliver a knockout blow to imperialist aggressors at any moment.

Lenin saw in aware military discipline the most important condition for the strength and invincibility of an army of the socialist type. By his discipline every Bulgarian serviceman manifests most fully his profoundly felt responsibility for the defense of our socialist homeland. This is expressed in practice by a high state of organization, a developed sense of duty, initiative, perseverance in training and in combat, readiness for tests of any kind on behalf of the people and the party. The success of armies in modern combat depends, to a decisive extent, on the state of morale, the level of political and military training, and the combat skill of personnel.

For aviation units the concept of "discipline" is inseparably linked with the organization of flight operations, the maintenance of strict regulation procedure during days of training and the execution of flights, and the timely and precise performance of official duties and the requirements of guideline documents by every soldier. Unswerving observance of flight regulations is a standing and permanent rule for combat teams. Without strict organization and procedure on the ground and in the air the even flow and safety of flights cannot be assured. Lack of discipline and carelessness in everyday life inevitably carry over to the airfield and may create the preconditions for aircraft accidents.

Inculcating discipline means, first and foremost, building a communist world outlook. Of tremendous importance in this regard are the study of

Marxism-Leninism by soldiers and the explanation of our party and government's foreign and domestic policy, the requirements of the military oath and regulations, and the essence of a conscientious attitude towards military service. In addition, constant observance of regulation procedure in the units plays a special role in strengthening military discipline, being the most important means of inculcating in officers, noncommissioned officers and men permanent habits and practices of organization, precision and diligence. The important thing is that everything be done as commanded by the regulations and the manuals. Or, as Comrade Todor Zhivkov quite accurately emphasized in his recent report to the July plenum of the BCP Central Committee: "The main thing is deeds! Not hullabaloo, but deeds; not big words, but the concrete results of works!"

Experience shows that it is hard for soldiers to be trained in the spirit of strictly executing regulations and their specific obligations when the necessary order is lacking. Thus, for example, in the aviation unit where Officer Slavov serves, certain systematic deviations from regulation duties and the violation of discipline and guideline documents had an adverse effect for a certain time on the missions performed by the collective.

This example fully suffices for us to arrive at the conclusion that if an aviation commander limits himself to just explaining the regulations and appealing for the observance of discipline without backing this up by constant concern over strict observance of the day's schedule and improvement of the soldiers' physical and living conditions and cultural recreation, the fruitfulness of educational work will be low. The whole way of life in the subunits must be so ordered that the most favorable conditions are created for successful fulfillment of combat- and political-training plans, for the strengthening of discipline and, hence, for a constant rise of combat readiness as well.

In those units where commanders unswervingly follow the requirements of the regulations, the socialist way of life becomes strong and unshakable; its educational significance and influence on organization and discipline rise. Thus, for example, in the aviation units where officers Sinapov, Kostadinov et al. serve, the officials constantly check on how regulation procedure is observed during flights, on whether motor transport and personnel carry into effect established traffic rules in the region of the airfield etc. Questions of discipline are constantly discussed at party and Communist Youth Union meetings and in sessions of the bureaus. Oral and visual agitation is skillfully used to popularize the experience of the winners in socialist competition.

The continuous improvement of weapons raises the responsibility of every crew, team and element for personal discipline and diligence. New criteria of military discipline have appeared. The role of such components of combat readiness as time discipline, individual and collective responsibility of soldiers for the execution of assigned missions, flight discipline, and combat discipline has been amplified immeasurably. All this

obliges commanders not to tolerate even the slightest deviations from the provisions of regulations or the requirements of instructions and manuals.

Events make ever new, ever higher demands on the armed defenders of our socialist fatherland. What is progress today can no longer satisfy us tomorrow. We must regard even the best results as a foundation for achieving still higher results in combat and political training, as an effort worthily to greet the impending 12th BCP Congress!

6474
CSO: 2200

AUTHOR CALLS FOR SOBER DEPICTION OF INTERNAL SECURITY HEROES

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 13 Sep 80 p 2

[Article by Bogdan Gloginski: "Sons of the Revolution--On the Eve of MVR [Ministry of Internal Affairs] Agencies Day"]

[Text] For several years I have been working on a lengthy novel entitled "Vlast" [Power]. The main hero is a responsible employee in the MVR agencies. Colleagues and friends who know that the novel is already written frequently ask me why I have not yet submitted it to press. Let me confess that I ask myself this question, too. I have an explanation, of course. What holds me back is the realization that we absolutely must no longer write sloppily about these people. The traditional artistic devices amassed during the great "boom" of "crime" and "adventure" literature have long exposed their weakness, while hasty gilding quite frankly covers up their true image and erodes their arduous heroism. Neither from others nor from them have we heard that the employees of the socialist agencies of the MVR are by no means the sort we see in some films or books.

Nor are they the sort they appear to us to be at first glance in the street and in offices.

What is their true character, then? Is it, perhaps, narrow escapes from the dark forest of the criminal world, or finding their way out of the labyrinths fabricated by enemy spies and foreign acts of sabotage? Or is it getting over colds and sieges of sleeplessness from hours on traffic control posts or while making rounds on patrol? There is no denying, all this is heroism of a high and most essential order; it is marked by self-denial and readiness to sacrifice oneself; it merits not only a tip of the hat, but also a bow. But all this in one form or another is true, as well, of many policemen in the most reactionary countries--there, too, they exchange gunfire with gangsters; there, too, they unriddle the puzzles of dangerous recidivists. . .

So it is something else.

Let us think back to the first step of our people's government. What did it have and what did it not have then? It did not have enough bread! It

did not have enough clothing. It did not have its own army. It did not have its own diplomats. It did not have its own economy. It did not have scores and hundreds of things that it required to be active and beneficial. But from the very first second it did have its loyal sentinels--the people's militiamen, the first employees in the young agencies of a just-born, qualitatively new MVR.

That is why our freedom survived. That is why it has grown to maturity.

Yellowed newspaper photographs, stills from oldtime newsreels and the reminiscences of our elders present them to us without counterfeit. Partisans grown lean in blockades and campaigns. Pale political prisoners. Unshaven workers. Apprentices and journeymen from artisans' workshops. Sons of rural supporters of the guerrillas. High-school boys and students from poor families. The party's far-seeing appeal and their great class intuition bade them sew the five-pointed cloth star on their caps, put the red ribbon around their left sleeve, and in the very first minute take their stand at their post without retreating or marching off on two-man patrol.

Now what did they have and what did they not have?

The archives and records of that time indicate that they had plenty of some things. Untreated diseases. Unhealed wounds. Sieges of sleeplessness and fatigue. And they had many--it is inconceivable how many--tasks. The only thing they did not have was pay-rolls. But they stayed at their posts.

Afterwards some perished. While we slept in our peaceful homes, while we were marrying off our sons and daughters and perhaps while we were shopping in the store, they were breathing their last from the stab of a knife or they fell from the direct hit of a bullet. Everybody knows whose knives and whose bullets. There is a list in the ministry of those who perished most valiantly, under the heading: Enlisted forever in the line of battle. We read many names there: Kharizan Tashev, Manol Cholev, Spas Kolevichin, Evstati Zakhariev, Boris Ralev, Georgi Tropaliev, Shaban Aptiev. . . In accordance with the sacred laws of proletarian patriotism and internationalism, in accordance with the wise counsel of Georgi Dimitrov, and from the example of the Soviet members of Cheka, the MVR agencies were transformed, from their very first breath, into an amalgamation of the most honorable sons of the homeland. They rose up in united ranks against foreign and domestic conspirators, against stealthy deeds and treacherous schemes.

According to Lenin's definition, this was and remains a "stubborn battle, bloody and bloodless, violent and peaceful, military and economic, pedagogic and administrative," a battle against the forces and traditions of the old world, a battle for the victory of eternal visions and day-dreams newly bursting forth. But not only is man's striving to surmount pain eternal; our new society's impulsion towards true humanism is inmost, too.

It is in this way that we can explain certain remarkable features of the MVR agencies. How easy it is to serve divinely anointed personages and favored elites: brandish the lash of force, lift the club of brutality and implant fear and subordination. . . Today, though armed with pistols the MVR agencies are called upon to "shoot" with prevention, even against law violators--to persuade, devote themselves mainly to correctional and educational tasks, and fall back on harsh legal punishment only as a last resort.

The poet Damyan Damyanov and I know the chief of an important MVR office, who interceded like a veritable father for the publication of a prisoner's poem. "He was sentenced for evil-doing," the chief insisted. "Let us reward him for something good. . ." I know the head of an MVR okrug administration who went to visit in prison a criminal put behind bars, not by others but by him. I know an official investigator who wept because of an erroneous course in his colleague's actions. All of us know something similar about them. For they are our brothers, our fellow tenants or our neighbors, friends from childhood; like us, susceptible to colds and diseases; like us, husbands and parents; like us, overburdened with family concerns or calamities. But we have always asked more of them. And we will continue to do so, of course. And they must give it, not just within the limits of their working hours and place of work, but everywhere else as well. This is what their military mission commands.

Their front is indeed unbounded. Freed of the duty of serving big shots, castes and elite groups, they devote their waking hours to everything else and that is limitless because it encompasses the whole and happy life of the people, the all-inclusive peaceful labor of the people, the inviolable rights of the people, the most lawful march of the people--the march towards communism, predicted, mapped out and led by the communist party. A great front. A sacred front.

All this, of course, deserves sincere and really penetrating works. But before and above everything else it deserves the involvement of every citizen of the Bulgarian People's Republic.

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FRANCE PRAISED FOR 'REALISTIC POSITION' IN RELATIONS WITH CEMA

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[Article by Paul Freiberg, GDR Institute for International Politics and Economics: "Realistic Position of France in Foreign Economic Relations with CEMA Countries--Continuous Activity toward Development of East-West Economic Relations--Rejection of U.S. Boycott Course--Positive Development Trend in Commodity Exchange--New Forms of Cooperation"]

[Text] As far as the the preservation of the rule of imperialism and thus the basic anticommunist position are concerned, the foreign policies of the imperialist countries are essentially in agreement; nevertheless, on many specific issues of foreign-policy strategy and tactics in dealing with the socialist countries, they partly assume widely differentiated positions.

This has been confirmed once again in the course of the current aggravation of the international situation which has been brought about by American imperialism. During the first few months of this decade, queer shadings emerged between the positions of the United States and those of Western Europe, something which undoubtedly is objectively due to the fact that the detente process of the seventies revealed the positive results precisely in Europe. In Western Europe itself however one can also observe definite gradiations among the individual imperialist states; they are expressed particularly in the differing position which is being adopted toward the policy of the United States in dealing with the Soviet Union. French Premier Raymond Barre on 10 January of this year described it as follows in a speech: "France has a policy of its own through which it defends its own interests. But that does not mean that it downgrades the solidarity which links it to a large number of countries. Of course, in terms of its spirit, this solidarity does not signify unconditional agreement." This view was underscored also by President Valery Giscard d'Estaing in an interview on 26 February 1980[1].

France's pronounced interest in the continuation of detente was demonstrated above all by the meeting between President Giscard d'Estaing and and CPSU Central Committee Secretary-General and Chairman of the Supreme Soviet USSR Leonid I. Brezhnev in Warsaw on 19 May 1980, which was the first East-West meeting on the very highest level after the dangerous

aggravation of the international situation by United States imperialism and which can be described as "a further expression of the constant and close political dialogue such as it is characteristic of Soviet-French Relations"[2]. In spite of the differing viewpoints of both sides on individual issues, Giscard d'Estaing termed the talks a "positive contribution to detente" whose objective it was "on a high level to clarify the development of the international situation and to find methods to reduce the existing tensions"[3].

This vision held by France and the specific French viewpoint expressed in it by decisive forces among the French bourgeoisie--which is partly running into open resistance in the United States[4], was noted during the Giscard-Brezhnev meeting--did not develop just recently.

Continuation of French Eastern Policy

As we review the development of relations between the two opposing social systems over the past two decades, we can see that France always to a greater degree assumed positions which promoted the advance of these relations--more so than other imperialist states. That also applies to present times. While the attitude of leading French politicians may be contradictory in many ways--above all due to France's strong ties with the military-political and economic alliance systems of imperialism, such as NATO and EC--these ties nevertheless last but not least are also guided by the lessons that were learned to the effect that especially Europe most strongly felt the favorable effects of the detente policy of the seventies and that it is least of all in its interest that the international situation at the turn toward the eighties became considerably more complicated.

This attitude very extensively corresponds to public opinion and thus to the political balance of power in the country. This is why the attitude of leading French politicians, which in many ways is realistic and differentiated, and the specific domestic-policy balance of power must not be disregarded when France's president on 26 January 1980--almost at the height of the anti-Soviet campaign stirred up by the Carter Administration--declared that, in case of growing tensions, questions of security assume greater significance than in the past. France's course heading toward further detente must be confirmed especially for this reason.

France was the first major capitalist country--especially since the middle of the sixties--which began to pursue a policy which was aimed at detente and more comprehensive cooperation with the socialist countries and which thus, up to a certain degree, accommodates the constructive proposals of those countries regarding the consolidation of international security. This adaptation process in France's foreign policy took place earlier and more profoundly than in other imperialist powers. Economic, trade-policy, and scientific-technical interests and requirements, the powerful pressure from the anti-imperialist forces in the country's interior, the search of French governments for an enhanced role for France and greater independence

within the imperialist camp, as well as the relatively pronounced realism of certain circles among the bourgeoisie brought about this approach between French foreign policy and certain viewpoints and attitudes held by the socialist states[5].

To be sure, this process did not develop free of contradictions and delaying tendencies but, as its result, relations between France and the socialist states developed positively over the past 15 years. It was undoubtedly significant for the stabilization of peace and the in-depth development of detente in Europe, especially also for the development of constructive relations between countries with different social systems.

In an interview with the Moscow publication NEW TIMES, in December 1979, France's Foreign Minister Jean Francois-Poncet observed: "France and the USSR were among the first countries to pave the way leading to Helsinki. Just shortly before the CSCE, they tried to give detente a concrete content, for which purpose they launched and developed bilateral cooperation. Now they must contribute to the consolidation and in-depth development of this detente process"[6].

To be sure, it would not be in keeping with the dialectics of the development of international relations if one were to overlook the fact that, since the beginning of the seventies, in view of the growing economic difficulties and the rising influence of the left-wing forces within France, tendencies can be observed among the ruling circles of that country toward an increased turn to the United States and a renewed approach to NATO. The realism of the ruling circles however is so far developed that France, precisely in times of aggravation of the international situation, as a rule pursued a course which ran counter to such complications.

For Continuation of Detente

The continual efforts not to be drawn into the peace-threatening, global-political machinations of American imperialism and certain right-wing forces in Western Europe, especially in Great Britain and the FRG, is of great politicial significance especially at the present time regarding the further development of East-West relations. Giscard d'Estaing on 26 February 1980 underscored, on French television, the fact that his country to be sure does belong to NATO and stands with that alliance, that it is connected to other Western democracies with bonds of solidarity, but that all of that did not prevent France from pursuing an independent policy and rejecting a condition of subordination. In view of the current conflict situation, he viewed on of the most important tasks of the chief of state to reside in "crisis management, that is to say, finding peaceful ways out of crises."

The French foreign minister had adopted the same attitude already back in the middle of February 1980 in an interview with the Finnish news agency STT when he observed that France starts with the idea of continuing the dialogue with the Soviet Union and doing nothing that might cause the

Cold War to break out again. His country, the foreign minister stressed, considers the process launched by the Helsinki Conference to be very important; he considered it a stabilizing and promoting factor among the group of European countries, the United States, and Canada. The events in Afghanistan in no way reduced the need for seeking for ways to solve security problems in Europe.

France's differentiated attitude emerged also during the Bonn-Paris Summit meeting early in February of this year, when Giscard d'Estaing, after completion of his meeting with FRG Chancellor Helmut Schmidt rejected any assumptions to the effect that the joint declaration at the end of their meeting signifies a "hardening" toward the Soviet Union and stressed that this instead is right in line with France's policy so far, that is to say, to defend the gains of detente[7]. Early in 1980, the French foreign minister had already adopted the viewpoint that his country would not approve any economic sanctions against the Soviet Union. If one were to adopt "hasty" economic reprisals, like the United States, he observed, then one would thus be renewing the Cold War and one would be putting an end to detente[8].

Economic Cooperation: Objective Requirement

The economic factor is of by no means minor significance for France's realistic attitude. The French monopoly bourgeoisie has for a long time considered it to be a special task to push the country's industrialization so far that France's lag, regarding its potential, especially with respect to the FRG, but in some areas also with respect to Great Britain, would be reduced and that its international positions would thus be strengthened. That calls for fundamental structural changes in the economy[9], for which foreign policy is to create favorable conditions and in particular is to open up possibilities for industrial expansion.

Economic relations with the socialist countries play a by no means minor role here. France hopes to get above all long-term and steady supply sources for raw material and fuels from them, plus an expansion of the sales market for the products of its own industry and agriculture. With the help of scientific-technological cooperation, especially with the Soviet Union, the technological gap with respect to the other capitalist industrial countries, above all the United States, is likewise to be closed. This applies especially to the area of basic research. Although a growing number of French enterprises in recent years participated in economic cooperation, one must nevertheless not overlook the fact that, within the French bourgoisie likewise, there is no uniform opinion as to these relationships and that their economic and political benefits are being judged in different ways. Certain circles among French monopoly capital are also interested in exploiting intensified economic relations so as to influence the socialist countries, to create a situation of economic dependence or to achieve political effects.

But it is not only foreign-policy considerations--such as the above-mentioned expansion of the foreign-policy leeway--which cause larger segments of

French monopoly capital to come out in favor of developed economic relations with the socialist states. Instead, problems of France's economy play an important role. Here we must also look for decisive motivations behind this kind of collaboration: the relatively heavy dependence of the French economy on foreign countries, the slowdown in the development of the French economic situation in recent years, the fact that the balance of trade has essentially shown a deficit since 1962, the need for structural changes in the economy, etc.

Above all however, the tempo of economic growth has slowed down severely in 1979; the output in the capital goods sector, mostly sustained by the foreign demand, has declined severely and unemployment has revealed a rising tendency for many years, etc.[10]. On top of that there is the further aggravation of competition on the world market. In view of these international economic factors as well as the fact that the market is shrinking back home due to the developing cyclic economic crisis it is entirely understandable that French monopoly capital places great value on the expansion of trade with the socialist countries.

This also applies in the current complicated international situation. For example, at the end of March 1980, a comprehensive treaty was signed between the French Ambassador in Moscow, H. Froment-Meurice, and Soviet Foreign Minister N. S. Patolichev; according to that treaty, two French companies, specializing in the exploration and extraction of petroleum on the high seas, received a contract amounting to F500 million. According to the provisions of the contract, they will erect two factories in turnkey condition, specifically, near Baku and in the Volga Delta. These factories will turn out petroleum extraction systems which will be installed starting in 1981 in the oil fields in the Caspian Sea, in the Far North, and in the Pacific Ocean off Sakhalin[11]. The fact that this kind of equipment was a special topic of embargo discussions in the United States only underscores France's independent attitude also in comparison to other EC countries.

In Paris there is growing realization that Washington's pressure upon its partners is based only superficially on the so-called Afghanistan problem but in fact is motivated by the idea of once again achieving predominance over the allies or taking up the role of a world policeman and in this sence reducing East-West economic relations and placing them under American control.

The exponents of the United military-industrial complex have always been peeved over the fact that peaceful trade with the socialist countries brought increasing benefits to an ever larger number of Western European countries during the seventies. They viewed that as a threat to their own interests because East-West trade also reduces their dependence on United States monopoly capital and thus on Washington's selfish foreign trade policy. This is why the United States is applying massive political pressure on its partners: "If our allies, in view of the threat from the Soviet Union, will retain their earlier business relations with it, then

tension in NATO can become unbearable," threatened American Senator W. Proxmire[12].

On the other hand, business circles in Western Europe, especially France, clearly gave the United States to understand that they do not desire a rehash of the Cold War in the field of economic relations. As Jacques Chirac, a leading French politician, declared recently in Paris, "The economy is a sector in which everybody must look out for his own interests[13]. There is no desire to exchange the way of detente, which was cleared with such great effort, for a course of confrontation in the style of the Cold War.

Through this position, decisive French politicians set a positive example as against the hard-line attacks of the United States and its advocates in Western Europe. This is a stabilizing factor although one may not overlook the fact that, in that country likewise, there are enemies of detente who try to tie the hands of those politicians who pursue a realistic course.

Growing Significance of East-West Trade

At the very focus of France's foreign-policy and foreign-trade relations with the socialist states we find relations with the USSR. In spite of the efforts of the socialist countries and growing French activities in the field of economic cooperation, all possibilities are certainly far from having been fully exhausted.

Thus, the share of the CEMA countries out of French foreign trade is still relatively modest and is about 3-4 percent. On the other hand, foreign trade between France and the CEMA countries rose from $373.1 million in 1960 to $7,322.4 million in 1979 (see table), including, with the GDR, from $20.9 million in 1960 to $579.6 million in 1979, that is to say, during the last couple of years and especially in 1979 we can observe a singificant increase in mutual trade. With an increase of more than 34 percent from 1978 until 1979, France's trade with the CEMA countries during that year grew considerably faster than France's total foreign trade (up 29.5 percent).

France's Foreign Trade with CEMA Member Countries

	1 1960 Mio US$	2 v. H.	1965 1 Mio US$	2 v. H.	1970 1 Mio US$	2 v. H.	1975 1 Mio US$	2 v. H.	1979 1 Mio US$	2 v. H.
Gesamtaußenhandel 3	13 142.2		20 384.1		36 661.2		106 452.0		204 855.6	
darunter mit Mitgliedsländern des RGW 4	373.1	100	572.1	100	1 100.5	100	4 290.7	100	7 322.4	100
Anteil am Gesamtaußenhandel, v. H. 2	2.8		2.8		3.0		4.0		3.6	
davon: 6										
UdSSR 7	210.3	56.4	218.0	38.1	476.7	43.3	1 913.8	44.6	3 795.6	51.8
VR Polen 8	36.6	9.8	66.8	11.7	149.2	13.6	976.3	22.8	1 156.8	15.9
DDR 9	20.9	5.6	85.0	14.8	102.1	9.2	341.0	7.9	579.6	7.9
CSSR 10	28.0	7.5	62.1	10.9	96.8	8.8	264.1	6.2	319.2	4.4
Ungarische VR 11	26.8	7.2	36.6	6.4	73.7	6.7	258.1	6.0	363.6	4.9
SR Rumänien 12	39.5	10.6	72.6	12.7	135.3	12.3	378.3	8.8	897.6	12.3
VR Bulgarien 13	11.0	2.9	31.0	5.4	66.7	6.1	159.1	3.7	210.0	2.9

Key: 1--Millions of U.S. dollars; 2--Percent; 3--Total foreign trade; 4--Including trade with CEMA member countries; 5--Share out of total foreign trade; 6--Including; 7--USSR; 8--Polish People's Republic; 9--GDR; 10--Czechoslovakia; 11--Hungarian People's Republic; 12--Romanian Socialist Republic; 13--Bulgarian People's Republic. Source: Statistics of Foreign Trade, Monthly Bulletin (published OECD), Paris, Series A, current.

If we look at the overall development of French foreign trade with the CEMA countries, we can find that the main growth rates took place during the seventies, in other words, during the period of time when the international detente process began to unfold and had an advantageous effect on economic relations between countries with different social systems. In spite of the crisis-like development on the international capitalist market in the middle of the seventies--which also impaired East-West economic relationships--France's foreign trade with the CEMA countries during those years likewise revealed relatively steady growth rates which partly were above those of other capitalist countries. Soviet orders thus made it possible to triple French-Soviet trade between 1975 and 1979.

Among the socialist countries, the USSR is France's biggest trade partner. While the absolute trade volume, in relation to French foreign trade, is relatively small, imports from the Soviet Union nevertheless are by no means insignificant when it comes to meeting the raw material requirements of certain French industry branches. Thus France procures the following shares of its total imports from the USSR: anthracite 45 percent, chrome ore 27 percent, cotton 42 percent, asbestos 36 percent, and raw aluminum 12 percent[14].

Since the start of this year, France has also been getting natural gas shipments from the USSR via the pipeline that runs through Austria and the FRG to France from where it is piped into the French network by the French government gas supply enterprise "Gaz de France," With the commissioning of this direct pipeline from the Soviet Union, France first of all gets 4 billion cubic meters of natural gas and that provides 14 percent of the French gas supply, as against 9.5 percent until now[15]. This is a share which contributes to the stability of the French energy supply to a by no means minor degree; in the meantime, "Gaz de France" has expressed its interest in increasing Soviet gas deliveries[16].

But the structure of mutual trade is still unsatisfactory above all for the CEMA countries and here we come to one of the causes of the negative foreign trade balance between the CEMA countries and France. Thus, the raw material and fuel share out of imports from the CEMA countries in 1977 came to about 60.6 percent (80.1 percent in 1960) while the share of machinery and equipment (SITC Group 7) was 8.3 percent in 1977 (4.2 percent in 1960). In trade between the USSR and France, the latter grew from 1 to 3.6 percent between 1960 and 1977[17]. To be sure, it must be noted that the share of finished products generally reveals a rising tendency and that the share of raw materials and fuels is declining, in other words, foreign trade is increasingly becoming adjusted to the requirements of effective division of labor.

One cause of this commodity structure, which so far is not satisfactory for the CEMA countries, in to be found in the existing discrimination procedures. For example, right now, about 35 percent of all GDR exports to France are subjected to obstructive import regulations[18]. Compared to other EC countries and those that are associated with the EC, commodities

impoted from the CEMA countries are slapped with considerably higher customs duties. The restrictive measures, ordered partly by France and partly by the EC, frequently hit precisely those commodities which are among the most important export commodities from the CEMA countries. Here again we can still see the considerable discrepancies between the status of political relations and the practice of economic relations. The USSR repeatedly--for example, during summit meetings, during the conferences of mixed commissions--pointed up possibilities for expanding economic relations whose implementation however, for the previously mentioned objective and subjective reasons, especially on the French side, is making only gradual progress.

It is precisely the realistic attitude of France in the complicated international situation--such as it emerges at the present time--which leads us to expect that economic relations with the CEMA countries will likewise reveal a further rising trend and that their growth rate will speed up, something in which leading French personalities repeatedly expressed their interest. According to the ideas developed at the 14th conference of the Permanent Mixed Soviet-French Commission for Scientific-Technical and Economic Cooperation, in October 1979, trade once again is tripled between 1980 and 1985[19].

For the Sake of Expanding Relations with the GDR

The general continuity of French foreign policy toward the socialist states likewise emerges in relations with the GDR. During his visit to Berlin early in February of this year, French foreign trade minister Jean-Francois Deniau confirmed that relations between the GDR and the French Republic have developed advantageously to mutual benefit and that there is a common interest in their expansion. This was expressed on the signing of a program, in Berlin, on 1 February 1980, regarding the development of economic, industrial, and technical relations between the GDR and France for the years 1980-1985, as well as the start of negotiations on a ten-year agreement covering economic, industrial, and technical cooperation between the two countries which represents the foundation for bilateral economic relations until 1990 and which was signed in Paris on 24 April 1980. Minister Deniau emphasized on that occasion that it is the desire of the government in Paris and French economic circles, on the basis of this long-term agreement, dynamically to expand economic relations with the GDR, something which will also have positive influence on the development of general relations between the two countries[20].

Olivier Stirn, secretary of state attached to the minister of foreign affairs and member of the French Cabinet, during his visit to the GDR in April 1980 expressed the opinion that the prospects for more comprehensive cooperation with the GDR at this time are to be found especially in the field of railroads, the chemical industry, and motor vehicle construction. These are sectors which--as was confirmed at the 1980 Leipzig Spring Fair--offer starting points for the expanded application of new forms of cooperation[21].

Resistance to Boycott Measures

The attitude assumed by France regarding American boycott demands against the USSR shows that the expansion of economic relations with the CEMA countries is considered a real task. Thus, as even FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE had to admit, "The French representatives in Brussels left no doubt that they think nothing of an economic boycott against the Soviet Union. They think that the restrictions ordered now regarding agricultural trade go pretty far"[22].

Early in 1980 already France, in the pertinent administrative committee of the EC, had expressed objections to a grain embargo against the USSR[23]. France in the EC also opposed[24] the credit boycott against the USSR which had been proposed by British lady prime minister Margaret Thatcher. It also rejected the idea of supporting the boycott and technology transfer to the USSR which had been ordered by Carter[25].

There is no need to be astonished that this kind of realistic attitude by France did not produce a benevolent reaction in the United States in the light of the complicated international situation created by American imperialism at the start of the year. Thus, the American magazine BUSINESS WEEK wrote the following on 14 January 1980 regarding French-Soviet trade: "At a time when exports to the Soviet Union from most of the major Western countries and Japan have been paralyzed (something which by the way was not at all true--the author), exports by one particular country are making good headway. Soviet purchases in France during the first months of 1979 attained a value of $1.7 billion, a hefty 42 percent more as compared to the same period of time in 1978. Even more brilliant prospects are to be expected for the French."

France likewise did not fall in line with the 18 March 1980 decision of the United States government to tighten up the embargo against the USSR[26]. Here we also come to the demands which Paris raised regarding an improvement of the grain export policy of EC, regardless of the boycott ordered by the United States government[27].

New Forms of Collaboration with the CEMA Countries

Regarding the further development of economic relations between France and the CEMA countries, it is especially the new forms of collaboration which play an important role. In the interview given by the French foreign minister to the Moscow periodical NEW TIMES in December 1979 we find the following passage: "At this time, neither of our two countries assumes the proper place in the foreign trade of the other country. We must try to correct that situation. But if we want to make our economic relations stable and if we want to give them the necessary dynamics, we must go beyond trade relations and we must move on the road of modern collaboration in the economy and industry"[28].

These forms of "modern collaboration" were successfully practiced already in the past. They are based on the long-term agreement concluded between France and most of the CEMA countries regarding economic and scientific-technological collaboration, covering periods between 5 and 15 years, supplemented by long-term specific programs for the in-depth development of this collaboration (usually running 10 years) as well as agreements for certain sectors (transportation, agriculture, exploration of outer space for peaceful purposes, chemical industry, computer technology and electronics, etc.). Most of these treaties were concluded between France and the USSR but some of them were also signed with other CEMA countries, including the GDR[29].

These agreements lay the foundations for a new quality of complex collaboration which above all paves the way for future development directions in these relationships. Here the following new forms emerge in terms of critical main points: strengthening of industrial cooperation, of compensation projects, cooperation in multinational undertakings, trilateral cooperation (especially with developing countries), and scientific-technologicgal cooperation. Industrial cooperation is concentrated mostly on the sectors of energy, electronics, machine-building (particularly regarding machine-tools), auto-making, metallurgy, as well as the chemical and petrochemical industries.

The erection of industrial complexes in both France and the USSR as well as enterprises in the USSR on a compensation base has been practiced successfully between France and the USSR in the past. Examples here are the delivery of metallurgical and metal-working equipment to France (supplier shipments for the metallurgical combine at Fos-sur-mer, erection of the biggest hydraulic press in the capitalist world in Issoire, etc.), as well as Soviet purchases of equipment and plants for the auto, chemical, and gas industry from France. On a compensation or partial compensation basis, France among other things supplies equipment for the production of styrene, polystyrene, and other chemical products as well as for an aluminum complex[30].

The documents signed as a result of the working conference between L. I. Brezhnev and V. Giscard d'Estaing in April 1979 in Moscow, especially the "Long-Term Program for the In-Depth Development of Economic, Industrial, and Technical Collaboration for 1980-1990," as well as the Agreement on Economic Collaboration for 1980-1985, contain the mutual participation in the construction of industrial facilities in both countries, the construction of factories in the USSR for the production of products in which both countries are interested, on a compensation or partial compensation basis, cooperation in production and scientific research, as well as the grant of services and planning of industrial complexes.

These new forms of collaboration are also developing increasingly between France and the GDR[31]. They are advantageous not only for both sides but also effectively contribute to improving the stability and continuity of relations between the participating CEMA countries and France and to meeting the requirements of the Final Act of Helsinki.

It is especially the development of cooperation and the joint production on a balanced basis which create new possibilities for the diversification of commodity exchange and for the increase in shipments of machinery and equipment, other finished products, semifinished products and energy sources. This kind of development of cooperation on the basis of new forms and methods will have by no means insignificant consequences regarding the development of foreign trade structure and this will also result in an expansion of economic relations between the French economy and those countries.

A new quality in cooperation is emerging also in the longer-term agreements between enterprises and institutions of socialist and capitalist countries, such as, for example, the 10-year agreement on scientific-technical cooperation[32] signed between the French "Finatec" Company and the State Committee of the USSR for Science and Technology or the cooperation agreement worked out by the GDR foreign trade enterprise WMW [Machine-Tools and Tools] Export-Import and by combines of the GDR machine-tool-building industry with the French company group of Linne-PSM, calling for joint production and joint sales[33].

The new forms of collaboration include trilateral economic collaboration, in which French enterprises have also been increasingly participating for several years[34]. To improve economic relations between France and the CEMA countries, there are so-called mixed companies in which CEMA countries and French companies are involved and which in France are active primarily in the sector of circulation.

Scientific-technical cooperation is of no minor significance and it is being promoted especially in France by the government[35]. By stepping up this type of cooperation, the French government among other things is trying to compensate for or to boost the relatively small volume of trade relations. This is indicated particularly by results achieved so far in such modern sectors of science and technology as space research or nuclear energy. Thus, France is cooperating with the USSR in uranium enrichment, French engineers and scientists are working on the proton accelerator in Serpukhov, USSR, and France is conducting joint research with the USSR in outer space.

Looking at the utilization of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes, joint efforts are being developed, while the exchange of information on reactors with fast neutrons, in the field of plasma physics and controlled thermonuclear synthesis is being conducted successfully[36]. French companies also use the Soviet system for evaporation cooling at blast furnaces, they use Soviet technologies for steel smelting (for example, at Schneider-Creusot), etc.

Regardless of the fact that the traditional sectors of cooperation will retain their significance, scientific-technical cooperation, above all with the USSR as France's main partner among the CEMA countries, will undoubtedly

continue to increase during the coming years both quantitatively and qualitatively, as already indicated by the examples mentioned. This is also based on structural interests of the French partner, something which, for example, is underscored by the fact that, in France, a ministry study group for industrial development in strategically important sectors of the economy has been set up with the mission of selecting fields which are of decisive importance to the future of the country's national economy.[37]

Special mechanisms developed a long time ago for the promotion especially of economic cooperation between France and the CEMA countries. On the basis of the Soviet-French declaration of 30 June 1966, two mixed Soviet-French commissions have already been created; they are the "Great Commistion," within whose framework responsible representatives of both sides meet as a rule at least once a year in order to review current and long-range problems of bilateral relations, and the "Small Commission" for scientific-technical and economic cooperation, which already has a series of branch-related mixed study groups[38].

The French government in general is utilizing numerous possibilities in order to promote economic relations with the socialist countries on the government level, for example, through interest rate subsidies connected with export loans or by signing agreements on long-term bank loans.

France's realistic and differentiated attitude in complicated international situations, its independent policy also in East-West relations, in the past influenced the latter favorably both in political and economic terms. This is obviously also the longer-range goal of French policy if we start with its attitude during the first half of this year and if we keep in mind the words spoken by Foreign Minister Francois-Poncet during the previously mentioned interview regarding the goals of French policy, two of which he mentioned" "The first one is to translate into action as completely as possible all of the principles and provisions of the Final Act of Helsinki, a document which with justification is called a program and at the same time a code of detente. Detente will progress and strikes roots only to the extent that the 35 CSCE countries carry out the program, which they signed so solemnly in Helsinki, in the field of politics, economy, and culture, as well as human rights. The second goal, which serves as a supplement to the first one, is disarmament. There cannot be any real improvement in international relations so long as the arms race burdens the economy of the countries and creates distrust"[39].

This attitude by France has a positive effect on the development of East-West economic relations which long ago became a firm component of the entire structure of international economic relations. There are no objective reasons for deviating from the way of detente and restricting commercial and economic exchange. The countries of the socialist community consider the agreement of measures aimed at the further development of economic and scientific-technical cooperation between the countries of the CSCE to be an important task which serves the continuation of the detente

process. It is especially France's relations with the socialist countries that furnish evidence of the possibility and necessity of peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems.

FOOTNOTES

1. V. Giscard d'Estaing, "France's Indpendent Policy," WEST-OST-JOURNAL, Vienna, 1-2, 1980, p 9

2. PRAVDA, Moscow, 20 May 1980, Russia.

3. SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG, Munich, 21 May 1980.

4. Press conference of United States Secretary of State Edward Muskie, 21 May 1980, INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, Zuerich Edition, 21 May 1980, p 1.

5. See "Konfrontation-Entspannung-Zusammenarbeit. Die Ost-politik der kapitalistischen Staaten Europas und ihrer Zusammenschluesse in den 70er Jahren," Berlin, 1979, pp 53 ff.

6. NEW TIMES, Moscow, 52, 1979, p 12.

7. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, Berlin, 7 February 1980.

8. DER TAGESSPIEGEL, West Berlin, 8 January 1980.

9. See also A. Kudryavtsev, "Structural Changes in France's Economy," MIROVAYA EKONOMIKA I MEZHDUNARODNYYE OTNOSHENIYA, Moscow, 12, 1979, p 83, Russian.

10. See DDR-AUSSENWIRTSCHAFT, Berlin, 20 January 1980, Supplement, pp 10-11.

11. BERLINER ZEITUNG, Berlin, 29-30 March 1980.

12. Quoted from NEW TIMES, 11, 1980, p 28.

13. Ibid.

14. "Main Trends of Import Developments of Western European Countries," BIKI, Moscow, 8, 1979, Supplement, p 31, Russian.

15. SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG, Munich, 5 February 1980.

16. Ibid.

17. BIKI, loc. cit.

18. DDR-AUSSENWIRTSCHAFT, 6 June 1979, p 3.

19. BIKI, 20 October 1979.

20. See NEUES DEUTSCHALDN, 25 April 1980.

21. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 15 April 1980.

22. FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE, Frankfurt (Main), 2 February, 1980.

23. FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE, 12 January 1980.

24. HANDELSBLATT, Duesseldorf, 6 February 1980.

25. HANDELSBLATT, 12 February 1980.

26. HANDELSBLATT, 20 March 1980.

27. HANDELSBLATT, 13 March 1980.

28. NEW TIMES, 53, 1979, p 13.

29. Summary of existing agreements, DDR-AUSSENWIRTSCHAFT, 6 June 1971, pp 2, 3.

30. Ibid.

31. See in greater detail, M. Wandrow, "Forms of Industrial Cooperation between Socialist States and Capitalist Industrial Countries of Europe," IPW-BERICHTE, Berlin, 4, 1979, pp 28 ff; see also M. Wandrow, "Cooperation with France," WELTBUEHNE, Berlin, 27, 1979, pp 841 ff.

32. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 8 May 1980.

33. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 17-18 May 1980.

34. See also P. Freibert, J. Nitz, G. Scharschmidt, "On the Character of Trilateral Economic Cooperation," IPW-BERICHTE, 2, 1979, pp 17 ff.

35. See also P. Freiberg, J. Nitz, "Growing Scientific-Technological Relations between Socialist and Capitalist Countries," IPW-BERICHTE, 10, 1977, pp 39 ff.

36. See DIE WIRTSCHAFT, Berlin, 10, 1978, p 24.

37. HANDELSBLATT, 25 March 1980.

38. See also "Westeuropa in der heutigen Welt," Berlin 1979, pp 519-521.

39. NEW TIMES, 52, 1979, p 13.

5058
CSO: 2300

'TANJUG' ASSESSES BALTIC STRIKES AFTER PZPR PROPOSALS

LD251848 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1730 GMT 25 Aug 80

[Text] Warsaw, 25 Aug (TANJUG)--The strike on the Baltic is continuing but nevertheless "there is order everywhere," the Polish news agency PAP announced at noon today in reporting on the situation in Baltic towns following yesterday's major changes in the Polish party and government leadership. The Polish United Workers Party Politbureau member, first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the government's commission, Mieczyslaw Jagielski, has been in Gdansk since this morning. His task is to acquaint the Factories' Strike Committee with the Central Committee's decisions. The government agreed to conduct talks with the committee only under the conditions of sharpened crisis. Observers assess the situation will be clarified by the meeting between the government's commission and the factories' committee scheduled to be held today.

Yesterday evening the Poles were informed by the television and the press about all the steps taken by the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party, Edward Gierek personally, and the Council of State.

The proposals offered in yesterday's session of the PUWP Central Committee as a new platform are today discussed throughout the Baltic region. According to the situation there, and considering that the strikes continue, it looks as though the new platform, including cadre changes, did not meet the workers' demands. At the moment it is at least reiterated that the workers did not go on strike dissatisfied solely with their personal standard of living and the living conditions.

CSO: 2020

'TANJUG' REPORTS ON POLISH WORKERS' DEMANDS

LD272015 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1900 GMT 27 Aug 80

[Text] Warsaw, 27 Aug (TANJUG)--The negotiations between the government commission and the Factories' Strike Committee continue. After the government made new concessions, agreement is officially seen as possible.

The negotiations conducted in Gdansk concern two groups of the strikers' demands. The first group of demands relates to the improvement of living conditions of the Polish working class--wages in harmony with living costs, better supply of the market, more flats, higher pensions, etc. The government has agreed to consider these demands and satisfy them in accordance with the country's material possibilities.

The second group of demands is of a political nature. It is here that the views of the representatives of the government and the strikers are in the sharpest disagreement. The Polish press today writes that the Factories' Strike Committee demands "independent trade union," the government representatives have conveyed to the strikers that the government will agree that within the existing, clays [? as received] trade union organization such changes be made as would enable the trade unions to "entirely become a self-management organization, profoundly committed to the needs of work collectives, a consistent advocate of their rights and interests."

At yesterday's session of the Central Council of the Polish Trade Unions, at which its new president was elected, it was stressed that it is essential to bring about a profound renewal of the trade union movement, expand the trade unions' prerogatives, strengthen their ties with work collectives and successfully defend their interests.

The discussion at the session of the Central Council of Trade Unions of Poland indicated the manner in which "a deep change of the trade unions" will be carried out. A new law on trade unions, to be adopted by the end of the year, is to "guarantee the conditions for an independent and autonomous activity of the trade union movement within the system of socialist democracy." This law should provide for the trade unions to be granted the "control" of a "broadly conceived social policy of the state," to control the implementation of that point by the government and other administrative offices and to take initiatives in legislation. This law is also to provide for the right to strike in case "all other means of influencing the state and economic administration to change wrong decisions are exhausted."

CSO: 2020

SFRY'S 'BORBA' REPORTS GIEREK'S ADDRESS TO POLISH PEOPLE

AU211240 Belgrade Borba in Serbo-Croatian 20 Aug 80 p 7

[Text] Warsaw, 19 Aug (TANJUG)--Edward Gierek, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, last night addressed the nation over television and all Polish radio stations and appealed to the people to preserve order and peace in the country.

Referring to the events in Gdansk, where there have been strikes in recent days, Gierek said that these events have "a dangerous aspect" and that the anti-socialist and anarchist groups have wanted to exploit these events for political purposes.

It is possible to understand the emotional and tense atmosphere that reigns in Gdansk, but it is our duty to say that no activity against the foundations of the sociopolitical system can be or will be tolerated. No one can expect any compromises as regards this question, Gierek stated and emphasized that "there are limits on which no one may trespass." The sense of responsibility for the good of the country must be present among all people, he added.

Gierek pointed out that, at this time, there are many problems in Poland that can and should be discussed and in connection with which it is possible and necessary to become involved. Among these problems are primarily the difficulties faced by Poland at this time and even the question of responsibility but what Poland today needs is internal calm, Gierek stressed.

The first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee also spoke about Poland's post-war achievements in developing freedom and democracy. According to him, much has been achieved in this respect in the last decade and it is thanks to these achievements that the political divisions in the Polish society, too, have been overcome. However, according to Gierek, all this has now been jeopardized by the activity of the forces that strive to divide Polish society and create an atmosphere of hostility.

Gierek emphasized that Poland would consistently continue to fulfill its international obligations. He commented on the country's economic situation. He appraised the question of food and especially the meat supply for the population as Poland's vital problem at this time. In this context, Gierek said that the situation in Polish agriculture precludes a quick improvement of the meat market

situation even though there will be additional imports in this connection. However, according to Gierek, the Polish people will have enough flour, sugar and other food products and the supply of industrial consumer goods will be improved.

The head of the Polish party also spoke about questions of economic leadership and planning, the harmonious development of all parts of the country, the need for a better work organization and higher productivity and about the projects that have been already initiated in this connection. Gierek said that the policy pursued by the Polish party and state can only be implemented if it is supported by all.

CSO: 2800

'BORBA' REPORTS ON STRIKE SITUATION

AU221458 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 21 Aug 80 pp 1, 7

[Text] Warsaw, 20 Aug (TANJUG)--The strikes in Poland continue. In addition to Gdansk, Gdynia, Sopot and the Elblag Voivodship, the strikes have spread to the big port and shipbuilding city of Szczecin. Thus, the entire Baltic coast is on strike. The main transportation route of Poland has been cut.

At this moment, about 100 ships under foreign flags, not counting the Polish ships, are waiting in the Baltic ports to load and unload. Huge quantities of industrial goods, raw materials and fuel are waiting to be loaded onto ships or unloaded from them.

The central Polish press today for the first time warns the nation about this dimension of the strike and points out that these losses cannot easily be made good. These are costs, the press says, which all of Poland is paying and which will hurt the entire country in this situation which anyhow is complex and grave.

The press repeats Edward Gierek's words that the country at this moment needs internal peace.

In the cities gripped by strikes, the strikers stay in their factories and enterprises, which certainly is very important. Since 2100 hours last night, the representatives of the collectives on strike have negotiated in Gdansk with a special governmental commission. This commission is headed by Tadeusz Pyka, deputy premier. No details of these negotiations have been announced.

A plenum of the voivodship committee of the party was held in Szczecin yesterday and Premier Babiuch took part in its work. The central Polish press reports today from this meeting that the demands of the strikers include requests whose "realization under certain conditions"--which is to day, at the present moment--is impossible.

It appears that the list of the demands has been expanded to the political field. It is no accident that the central newspapers--the party organ TRYBUNA LUDU and the daily ZYCIE WARSZAWY--stress today and warn in some way: The socialist system of the Polish state and the socialist social relations remain the common denominator of all citizens of Poland.

ZYCIE WARSZAWY openly points out the enemies of socialism in Poland, expanding on what Gierek himself said in his address to the nation on Monday evening about one aspect of the strikes.

Referring to the activities of these antisocialist elements, or rather the dissident groups whose representatives seem to be among the ranks of the strikers, too, ZYCIE WARSZAWY asks in its commentary today: Who do these groups want to fight over the workers' backs? Where have they come from now, after so many years of social and political changes in Poland? These groups must be offered constant resistance. Their strivings have nothing in common with the true interests of the workers' class and their entire people, the paper says and asks: Must differences in views, frequently extremely opposite views, lead to a disorganization of life in enterprises and in the trade unions, must they lead to a breakup of the legal order?

Great Difficulties

It is not possible to say exactly what is happening in the Baltic cities gripped by strikes. It appears that the difficulties are great. According to Radio Warsaw reports yesterday and at noon today, public transportation in these Baltic cities is not functioning. In Szczecin, the pupils today did not go to school, although the new school year has started. Nurses and hospital personnel in Gdansk have been accommodated in hotels, obviously because city transport is not working; other public services are also not working.

According to reports, shops will open in Szczecin today.

The strikes on the Baltic, in a manner of speaking, are the third "wave" affecting Poland this summer. In the first wave, the strikes appeared at the beginning of July, and then again at the beginning of August, and the third wave still continues.

The beginning of the strikes in July was caused by the increase in the price of meat. The citizens of Poland, however, were aware then and are aware now that this was only a pretext. The causes are deeper and more complex and they have been accumulating just as the economic difficulties of the country have been accumulating and getting more complicated, especially in the last year and a half.

Edward Gierek, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, in his speech to the nation on Monday evening, spoke about this frankly and in keeping with the traditional values of Polish democracy and freedom.

The Party Line

It is difficult, Gierek said then, to list all the causes provoking these economic probiems and leading to social dissatisfaction in this country. However, apart from many objective reasons, a significant role in this is played by errors in the economic policy. In many sectors, practice bypassed the December policy. We have not succeeded in opposing this. We must return to a consistent implementation of the line of the sixth party congress. A return to this policy has been begun and this was reflected in the decisions of the eighth congress concerning investments, foreign trade, agriculture and personnel changes, Gierek said.

The December party line is the line adopted after the conclusion of the Baltic events in December 1970, when force was used against strikers in Gdansk. Changes occurred at the helm of the party with the quelling of these events. Gierek came to the head of the party.

At the sixth congress which followed immediately, a new party line was determined and it was popularly called in the December line. It signified a turning to the needs of society, the standard of living, and the needs of the working people.

In the past decade, since this policy has been implemented, Poland has achieved great successes. It has succeeded in modernizing its industries and creating new ones. Figures confirm such a development in the field of the personal and social standard of living of people, too. But this growth policy, as it is now officially admitted, contained some mistakes. Practice and policy did not go hand in hand. Difficulties have been accumulating. Borrowing abroad demanded a repayment of debts. The domestic market has been getting poorer. The decision to increase the price of meat was the drop that overflowed the cup.

Edward Gierek stated to the nation 2 days ago: We must agree and jointly find a way out.

This way out is in the hands of all the Poles and, as it is now stressed in public, it is a joint obligation of the Poles toward their socialist motherland and toward socialism.

CSO: 2800

'LE MONDE' SEES KANIA'S AIM AS REGAINING PARTY'S FULL DOMINANCE

LD231355 Paris LE MONDE in French 20 Sep 80 p 1

[Editorial: "Erosion"]

[Text] There is no doubt that the real Polish crisis began when the authorities, with their backs to the wall, satisfied the strikers' demands. From that moment, the changes made in the system were such that the champions of "real socialism," as it is called in Moscow, could not accept them. The feelings of particular leaders take second place. It does not really matter whether or not they favor real and far-reaching democratization. They are tolerated and helped by their allies for as long as they seem capable of ultimately restoring the party's complete control over the country. In this difficult period, they are permitted to maneuver and give way in order to play for time so that they can calmly win back what was lost during the trial of strength.

This seems to be Mr Kania's policy. Unlike Mr Gomulka and Mr Gierek, the new first secretary has scarcely established any contact with the population. At present, he is not trying to mobilize his fellow citizens for a great task. He is keeping quiet for fear that an imprudent intervention might revive an agitation which has been stemmed with difficulty.

The government's first task is to consolidate the social peace or rather the armistice for which it paid so dear. Government representatives keep saying that all the promises made will be kept. They are avoiding any action which would give the impression that they are breaking their word already. The first secretary is striving to be discreet toward the masses because at present that is the only way of appeasing them and he intends to take advantage of this respite to devote his attention to a fundamental objective: rebuilding the party.

In the upheaval the cornerstone teetered. Party leaders and members were shaken. The apparatus, without which there is no communist regime, is paralyzed. It must now be put back on its feet by sacrificing, of course, a number of particularly corrupt individuals. When he visited Gdansk and Katowice, Mr Kania did not meet with the strikers: he gave all his time to local party activists. He told them that there would be independent trade unions since the workers are demanding them. At the same time, he praised trade union unity which must remain the workers' ideal.

Did party cadres understand his remarks as an invitation not to show too much enthusiasm about implementing the agreements reached or even to hinder the establishment of new institutions? The independent trade union delegates meeting in Gdansk cited examples of interference and even blackmail, since wage earners have been threatened with losing the advantages they have won if they join the self-governed grade unions. After listening to these delegates' reports, Lech Walesa told the AFP special envoy that the authorities are beginning to "gradually take away" what they had given. How can this counteroffensive be tackled?

Some delegates at the Gdansk meeting wanted to set up a federation capable of confronting the government. Mr Walesa refused because he knows the ills of centralism and also because such an initiative would spark off a trial of strength. However, he knows that there are dangers in dispersal. The government could play at swallowing up the weakest or exploiting the turbulence of the most enthusiastic. An independent trade union coordinating committee has been set up to maintain cohesion. It has been decided to use the right to strike if the authorities "erode" the agreements reached.

In August the party accepted a "modus vivendi" in the hope of ending a strike. Are its objectives compatible with those of the workers? There is reason to doubt it.

CSO: 3100

'LE SOIR'S' MATHIL VIEWS SIGNIFICANCE OF STRIKE DEVELOPMENTS

LD041209 Brussels LE SOIR in French 2 Sep 80 p 3

[Article by Pol Mathil: "We Have All Been Polish Strikers"]

[Excerpts] Gentlemen, long live Poland! After 2 weeks which made the world tremble, the Poles have just won a prodigious victory in the first bloodless revolt in their history. During these 2 weeks the game was played on the brink of the abyss. We were all Polish strikers and we had only one leader. An ordinary worker, but the Poles are already calling him "Walesa the First." To show what has been achieved you only have to mention that just 2 weeks ago Walesa had to climb the wall under cover of darkness to enter the Lenin Shipyard "kingdom."

A series of historic precedents has just been set in Gdansk and Szczecin. For the first time the right to strike and the right to an autonomous trade union has been recognized in a communist bloc country under workers' pressure; for the first time a government delegation headed by a member of the Politburo which theoretically wields total power in Poland negotiated on an equal footing with a group of workers deprived of any legal existence; for the first time a communist state with all possible means of oppression and distortion was forced to sign a regular agreement with a group of strikers and to sign it, as in a summit meeting, in front of national television cameras, thereby legalizing another parallel and independent source of power in a country, one of whose foundations is precisely the refusal to share power in any way.

Mr Gierek's position has been considerably weakened and his authority reduced and, sooner or later, when a new scapegoat is needed, he could be forced to step down. As a Warsaw weekly said Saturday: "Those who have not passed the test must go." A manifesto expressing similar ideas and signed by more than 100 brilliant intellectuals who are party members is now circulating in Poland.

Whatever the outcome of the 1980 "Polish summer," the strikers' success will have consequences which are difficult to assess. Poland, a communist country and member of the Eastern bloc, is entering the phase of de facto pluralism.

Before the strikes Poland was already a strange country. The Communist Party was forced to coexist with a [Catholic] Church which held real spiritual power, with private farmers who escaped centralized planning, and with intellectuals who have never really been subdued. In addition--a fact which is frequently disregarded--Poland has kept two noncommunist political parties in a state of "subservience"

purely as a facade: the United Peasant Party [ZSL] and the party representing the remains of the middle classes, as well as PAX (a group set up in 1945 at Soviet instigation with the aim of undermining the Polish Catholics' unity).

This time it is a new phenomenon we are witnessing. Without running the risk of predicting how it will develop, one fact stands out: the Communist Party in Poland is forced to share its power. Of course, in addition, Poland cannot yet see the light at the end of the tunnel. This is demonstrated clearly enough by the idiotic arrest of dissidents who made the mistake of being right too soon.

Finland Plus Yugoslavia Plus Romania

The first remark which should be made is that the Communist Party, despite or perhaps because of its complete devastation, could find advantages in the new situation: The independent trade unions can inform it in time and effectively defuse conflicts with the workers before they reach such a level that they threaten to shake the government each time.

The second remark is that the USSR can also benefit from this situation. A Poland periodically shaken by people's revolts constitutes an element of insecurity and destabilization in Europe, in general, and in the Soviet zone, in particular. A wise and cautious mixture of the Finnish model (USSR security), the Yugoslav model (self-managed by socialist trade unions) and the Romanian model (diplomatic emancipation without breaking with the Warsaw Pact) would, despite the dangers of such an operation, give Poland, which is the USSR's biggest ally, a position which would offer definite advantages even from the viewpoint of the Kremlin's security. In addition, we must not rule out the hypothesis that at least some of the Kremlin incumbents might agree to regard the Polish events as a laboratory of useful ideas and solutions which might be applicable during the crises which will inevitably break out one day in the other communist countries and even in the USSR, because the system's contradictions and people's aspirations are identical or almost identical everywhere.

That brings us to the third remark.

The 1980 Polish uprising proclaims the end of the myth of the Soviet model as the ideal expression of proletarian and revolutionary will. Something else must be found. This uprising also announces the end of the myth of the usefulness and efficacy of the Soviet empire's satellite model. In this case, too, another solution must be found because the satellites no longer offer adequate guarantees.

Of course, it is not easy to abandon such far-reaching dogmas. It is particularly difficult since the USSR's current leadership is composed of people over 70 years old. They have all been in office for decades: all were "promoted" during the Stalinist purges of 1937-1938. All are very conservative, not to say reactionary, but have succeeded in providing the Soviet regime and its dogmas with extraordinary stability and duration. It is by no means surprising that they reacted to the Polish events with great reservation. However, in the very near future the USSR will come under the leadership of people less than 50 years old and even younger. We know nothing about them. However, the appearance on the political scene of "new Poles" free from the complex brought about by the trauma of war and the complex of Stalinism is significant in this respect. The fact that the Polish workers' victory coincided with the anniversary of World War II and took place in Gdansk where the first shells exploded gives symbolic value to this significance.

CSO: 3100

STANISLAW KANIA COMPARED TO KADAR, BREZHNEV

LD101515 Brussels LE SOIR in French 9 Sep 80 p 3

[Commentary by Pol Mathil: "Moscow Seems To Have Chosen a New Kadar in Poland..."]

[Text] History is repeating itself in Poland. However, contrary to the law formulated by Engels, who claimed that when history repeats itself it first takes the form of a tragedy and second the form of a comedy, it has repeated itself more than twice in Poland and it is still taking a tragic form. After the upheavals of 1956 and 1970 the Polish workers have just, for the third time, swept away the leadership of a party which, nonetheless, claimed to govern in their name and in their interests.

This is a coup de theatre but also a coup d'etat and, even if Mr Gierek has really been removed from office by a heart attack, it is, above all, a political crisis which is behind events in the Polish leadership.

Mr Gierek is not paying for his government's mistakes or for his inability to foresee the extent and nature of this peaceful movement in Gdansk. Nor has he been removed from power because he was clearly overtaken by events or because the socialist system and the Communist Party responsible for it have emerged totally discredited. On the contrary, Mr Gierek is going because he is guilty of the sin--a serious sin for a communist leader--of having been forced to give way in face of a workers' revolt without being able to claim to have obtained the assurances necessary to restore order. Mr Gierek has, therefore, failed on two counts, and the dialectics of communist power cannot forgive that.

All the indications are that it is the Kremlin which has thrown out the Gierek card. In Moscow, the name of the Polish leader, who was just recently still a "faithful friend of the USSR and an untiring revolutionary," had already vanished from the press several days ago. Mr Gierek has passed into the ranks of "unpersons."

Poland presents a virtually desperate case for the Soviet Union. For centuries it was the only country which refused to allow itself to be merged into first the czarist empire and then the Soviet empire. In 1980 the USSR is confronted with a virtually insurmountable contradiction in Poland. On the one hand the concessions which the Polish Government has made to the Gdansk strikers are completely unacceptable. Without running the risk of a gradual but inevitable dismantling of "Sovietism," a communist country which is a Warsaw Pact member,

cannot, in the long run, have a parallel power such as now exists in Poland in the form of free or self-governed trade unions, in other words trade unions which are independent of the Communist Party. On the other hand, however, for reasons which have repeatedly been explained in these columns, a Soviet military intervention was inconceivable. Poland, as people in Poland are saying, is not Czechoslovakia, and the Kremlin knows that difference well. Indeed, contrary to what commentators prone to rather hasty analogies think, the fundamental difference between Poland and Czechoslovakia does not lie in what is termed the national temperament and the will to fight but in the fact that while the Prague Spring was the work of intellectuals, here in Poland it is a question of a pure workers' movement to which intellectuals have merely given "logistical" aid.

In short, the Kremlin has had to find another solution. It has opted for the "Kadarization" of Poland. It is because of this choice that an outsider has come to power in Poland. Let us not be cruel: Let us just say that none of the best informed "Kremlinologists" gave Mr Kania a chance of coming to power or even of being in the running.

Nonetheless, from the Kremlin's viewpoint, Mr Kania has several advantages. First, he is better known in Moscow than in Warsaw. In Poland he was surrounded by the aura of secrecy characteristic of the "comrade in charge of security." In Moscow's top spheres, however, Mr Kania has quite a few friends. Indeed, it should be remembered that, of all the "integrated" spheres in the Eastern bloc, that of the armed forces and security bodies works best. Mr Kania who has the reputation of being a "moderate," although nobody really knows why, is known in Moscow as the man who crushed the Radom and Ursus rebellion in 1976 and as the main keynote speaker on the draft constitution which, in 1975, was intended to legalize Poland's virtual Sovietization.

According to reliable sources, the Kremlin sent Mr Kirilenko, Mr Brezhnev's right-hand man, to Warsaw at the height of the crisis. His job was to explain to the Polish comrades how essential it was to avoid a continuation of the crisis and any deterioration in the situation, which threatened to become completely uncontrollable and would make Soviet intervention inevitable. In other words, according to the Kremlin, Poland needed two things:

1. A salutary shock which, according to Moscow, could only be brought about by sacking the leader who, as head of the leadership team, was the man principally responsible for the defeat;

2. Poland needed a new leader capable of offering as many guarantees as possible, not only with regard to winning back the workers' movement but, above all, with regard to restoring order in the Communist Party itself.

Mr Kania is an apparatchik. He is the candidate and hope of the apparatus. In the present Polish context, Mr Kania's arrival in power is less reminiscent of Mr Gierek 10 years ago than of Mr Kadar in Hungary in 1956 and...Mr Brezhnev in the USSR in 1964. The Hungarian analogy is valid because Mr Kania's mission, like that of Mr Kadar, is to place the communist government back in control in a country where it has been completely discredited. The analogy with Mr Brezhnev

is valid, too, because Mr Kania, like Mr Brezhnev after years of Mr Khrushchev's "improvisation," is called upon to save the party apparatus from a dangerous destabilization.

Finally, it is interesting and necessary to note that Mr Gierek has been treated less well than Mr Gomulka. Indeed, while Mr Gomulka was given the chance of tendering his resignation for health reasons (now, 10 years later, he is in excellent health), Mr Gierek was curtly and abruptly "relieved" of his duties. Yet it was Mr Gomulka who opened fire on the workers, while Mr Gierek refused to give that order. The question is, therefore, whether Mr Gierek was so abruptly dismissed despite his decision not to open fire or because of it.

CSO: 3100

DUTCH PAPER VIEWS STRIKERS' 'SURPRISING VICTORIES'

LD281013 Amsterdam DE VOLKSKRANT in Dutch 25 Aug 80 p 3

[Editorial: "Victory"]

[Text] The tens of thousands of strikers in Gdansk and other cities along the Polish Baltic coast have achieved two surprising victories over the weekend. On Friday evening a first meeting took place between the special government commission which is supposed to resolve the strike conflict and a delegation of the Joint Strike Committee. Warsaw had hitherto categorically refused to negotiate with the strikers' independent representatives.

On Sunday evening this was followed by the announcement of a minor palace revolution which has taken place within the ruling Politburo and the government. Prime Minister Babiuch disappears from the stage--and also as a Politburo member--and with him a number of other prominent figures retire from the field. Their successors in the Politburo and the government are regarded as representatives of the Communist Party's more liberal wing. In particular, there is the comeback of former Foreign Minister Olszowski, who at the beginning of this year was demoted to the Polish Embassy in East Berlin.

In connection with these changes party leader Gierek made a television address which unmistakably revealed greater indulgence toward the strikers' demands than was the case in his previous address. Although he again emphasized the unchallengeable nature of the socialist system and the Communist Party's leading role, no sharp distinction was drawn this time between (discussable) economic demands and (not discussable) political demands. In particular, he paved the way for recognition of the right to form free trade unions.

This is no small matter for an East European communist government. However, this does not mean that free trade unions are already a foregone conclusion, since it is certainly not the first time that the Warsaw government has hoped to dispel a grave crisis with a few spectacular changes of personnel. Such changes are then accompanied by fine promises about social improvements and a greater say on the part of the population. This is how party leader Gierek himself came to power in 1970. And it is only 6 months ago since Babiuch, who has now been toppled from his pedestal, was brought from behind the scenes as a "realist" and a "skillful organizer" to replace the unpopular Jaroszewicz. But every time the promises faded away and the problems and the political immobility remained.

It seems, therefore, highly unlikely that the strikers will allow themselves to be fobbed off with fine words again. The social and political frustrations have reached too high a pitch over the years for that. But, on the other hand, the strike movement has displayed a considerable degree of discipline and political insight. Realizing Poland's precarious position, it will certainly be prepared to make compromises, knowing also that it can be an abiding political force which the communist leaders in Warsaw--and elsewhere--must duly take into account.

CSO: 3105

DUTCH PAPER VIEWS POLISH AUTHORITIES-STRIKERS' AGREEMENT

LD091631 Amsterdam DE VOLKSKRANT in Dutch 1 Sep 80 p 3

[Editorial: "Poland"]

[Text] It is always risky to declare a current event to be a "historic moment" on the spot, but the signing of the agreement between the Polish government delegation and the Central Strike Committee in Gdansk is well worth that risk. There is in any case no doubt that this agreement, like a similar one in Szczecin, has no parallel in the history of the East European "people's democracies."

The agreement's central element is the fact that the government in Warsaw and, therefore, the leadership of the Polish Communist Party, recognizes the right to strike and agrees to the establishment of free, autonomous trade unions. With these two crucial principal promises, two orthodox communist dogmas have been shown the door at once. Namely, that the workers' state is entirely at the service of the workers--which, in advance, brands a strike as a maneuver of the class enemy--and that the Communist Party is the only unchallengeable representative of the working class and is thus entitled to a position of absolute power in the Socialist People's Republic.

The point is thus that the Polish Communist Party has taken a bold step backward. And the recognition won from the strikers of the leading role in the nation's life that belongs to the party--a scarcely flattering form of recognition indeed--does not detract from this. We have here a unique development which will probably not leave the other East European nations untouched.

This is definitely not to say that everything is in the can for the striking workers in Poland. When all is said and done, it has happened before that autonomous strike committees have subjected the official state authorities to great pressure and that a party leader--Gomulka in 1956--set himself up as a defender of the right to strike. But each time the party leadership has succeeded over the course of time in integrating and dismantling the dissident workers' movement and ruling the promised rights out of order. In addition, the agreements from Gdansk and Szczecin contain a number of points, for example, the abolition of censorship of trade union publications, but we will have to wait and see what the future arrangements make of them.

The difference between the present situation and what happened in the past is that there is now a written agreement, unambiguous in its main points. To this must be added the fact that the hundreds of thousands of striking workers displayed throughout the conflict a hitherto unknown determination and sense of responsibility as a result of which their political power must be deemed considerable also in the longer term.

The question is rather whether the Polish party leadership will know how to behave in a political and social system in which it no longer possesses the sole right of representation. Alas, the question will not only, nor in the first place, be answered in Warsaw. In the final days of the strike conflict it became worringly obvious that Moscow is far from served by a generosity in the family that could undermine the whole of the communist family's life. These are, in every way, times of bated breath for Poland.

CSO: 3105

IBERIAN PRESS COMMENTS ON POLISH STRIKE SITUATION

21-24, 26 Aug 80 Papers

LD281417 [Editorial Report] Spanish and Portuguese newspapers published 21-24 and 26 August published editorials on the current situation in Poland, generally expressing support for the strikers' demands.

Madrid EL PAIS 21 August comments on page 6: "What is happening in Poland has the outward appearance of a class struggle. It is a workers' movement which is revolting against conditions of the exploitation of labor and an inadequate relationship between the hours worked and the consumption needs of those who work them." It cites as other causes of the strike movement "anti-Russian patriotism, the intellectual urge to seek forms of personal and collective freedom, the enormous influence of the Catholic Church, which has never ceased to be the regime's toughest enemy (and Wojtyla's spectacular and lengthy visit has much to do with the present situation), the growing up of generations which do not accept that the Polish communist system is the only one possible and, undoubtedly, the pressures of various kinds exerted by the capitalist world." And it adds: "The point of intersection of all these factors lies in the failure of the regime, which has been unable to create adequate living conditions or a sphere of intellectual attraction and beliefs capable of replacing the attraction of the opposing forces."

Madrid ABC 22 August notes on page 2 that although the reasons underlying the Polish workers' rebellion are no different from those motivating the communist masses in the Western democracies, "none of the communist parties on this side of the iron curtain has yet made an official statement of support for and solidarity with Polish workers who are communists, although the Polish situation has existed for weeks." It asserts: "The mask of 'Eurocommunism' has fallen from the Western communists' faces over the last few days. The USSR is in command in Poland--as it is throughout its area of influence, in the colonies of the communist multinational. Its tanks are now threatening Poland, just as they threatened and subdued Hungary in 1956 and Czechoslovakia in 1968. And the communist parties will say nothing except what the CPSU allows them or orders them to say."

Madrid YA 24 August maintains on page 5: "To believe and to fear, as if it were the most natural thing in the world, that a labor and trade union dispute could degenerate into intervention by a foreign country is simply monstrous and opens

the eyes of those who do not wish to keep them very deliberately closed to the real praxis of communism wherever it is imposed."

Madrid EL PAIS 26 August comments on page 8 on the leadership changes in Poland, expressing skepticism that they will be able to resolve the situation. It states:

"Unfortunately, there is no guarantee that the injustices can be corrected. It is not a change of names or of leaders which can resolve the basic problem but rather a change in the country's structure and much greater economic sovereignty. Nor can the acknowledgment that injustices have been committed bring the workers back to 'moderation,' but rather a real change in their conditions. World circumstances have not changed so much as to suggest that what Gierek was unable to do over the last 10 years the same Gierek can do now by changing his colleagues."

Lisbon EXPRESSO 23 August asserts on page 10 tnat "It is important to recognize that in Poland there are thousands of workers who are struggling for basic rights, whose satisfaction could possibly even conflict with certain aspects of the autocratic political system which is in force in that country."

And it adds: "It is true that an analysis which identifies all the ills creating this protest situation with the economic situation which is in force in Poland and which is aimed at building socialism seems superficial."

"But, perhaps, it is not so superficial to point out that this situation could have a great deal to do with the political system, which like all dictatorships experiences particular difficulties in responding to and accommodating social movements like those which are now occurring."

2 Sep 80 Papers

LD080931 [Editorial Report] Spanish and Portuguese newspapers published 2 September carry editorials commenting on the outcome of the strike movement in Poland, emphasizing the caution displayed by all sides in the conflict and the historic nature of the workers' gains.

Barcelona LA VANGUARDIA, noting on page 5 the caution manifested both inside and outside Poland during the strikes, asserts: "The reason for this deliberate and conscious caution is very clear. In Gdansk, Warsaw, the Vatican, Moscow, Berlin and Washington it was realized from the very outset that if the situation ran out of all control and if the spark were struck which would render impossible a negotiated settlement of the situation, the fire could spread to the entire world. Poland is not Afghanistan nor the Czechoslovakia of 1968. The worst was to be expected. It is no exaggeration to say that the possibility of war lurked threateningly in the background."

Listing the gains achieved by the Polish strikers, it warns that "If what has been achieved is important, it must be interpreted within a whole situation which is by no means that of a total and absolute trade union freedom and whose real significance will have to be ascertained in the course of time, when all this is implemented within a regime which is undemocratic and which remains entrenched in a political conduct totally dictated from the top, in a one-party

state." However, it concludes: "This is a historic moment--a challenge in which all the communist states have something more at stake than surmounting or otherwise a temporary mishap."

Madrid ABC comments on page 2: "The trade unionists have struggled firmly and cautiously. While the exact terms of the recognition of the free trade unions and of the right to strike still remain to be known, the contents of the agreement with the government concern very specifically the quality of life of the country and, in particular, of its working masses. But its profound impact cannot be diminished; this concerns, in the long term, the political and social role of the 'new class,' which has been very harshly called into question in Poland this summer, and, in the short term, the Gierek government's economic policy, which the Polish strikers have been denouncing."

Madrid YA notes on page 5 that the agreements between the Polish strikers and the government have been greeted by "satisfaction with reservations" in the Western world: satisfaction because "the conclusion of the strike has become a historic event which could serve as a precedent for the future development of labor relations, not only in Poland but also in the other countries of the communist area," and reservations "because this is only the beginning of an internal process whose conclusion cannot be glimpsed."

It maintains: "On this occasion the workers have won the battle against Gierek's regime. In all likelihood, this does not mean that the war between the all-powerful Communist Party and the Polish proletariat is over. The Gdansk agreements represent to some extent the opening up of the 'Polish path to socialism,' which will not fail to have its repercussions on the remainder of the socialist countries. Some 12 years ago, the 'Prague Spring' faded away. Today, many people believe that Poland has begun a real political dawn, although the possibility should not be discounted that the Polish Government's concessions to the workers are nothing but a disguised political camouflage, skillfully orchestrated by a Politburo no longer capable of controlling a social and political situation which is slipping from its grasp."

Lisbon DIARIO DE NOTICIAS lists on page 2 the various factors contributing to the peaceful outcome of the strikes, ranging from the Soviet Union's alleged reluctance to intervene to domestic factors such as Poland's foreign debt and the influence of the Catholic Church. It concludes: "And it was these numerous contradictions which promoted the victory of the Gdansk strikers. What is the future of that victory? It is difficult to forecast it. But certainly nobody will be bold enough to seek to confine it within the narrow limits of the outcome of a strike normal in capitalist countries but absolutely unprecedented in the East bloc regimes. Because, whatever the interpretations made, this outcome touches, as somebody has already stressed, 'the weak spot of the communist system.'"

CSO: 3110

BRIEFS

GDANSK PZPR COMMITTEE SESSION--The Polish news agency PAP reports that a meeting of the PZPR committee of the Gdansk Voivodship has been held in Gdansk. The situation caused by the workers' strikes in the city was discussed. The meeting was attended by representatives of the PZPR Central Committee and Politburo: Henryk Jablonski, chairman of the Council of State of Poland; Stanislaw Kania, secretary of the Central Committee; and Tadeusz Pyka, deputy premier. It was noted that the continuation of the strikes in Gdansk is assuming a content incompatible with the original intentions of the workers and is turning into an action directed against the basic principles of political social life in Poland. Such a situation, it was said, has been caused by the activities of anti-socialist elements who are not from Gdansk and who wish to create chaos and disorder. Firm steps are needed against such elements, it was pointed out at the meeting of the PZPR committee of Gdansk Voivodship. [Text] [AU191508 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 19 Aug 80]

'CRUCIAL MOMENT' IN CRISIS SEEN--Observers and those who know the conditions in Poland are making the appraisal that a crucial moment has arrived in the crisis which is shaking the country. The Interfactory Strike Committee is continuing its session in Gdansk. Mieczyslaw Jagielski, first deputy premier, will brief it in greater detail on the decision of the Central Committee concerning government changes. Jagielski has been in Gdansk since this morning. [Excerpt] [LD251456 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 25 Aug 80]

CSO: 2800

ROLE OF WORKERS' LETTERS IN AFFIRMING SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 17, 5 Sep 80 pp 14-17

[Article by Andrei Cervencovici, chief of the Section for Letters and Audiences of the Romanian Communist Party Central Committee and vice president of the Central Collegium of the Party: "Workers' Letters - An Important Means of Strengthening Ties With the Workers and Affirming Socialist Democracy"]

[Text] The development and furthering of socialist democracy constitutes one of the fundamental objectives of the Party Program, standing as an objective necessity of the process of building a multilaterally developed socialist society and advancing Romania towards communism. "We must at no time forget," stressed comrade Nicolae Ceausescu in the speech he recently gave during a working visit to Galati County, "that socialist democracy and the participation of the people in the conscious building of its own future constitute the key to the victory of socialism and communism in Romania."

The experience of building a new order, as well as the work of the secretary general of the party, show the historic objective bases of socialist democracy and the fact that one of the characteristic traits of Romanian political thought and practice, especially during the years following the Ninth Party Congress, is the organic unity between socialism and democracy, and that in our society they have a permanent and indissoluble relationship. In the spirit of the decisions approved by the Ninth Congress and the others that followed, the Romanian Communist Party initiated and adopted a broad range of political measures and organizational forms, legal regulations and educational guidelines that would ensure the full expression of socialist democracy and the participation of the working class and all workers in the management of society, the elaboration of decisions and their implementation.

In our party's view and that of its secretary general, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the development of democracy is not a purpose in itself. As a form of organizationa and political leadership of society, it is designed to ensure the broadest rights and freedoms for the masses and to put to full

use their wisdom and experience and their creative energies and abilities. Under such conditions, the Romanian Communist Party places special importance on the role of improving the means of strengthening its ties with the masses and is fully receptive to the reports, criticisms and proposals from the workers that are formulated in meetings, conferences and discussions or that are sent in letters to party and state organs, public organizations and the press.

In affirming its ever stronger role as the leading political force through its organic integration in society, our party is establishing close and permanent relations with the workers and is constantly developing its ties with the entire populace.

The amplification of direct contacts with the workers and with all the citizens of the country is a permanent trait of the thinking and style of work of our party's secretary general. Countless times, within the framework of dialogues with workers and expressing a desire of the party, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out that only through a close relationship with the masses and through permanent consultations with them, keeping in mind the concerns and proposals of the workers, can optimum solutions be found in all areas and can their problems at work and in life be more effectively, justly and efficiently resolved.

In urging the party active and the cadre having responsibilities to be constantly among the people, our party leadership also emphasized the need to give the greatest attention to the justified demands of the citizens, to express a fully understanding attitude towards their reports and proposals and to always have an open door for those who come forward with good intentions to present diverse suggestions, opinions and criticisms. Within this context, the handling of letters and the proper organization of audiences at the different levels and fora of leadership represent efficient means for systematically consulting with the masses and for using their experience and wisdom.

Letters and audiences achieve an immense movement of ideas, oral and written, and are a phenomenon of broad scope specific to our socialist society that reflects the complete harmony between the hopes of the people and the objectives of the policies of the Romanian Communist Party. Just last year, for example, over 1.7 million citizens wrote letters to and had audiences with the party leadership, party and state organs, central and local mass and public organizations, the press and radio-television. Through their letters, people of all ages and all social categories from across the country are expressing their support for the domestic and foreign policies of the Romanian Communist Party and our country and are thanking the secretary general of the party for his shining contribution

to everything we are doing, and eagerly forward proposals and reports in order to contribute to the improvement of activities in all the areas of social life.

Our party's permanent concern for ensuring the active participation of the workers in resolving public affairs, an essential trait of socialist democracy, and for creating the conditions so that all citizens can freely express their opinions and work unhindered in the use of society's progress brought about an ever more active and responsible opinion from them and a permanent dialogue with the party and state leadership, with local party organs and with state institutions and mass and public organizations.

This great dialogue through letters and audiences, a direct form of expressing the citizens' opinions, became under the conditions of our socialist democracy an objective necessity. On one hand, the leadership element of our society, the party, which does not work for itself, but for lifting society to ever higher levels of civilization and for the good of the poeple, needs the people's ideas to draw up its strategy and their effective participation in bringing about the proposed objectives. On the other hand, the people, whose hopes are achieved by carrying out the party's policies and who are ever more aware of this, have an interest in effectively and responsibly participating in the fulfillment of their own hopes.

The workers' letters offer the decisionmakers an especially efficient and opportune possibility to understand life, reality, contradictory aspects in economic-social activities and the causes that generate them, in order to act so that they can preserve their role as a dynamic factor in social progress. The people, to the extent of the growth of their awareness and understanding of the fact that their own interests are satisfied within the context of achieving the general interests of society, become the sensitive detectors of contradictions in society. They feel the achievements in our society, as well as the social inequalities and deficiencies of certain decisions, pointing them out. This is a natural phenomenon since they live and work in all the social fields and best know reality directly.

The opportunity for the country's citizens to write or speak out on any problem to the highest level of party and state organs, mass and public organizations, the press and so forth, is a right set forth by the Constitution, stemming from the workers' position as owners of the means of production, producers and users of the material goods and national wealth.

Showing a high awareness, the citizens of the country are expressing their opinions through letters and audiences, are making numerous proposals and are taking a critical, combative attitude towards shortcomings, making their contribution to the improvement of economic-social activities.

The measures taken in recent years to improve activities for handling proposals, reports, complaints and requests from workers, an activity which constitutes a component of party work having a profoundly political nature, are part of the overall group of actions undertaken, especially since the Ninth Congress, to develop and further socialist democracy and to improve the organizational framework and raise the content of the institutionalized forms of mass participation to a new, superior quality in the elaboration and implementation of our party's and state's policies.

An important moment in this direction was approval by the March 1978 Party Central Committee Plenum of the Decision regarding activities involving letters and audiences and the passage of Law No 1/1978 by the Grand National Assembly. These documents, as well as other party and state decisions adopted later, are the basis of all activities for resolving workers' letters and the problems related to receiving the workers in audiences. The measures established at the plenum are designed to ensure the growth of responsibility of party and state organs in the organization, management and guidance of activities involving letters and audiences, and to bring about the intensification of concern on the part of decisionmakers in all fields of activity to understand the causes that generate a series of shortcomings and establish the most appropriate measures to eliminate them and prevent other negative phenomena.

Pursuing improvements in the content of activities involving letters and audiences, and growth in the efficiency of these activities for improving work in all economic-social fields, the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party established an harmonious system for analysis and reporting from the highest level down to the base organizations. The activities for resolving the problems raised in audiences and letters directed to the party leadership are analyzed quarterly by the Secretariat of the Central Committee and biannually by the Political Executive Committee of the Romanian Communist Party Central Committee. Each year the Central Committee discusses the manner in which the party organs and organizations and the state and public organs work to resolve proposals, reports, complains and requests from workers, and analyzes the conclusions stemming from them. As is known, each time it has established measures to improve activities in this field.

The March 1978 Central Committee Plenum established special tasks regarding activities involving letters and audiences for party collegiums, as collective organs that can and must make an important contribution to improving work in this field. In this regard, the Central Collegium of the Party is responsible for resolving proposals, reports, complaints and requests from the workers addressed to the party leadership and, at the same time, ensures the systematic review of the manner in which party and state organs and organizations, mass and public organizations, and the leaderships of socialist units apply party and state decisions in this field. The county party collegiums and the Bucharest Municipal Party Collegium have the same responsibilities at the local level.

Naturally, each party activist must carry out a similar activity, especially complex review collectives. We stress this fact even more so since in some counties there is a tendency to leave the review of activities involving letters and audiences to the party collegiums.

The law adopted in March 1978 regarding activities for the solution of proposals, reports, complaints and requests from the workers provides the legal framework appropriate to the implementation of the tasks outlined by the party in this regard. It establishes the norms designed to lead to the strengthening of the responsibility of the leadership of state organs in respecting the legitimate rights and interests of the citizens. It calls for the direct responsibility of the ministries, the leadership of the enterprises, institutes and public organizations for the specific management of these activities and for the objectivity of the investigations carried out, the justness of the conclusions, the legality of the measures established and the effectiveness and precision of the responses given to the citizens. Similarly, the law stipulates the obligation of the collective leadership organs of the institutes and other socialist units to periodically analyze activities in this field and to report the conclusions and measures taken to their hierarchically superior organs.

Of special significance has been the decision of the party leadership that the entire activity of examining and resolving proposals, reports and requests from the workers will be carried out under the direct leadership of party organs and organizations. In themselves providing an exemplary effort in this sense, they directed with increased efficiency the activities of all organs that have responsibilities in the area of resolving letters and the proposals raised in audiences. The county, municipal, city and town party committees and those in enterprises and institutes are providing better guidance and exercising a permanent review. There has been a considerable increase in the responsibility with which the people's councils, the workers councils, mass and public organizations, the press and radio-television have taken care of letters and audiences.

It is worth noting that the secretary general of the party, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, weekly and whenever it is necessary keeps abreast of the content of the letters addressed to him and the statements made by citizens during audiences. Numerous letters of a special nature are resolved on-the-spot at the express direction of comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, by collectives made up of party and state activists and specialists, coordinated directly by Central Committee secretaries or deputy prime minsters of the government. On the basis of conclusions stemming from investigations, important measures were taken to improve work in different fields of activity.

The Central Collegium of the Party, the Section for Letters and Audiences, in addition to resolving a large number of reports with the Central Council of Worker Review of Economic and Social Activities and the other sections

of the Central Committee, carried out systematic reviews in the counties, in the ministries and in other central institutes, working for the improvement in the content of work involving letters and audiences. In some county party committees and ministries, the review was undertaken with the assistance of certain collectives of party activists, mass and public organizations, specialists from ministries and other central institutes. The Central Collegium of the Party, on the basis of directives issued by the secretary general of the party, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, annually organizes conferences with the representatives of the leaderships of the ministries and the other central institutes, the central organs of the press, and with the presidents of the county party collegiums and those persons reponsible for the compartments dealing with letters and audiences. On these occasions, there has been a useful exchange of experiences regarding the manner in which party and state decisions were applied referring to activities involving letters and audiences.

The central and local press organs, radio and television used letters and audiences to a greater degree to stimulate the creative initiative of the workers in achieving production goals, protecting public property and respecting laws and norms of socialist ethics and equality. The systematic publication in the central press of the conclusions resulting from investigations into letters addressed to the party leadership stimulated the participation of the citizens via this format in the solution of certain public problems, bringing about an increase in the responsibility of party and state organs for examining deeply and resolving competently the proposals and reports from the workers.

Through the letters addressed to the party leadership, the party and state organs and the mass and public organizations, the workers made a significant contribution to the better organization of work and production in the industrial units, the reduction of production costs, the improvement of the machinery and equipment use indices and the quality of certain consumer goods, and the achievement of savings in raw materials and energy. Their input, through the reports that they made, brought about the elimination of certain deficiencies at some work sites, led to the understanding and elimination of certain shortcomings in the trade with and supplies to the people, and led to a better organization of the seeding and harvesting campaigns in agriculture, the judicious use of the land and the improvement of activities in the area of zootechny. The proposals and critical observations of substance permitted the administration and beautification of cities and towns, the improvement of systematization plans for certain localities, the achievement of certain more efficient actions for integrating education with production and research, the improvement of health care and the content of certain normative acts, and the elimination of certain shortcomings and and expressions of bureaucratism and certain abuses and illegalities.

In addition to the variety and diversity of the problems contained in the workers' letters, what further characterizes them is the good understanding of social realities and the facts to which they refer. In this sense, it is significant that the majority of reports addressed to the Central Committee and the county, municipal and city party committees last year were well-founded.

Working in the spirit of party and state decisions, the party, state and public organs and organizations put together an effective system through which the workers' proposals, critical observations and requests find the quickest possible solution, which increases the masses' faith in the party and leads them to present to the party new proposals which come to have a greater and greater importance in improving activities in all the areas of economic and social life.

The growth of responsibility of the organs and authorities with attributes in the solution of citizens' letters has brought about a substantial improvement in the activities in this field. There has been an expansion of means such as the systematic consultation of different social categories and collectives of workers in connection with the possibility of eliminating certain shortcomings reported in letters, the organization of on-the-scene audiences in enterprises and localities and the permanent pursuit of solutions to requests and the carrying out of proposals. For reports having important contents, collectives are organized that carry out investigations on-the-scene, and the conclusions from these investigations are discussed as frequently as possible in work collectives, worker meetings and party organizations.

These forms of activities have proven to be fruitful and we feel that they must be used on a broader scale. The presentation of the resulting conclusions to the worker collectives in the units in question has contributed to a growth in their responsibility for the proper operation of the activities they carry out and for combativeness against violations of socialist legalities and norms of social behavior, and has brought about a more direct participation of the collectives in these units in the application of the established measures.

All this brings to light a more careful attention on the part of the party, state, mass and public organs for the best use in their activities of the conclusions stemming from letters and audiences and the critical observations of the citizens. As a result, the vast majority of the problems raised by citizens receive a competent, appropriate solution. At the same time, concern has increased for the effective solution of letters. For example, in 1979 Covasna County resolved on-time all the letters received, Vrancea County 99.6 percent, Caras-Severin 99.52 percent, Botosani 98.05 percent, and so forth.

Especially pleasing is the fact that the party and state decisions for organizing the reception of citizens in audiences created a broad access for workers to leadership cadre at all levels. In 1979, county party committee first secretaries and secretaries received over 95,000 citizens in audience, six percent more compared to the previous year, while in 1978,

after the adoption of the decision regarding activities involving letters and audiences, it was approximately 60 percent more than in 1977. Similarly, in 1978 the ministries received 24 percent more citizens in audience than in 1977, continuing to register an increase in the number of those persons who came directly to the leadership cadre of party organs and local and central institutes with diverse problems of general or personal interest.

Despite all the good results obtained to date in the activities for resolving complaints, reports, proposals and requests from the workers, there are still a number of shortcomings. Although the largest part of the reports received by the party and state organs have been proven well-founded, reflecting the political maturity and responsible spirit of their authors, not all of them were resolved in an appropriate manner. Formalism still shows up in clarifying the problems raised by the workers and the solutions that are given are not always in accord with the facts. We find cases where the letters are resolved in a bureaucratic fashion, giving standard answers without keeping in mind that each request has its own specific nature and that the problems raised frequently affect broader areas of activity and the interests of a large number of people. And, experience has demonstrated that the thorough analysis of the citizens' reports and proposals can lead to especially useful conclusions for the entire operation of activities in one sector or another.

At the Central Committee, numerous letters are received, as well as many citizens in audiences. This fact reflects the great faith of the people in our party and its leadership. On the other hand, however, this situation shows that many of the problems are not being appropriately resolved at the level of local party and state organs. The excessive shifting of problems to the central organs that can and should be resolved at the local level in the respective units and localities cannot but lead to delays in resolving the workers' requests. This is also the source of the need for local organs to work more firmly to respect party and state decisions and their own measures regarding the solution of letters and problems raised by citizens in audiences.

Some local party and state organs and the leaderships of certain mass and public organizations did not fully understand that the essential factor in this activity is the principled and complete solution of the problems reported and the establishment and firm application of certain measures that no longer can give rise to disorder and violations of legalities. The analysis of activities involving letters and audiences is done formally in some places and in this manner there cannot be a deep understanding of the causes that generate certain negative phenomena, and there cannot be efficient work to eliminate the shortcomings of the citizens' justified dissatisfaction. In many enterprises and institutes, the workers commissions alongside the party organizations committees and bureaus are carrying out

a poor activity, although they could effectively help the party organs alongside which they were established in organizing, coordinating and managing the entire activity of resolving letters and the problems raised in the audiences in these units. It is necessary that the municipal and city party organs initiate exchanges of experience, periodic instruction sessions with those persons who have responsibilities in this area, and other actions designed to lead to the activation of these commissions. Similarly, it has been found that the mayors of certain towns do not for long periods of time go into the villages that belong to their area, although according to the laws they have the duty to make weekly trips there to have discussions with the citizens in these localities.

As experience shows, the local organs and the leaderships of the economic units and institutes are not using workers' letters to a sufficient degree as an instrument for understanding reality. This is also due to the fact that they do not always draw conclusions from the letters and the problems raised at audiences, with them being treated as single cases, and that the investigations into the suggestions and complaints of the citizens is not carried out to the end and to the disclosure of the causes that generated them. Some leadership cadre in the counties, but especially in the ministries and other central institutes, are still not participating enough in on-the-scene solutions of certain reports of important substance.

Phenomena and aspects from all the fields of social life are covered in the workers' letters. Many of these refer to certain chortcomings in industrial and agricultural units, state and cooperatist trade and in the activities of the people's councils and town administration. A large percentage of the letters deal with problems in construction, home repairs, in the operation of public transportation in large cities, labor laws, with abuses that are still being committed and with violations of the norms of social behavior. All these offer countless opportunities to understand and eliminate shortcomings and to have a more efficient activity, fully aware of the causes, better using the creative abilities of the masses.

As in any field of party work, the resolution of proposals, reports, complaints and requests from the people presupposes an activity carried out with a developed politic sense, with a maximum amount of responsibility, and in the spirit of humanism and the socialist ethics and equality of our socialist society. The need is felt in the work involving letters and audiences to work with more understanding regarding the justified requests of the citizens, to present responses more convincingly, to discuss them more with the citizens and to patiently explain to them why it cannot be resolved at given moment. It is necessary to have a more sustained effort in explaining to those people who raise questions in contradiction to our laws or whose requests cannot be now solved for objective reasons. Such a method contributes to educating the citizens and, at the same time, to reducing unfounded requests addressed to higher organs.

An important number of anonymus letters are received at the central party and state organs, in the counties, at the leadership of economic-social units, in the press and at radio-television stations. These are more difficult to examine and require a greater amount of work, but many of them prove to be well-founded. This fact demonstrates that there is not a favorable climiate for free expression everywhere and that those people who report certain shortcomings with good intentions are sometimes called to task and persecuted. That is why it is necessary to show greater concern in this direction and to take firm measures to punish those guilty of such practices, which are contrary to party norms and the laws of the country.

For the continued improvement of activities in the field of resolving proposals, reports, complaints and requests from workers, it is necessary for the party and state organs and organizations to pay substantially increased attention to the analysis of the substance of letters and the problems raised in audiences, to uncovering the frequency of phenomena and the local and more general causes that are at the bottom of each phenomenon or group of negative phenomena, and to the conclusions and measures that are required to improve the activities in these fields.

The bureaus of the county party committees and the leaderships of the ministries must intervene more energetically to eliminate the shortcomings uncovered and to closely pursue affairs so that the center of gravity of the activities of examining and resolving workers' letters will be everywhere moved to where the workers work, and carried out through the direct investigation of all reports on-the-scene.

One of the principal directions in which actions must be taken with great exigency than up to now is broadening the concern for popularizing the measures and provisions contained in party decisions and the laws of the country, so that each worker will thorough understand his rights and obligations and the legal opportunites that he has for openly expressing his opinions in any field of activity. At the same time, the knowledge and mastery of these documents and the major themes that are presented in them for the party and state cadre and leaders in the units represent a decisive condition in the exercise and fulfillment of their attributes and duties with a maximum of competence in effectively and efficiently resolving the proposals, reports, complaints and requests from the workers. It is necessary to move to the broader use of the "Forum of Democracy," within the framework of which it is fully possible, each time, to explain the different economic-social phenomena and new laws and decisions and to indicate the specific means of solving certain deficiencies and difficulties that are the object of the citizens' reports and complaints.

The letters addressed to the party leadership, the party and state organs, the press and mass and public organizations constitute a form of active

and direct participation of all citizens in the management and resolution of state, economic and public affairs, an eloquent expression of the continuing development of our socialist democracy. The workers' letters and their opinions reflect the ever more intensive activities expended for the purpose of building a new order and constitute a living reflection of their full support of the cause of the party and the people and of our party's and state's domestic and foreign policy and the decision of all our people to do everything to implement the Party's Program and the decisions adopted by the 12th Congress.

8724
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REPORT ON BUCHAREST WORLD FORUM OF HISTORIANS

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 17, 5 Sep 80 pp 22-24, 47

[Article by Damian Hurezeanu: "The 15th Forum of World Historians"]

[Text] The tradition of international history congresses, begun eight decades ago in Paris, added a new page to its history in Bucharest between 10 and 17 August 1980. Through the presence of over 2,700 specialists from 67 countries at the congress, the content of their themes, the scientific level of the reports and studies presented, and the active and lively character of the discussions, the International History Congress at Bucharest was a significant event in current scientific affairs. For the first time at an international history congress, certain delegates from the People's Republic of China, the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, some Arab nations, the African continent and Latin America were notably present. This strengthened the universal character of the meeting.

Entrusting the organization of a congress of such dimensions to the historians in our country is, certainly, an honor and a great responsibility. We see in this task a sign of the value in Romanian historical science and in its growing affirmation on the international scene. Beyond this, we see trust in Romania's ability to respond to all the organizational problems involved in such a meeting and, above all that, trust in the proper and festive atmosphere that our country can offer for the success of the congress. And, it must be said that those who organized the congress worked with understanding and perseverence, achieving certain working conditions which many delegates, including the most informed persons of the broad international forum of historians, considered to be optimum. The publication of an ad hoc paper during the congress and the broad coverage of the proceedings in the press and on radio and television connected the concerns of the scientists to the changes in reality and created the additional opportunities for the "communication" and "contact" of history with life.

A fundamental fact that confirmed the Bucharest Congress and depicted it with special force was the stimulating aspect exercised by the political, ideological and intellectual atmosphere in our country upon the proceedings of the world history forum. Many foreign participants spoke of "the spirit

of Bucharest" at the congress's proceedings as being a fine example of using the potential elements of a scientific and intellectual nature that are incorporated in such a scientific affair.

This spirit was revealed in the highest degree in the Message presented by president Nicolae Ceausescu to the participants of the 15th International Congress of Historical Science. The message from our country's president placed the congress under the aegis of certain fundamental ideas that see both the contemporary era and history as sciences and the duties of the historian as a scientist and as a participant in contemporary affairs.

Showing the trends of the current evolution of the international situation, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out that precisely its complexity and the fact that "contemporary evolution is marked by a series of serious and profound problems" require the historians to dig into their profession and the science they serve in order to make history an instrument for closeness and cooperation between peoples, human solidarity and respect for the values created by people throughout the centuries. In fact, to what other more noble and uplifting mission can an historian aspire than to remain loyal to the authentic vocation of history, which cannot be but humanistic, of a broad understanding of people and their ideals? In this way and along these lines, it also serves the imperatives of its time! The pass and the present are thus found closely articulated from the point of view of the meaning which the historian seeks in them. More profoundly and encompassingly understanding the demands of our era, the historians makes easier the task of unravelling the authentic messages that come from the depths of history, after which, acting as the most honest spokesman for these messages, he has the satisfaction of fulfilling the duties of today through the humanist values of human understanding and solidarity which are prescribed to him.

Perhaps more than the other congresses since the Second World War, in Paris (1950), Rome (1955), Stockholm (1960), Vienna (1965), Moscow (1970) and San Fransisco (1975), the historians' concern, marked by care and responsibility, for the destiny of today's world and their increased sensitivity to their responsibilities. Moreover, the scientific theme of the congress also had an orientation that favored an opening of the present and some of the important phenomena of the comtemporary era.

Before examining some of the aspects of the content of these themes, I feel it is necessary to make some mention of the structure itself of the proceedings of the congress.

What comes to mind first is the breadth of the themes and their complexity. According to the concept that was established at the previous congresses, the major discussions at Bucharest were held on the basis of certain reports, co-reports or studies separated into a number of divisions. In the section

designated "Major Themes," in addition to the more in-depth reports, co-reports and papers were presented by certain experts in the fields, with the usual comments from the participants being added. The discussions on the theme "Methodology" had the same format, but were dedicated to certain problems (more or less) in the area of the methodology of history. The "Chronology Section" was grouped according to a chronological criterion, antiquity, middle ages, modern and contemporary history, which represent a series of extremely diversified subjects, reflecting varied aspects of these eras and different geographic areas of the world. Finally, within the framework of the numerous commissions and specialized associations, totalling 26 at this congress with others being established, themes and problems were discussed that were specific to the concerns of the most varied categories of specialists. In this manner, the opportunity was created so that such a numerous audience could effectively participate in the proceedings, with each delegate finding themes that could respond to his preferences and scientific specialty.

Over 140 themes were contained in the program of the Bucharest Congress, with most, understandably, in the chronological sections. Special interest was created, however, as can easily be understood, by the major themes and the ones on methodology through their own major impact, the scope of the reports completed and the substantial nature of the separate discussions throughout an entire work day. The relevance of some of these themes with the contemporary era should be mentioned, such as: The Problem of Peace and Its Forms Throughout History; The Place and Role of Historical Education, Especially Its Secondary Role, In the Formation of 20th Century Man; Eastern Europe - An Area of Convergence for Civilizations; Federal and Pluralist States; Women in Society; Relations Between The Army and Society; Development and Underdevelopment in the 20th Century; and so forth. It is no less true that some of the themes in the chronological sections, not counting those placed on the agenda of the commissions, were capable of holding the participants' attention, with the number of those presented being in the dozens.

Thus, both the Bucharest Congress and the previous ones leave for the future international meetings a task that is hardly easy to resolve. On one hand, the very large number of specialists and the exceptional diversity of their concerns create pressures in the sense of adopting a somewhat complicated schedule that is very busy and, especially, extremely intricate in a thematic sense (especially in the chronological sections). The care to include all the regions and eras and to reflect equally the historical problems in them added new elements of complexity. Under these conditions, some of the reports in the chronological sections appear peripheral and odd. And less gratifying is the fact that in this situation the discussions are excessively restricted, even in those cases where a deeper look into the points being discussed would produce a real scientific gain. It remains for the organizations that establish the programs for the congresses in the future to think about some optimum solutions. Having more information to evaluate, without a doubt the variation proposed by them will be

carefully and thoroughly substantiated. As a simple suggestion, I feel that a certain restriction of the number of themes would work very well, without those present at the meeting feeling it would be impossible to take part effectively, if well selected themes could be found dealing with the history of a number of peoples and the common elements of the historical phenomena and processes of a number of countries.

The vast majority of the reports and coreports were presented at a high professional level. Some were true models in their field through the precision of their analysis and wealth of information and through their ability to present an overview and details at the same time. At the basis of certain reports were years of study in an effort to uncover and present the multiple significances of certain phenomena of a vast nature. A patient accumulation of handicraft work is represented here and put forth to polish information, facts and thoughts in a completely coherent manner. Basically, this is a marvelous effort to preserve the memories of mankind and to remind man of the course of time. Even if they deal with wide-spread aspects, the documents of the Bucharest Congress are a book on humanity, suggesting something in the unified life of mankind and "its adventures," as the Italians say.

Without a doubt, historians and other researchers will for a long time refer to the documents from the Bucharest Congress when they study the themes connected with the important reports or many of the reports presented in the chronological sections and commissions.

Professors Juliusz Bardach and Hubert Izdebski (from Poland) conceived their report, for example, regarding federal and pluralist states on a vast scale, combining the analysis of historical aspects with institutional legal ones. In his report about the problems of peace in the early Middle Ages, Raoul Manselli (from Italy) gives a true x-ray of political relations in Europe during that era. Claude Fohlen (from France) seeks to deal with results and directions of research on the theme of "The Woman in Society." Domenico Demarco's (from Italy) report, "Development and Underdevelopment in the 20th Century," was distinguished by its clarity and spirit of synthesis. A broad and encompassing text about the language of the historian was completed by Karl Georg Faber (from West Germany) (unfortunately, only a brief summary appears in the congress's documents because his text arrived late). M. W. Flinn (from Great Britain) completed a laborious study regarding the birth and mortality phenomena, particularly in the modern era.

For their part, Romanian researchers made a notable contribution, both quantitatively and qualitatively, to a series of reports and coreports presented at the congress. They were entrusted with a report within the framework of the major themes, three reports in the chronological sections, two reports in the commissions affiliated with the congress, three coreports

on the major themes and three coreports in the affiliated commissions. Both the reports and most of the coreports are robust, well articulated studies, with a broad, encompassing scope. One work that I would call bold was undertaken by academicians Emil Condurachi and Razvan Teodorescu in their report, one of the major themes: "East Europe - An Area of Convergence for Civilizations." As can be easily seen, this theme can be examined from various perspectives, from one of the culture's philosophy to one of a strictly empirical, documentary nature. The authors deal with the problem in an historical manner that is not boring or factological, but wide open with analytical observations. There is a prevalence of material regarding cultural relations, although, especially for the older part, the idea of interdependence and inter-relations is also maintained in other areas: inter-human relations, population studies, types of peoples, linguistics, materials and so forth.

In his study, "The Dacians and Their Civilization," Hadrian Daicoviciu achieves a successful study of this problem. Alexandru Dutu and Pompiliu Teodor pertinently present the status of the study of the luminist phenomenon in Central and East Europe. They pose the question of the typology of this phenomenon and, bringing attention to the need to go beyond the traditional approach to luminism which locks research exclusively into the area of ideas, include in the study phenomena of a social, national, economic and diverse nature that are equally significant for the period, as well as those aspects of collective awareness. Costin Murgescu and his co-author, in their report, presented an overall picture of agrarian reforms in Europe after the First World War, including Romania's reforms in their study.

The discussions at the congress were active and lively and carried out in the vast majority of cases in a scientific, sober and objective spirit. There was an atmosphere of intellectual freedom appropriate to a fertile exchange of opinions. Perhaps more than any other time, there was an opening for dialogues and an increased understanding for "the rules of dialogue." Certainly, different views and opinions were encountered and different points of view were expressed. In the vast majority of cases, however, they did not abandon the idea of being faithful to historical truth and they did not violate the spirit of objectivity.

The proceedings of the congress showed that the Marxist research method shows its superiority, with the condition that the research be carried out correctly, using the necessary wealth of information and the appropriate professional skill. Otherwise, using the term Marxist does not save the text that is dull, subjective or ambiguous.

As can be understood in the case of a meeting of such dimensions, several unpleasantries could not be avoided which clashed with the general orientation of the proceedings. These appeared when a few of the participants left the subject of history itself, moving into the area of certain problems of a extra-scientific nature. In this case, history served merely as a more distant support for questions of a political nature.

The Romanian historians tried to give a broader view of our historiography and their activities, primarily through the production of specialized books that they brought to the congress. And, it must be said that this production truly impressed a great many foreign participants through the variety of the themes and concerns, through the graphic excellent content of many of these works and through the efforts to translate a series of representative books into the more common international languages. Without any doubt, the production of Romanian historical books reached a peak at the congress, responding to the constantly increasing and always lively interest of the readers in our country for history subjects. In this accomplishment of success, we cannot stress enough the contribution and efforts of the publishing houses, especially the Publishing House of the Academy and the Scientific and Encyclopedic Publishing House, which carried out a true feat of strength in order to complete publishing projects and plans, both of an individual and collective nature. We are speaking here not of fulfilling a simple task at work, but of great self-sacrifice, enthusiasm and self-denial, from the leadership of the publishing institutes to the careful printing of each letter.

A most favorable impression was made by the historical book exposition (both Romanian and international), organized during the congress. Functionally, and at the same time, elegantly and properly conceived, the exposition in Bucharest, in the words of the secretary of the International Committee of History (up to the congress), Michel Francois, was organized in a model for the exposition of specialized books at such a meeting.

The Romanian delegation of historians or specialists in some of the related fields was an active partner in the discussions. Many of our representative specialists worked harder so that the values of our history can be better and more widely known and so that the experience of our people's past can be seen in its major significant aspects.

The foreign specialists were able to note the open position of our historiography, its ability for dialogue, its sensitivity to nuances and the repudiation of preconceived ideas. Our historiography was guided by the idea of truth and abjectivity in science, understanding, however, that these concepts are not the result of a priori inspirations, but are the result of a long process of understanding. Our historiography was determined and sought not to leave anything unclear when in the discussions there were allusions, frequently in extremely sophisticated forms, and imprecise or

erroneous statements regarding, let us say, the problem of Daco-Roman continuity, the cultural and humanist Romanian values during the feudal era, the ideal of freedom within the framework of the Romanian's struggle in Transylvania in 1848, the historical justice of the Peace Treaty of Trianon (1920) and so forth.

The congress fully showed that our historiography has well prepared messengers, with a broad cultural horizon and a specialized nature capable of maintaining a lively dialogue with its foreign partners and of achieving that necessary number of "contacts of ideas." Certainly, this was the characteristic and defining tenor. That there were also certain shortcomings in this area is a fact that cannot escape careful and clear review. Basically, a dull, declarative report, fortunately there were few of these, is of service to no one, and first of all to the person who presents it. Mastery of the common international languages is a sine qua non condition for communication. We feel that the problem of the mastery of common international foreign languages must receive more attention in the process of quality training and growth of the corps of specialists in the field of history. The question is primarily one of a personal nature, but perhaps in the educational system at the doctorate level there could be a reconsideration of some of the aspects aimed at increasing the requirements in a given area. We are not talking merely about the opportunity for conversation, as such, in a common international language, but, in a broader sense, about historical culture itself and the specialist's general horizon of knowledge.

As numerous prestigious scientists noted, the Bucharest Congress reflected the trend of current historiography to directed itself more towards the masses and to take into consideration the great communities and their problems. During the proceedings of the congress, relatively new themes were included that were untreated by or peripheral to traditional historiography. It is sufficient to mention the theme regarding "Woman in Society" or those themes that were part of the program and were unusual for the historiographer, such as "Work and Administration in the Management of Industry in the 20th Century," "Domestic Policy and The Economy" and so forth.

From the point of view of introducing new problems in the historiographic discussions, the Bucharest Congress can rightly claim special merit. Less spectacular to us were the incursions of a methodological nature into current historiography. It appears that after the effervescence of the previous decades we are working in a calmer period in this regard, a period of decantation and evaluation of results after which new impulses and new creative searches will probably appear.

Right now it is clearly premature to formulate definitive conclusions about the place and role of the congress in the evolution of historiography in

our time. Only the further study of its works on the basis of the previous evolution of historiography and its current characteristic trends will permit broader conclusions. If it is difficult to appreciate the degree in which the proceedings of the congress actually guide the development of world historiography, influence it or define it (my opinion is that it does so only partially), it is also incontestable that they reflect its situation, the status of certain concerns and the level reached by research in certain fields. This is also the role of congresses and it would be presumptuous to expect or to insist on more from them. Basically, they are not organs for producing guidance, but meetings for scientific discussions, for affirming itself (the community of historians) and presenting itself to society for the cause of the field that the participants are cultivating.

What the congress clearly showed is the idea that the growth of the prestige of the science of history and its ability to provide social guidance are tied to the scientific statute of historiography and the qualitative level of its theoretical discoveries. As a celebrated historian observed in a remarkable statement, it is a sign of spiritual triumph that man, freed from the impediments that slowed his creative elan, can build not only the present and play a willful role in the future, but penetrate more exactly and thoroughly the space and time of the past.

The congress was an opportunity for meetings or reunions between historians from all over, for scientific contacts and exchanges of ideas, and for becoming aware of certain methods and types of recent research. The type of historiographic approach and the manner in which the historian approaches his theme and examines it especially presented a separate interest for professional colleagues.

For our historiography, the Bucharest Congress meant a great scientific experience whose significance still remains to be analyzed. It facilitated the spread of our historiography in world circles, it familiarized many foreign historians with some aspects of our people's past and broadened the circle of friends of our people among the foreign scientists.

At the conclusion of the congress, the newly elected president of the International Committee of Historical Sciences for the next 5 years, the Polish professor Alexander Gieysztor, speaking in the name of the Bureau of the International Committee and substantially new in its organization, expressed his hope for a fertile and prosperous period of peace and peaceful work for historians until the next congress in 1985, which will take place in West Germany. In offices or at archeological digs, in classrooms or at new domestic or international meetings, historians will accumulate new knowledge about the course of humanity and will improve their professional skills and research methods in order to tie together the string of international congresses into a continuity of efforts and hopes that desire to be a part, no matter how small, of the great continuity of humanity.

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BRIEFS

MACEDONIAN MOSLEM MEETING--Struga, 28 Sep--The Third Cultural-Scientific Meeting of Macedonian Moslems took place today in the Poetry Club in Struga. In addition to the delegates from many settlements where Macedonian Moslems live, Strakhil Gigov, Tom Drakulevsi, representatives of social and political organizations and of the assemblies of opstinas, scientific and cultural workers and others also took part in the meeting. The participants at the meeting were addressed by the president of the executive council of the assembly of Struga Opstina, Kire Srbinovski, who stated, among other things, that the Macedonian Moslems, because of the fact of their Islamization, had for a long time felt like a piece torn off from the Macedonian people, as a result preserving their own purest fluency of the Macedonian language and the peculiar characteristics of the Macedonian people. Srbinovski also informed them of the efforts being invested in Struga Opstina to raise the standard of living of the population of the opstina where about 12,000 Macedonian Moslems live. Nijazi Limanov, Gorge Milkovik, Blagoja Korubin and others also spoke at the meeting. They stated that the Macedonian Moslems are an indivisible part of the whole of the Macedonian people and nation, pointed to historical events and to the conditions which led to the Islamization of the Macedonian population. They also spoke of the relationship between nationality and language. Afterwards, Macedonian Moslem folk groups from a number of villages performed at the meeting. [Text] [Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 29 Sep 80 p 1]

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CONTENTS

ALBANIA

Youth Chided for Underestimating Importance of Knowledge of Weapons
(ZERI I POPULLIT, 9 Sep 80)..... 1

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

FRG Concept of German Cultural Unity Rejected
(IWE-TAGESDIENST, 22 May 80; DEUTSCHE LEHRERZEITUNG, 23 May 80)..... 3

West German Commentary
GDR Academician's Discussion, by Hans Koch

Prussian History To Be Accepted as Part of GDR 'Heritage'
(Various sources, various dates)..... 16

Honecker on Frederick the Great
GDR Historian's Frederick II Biography, by Peter Jochen Winters
Prussian Progressive Traditions, by Horst Bartel, et al.
'Prussia's Image' for Workers Class, by Ottomar Harbauer

Importance of National, Local Patriotism Explained
(NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 26-27 Jan 80; DER MORGEN, 11 Jun 80)..... 35

GDR Citizens: Patriots, Internationalists, by Guenter Kertzscher
LDPD on Promotion of Patriotism, by Gerhard Lindner

POLAND

Austrian General Interviewed on Military Implications of Strikes
(Wilhelm Kuntner Interview; DIE WELT, 9 Sep 80)..... 40

ROMANIA

Air Routes, Airports for Civil Aviation Designated by Decree
(BULETINUL OFICIAL, 25 Sep 80)..... 44

YUGOSLAVIA

Extravagance Cited in Religious Building in Bosnia
(BORBA, 9, 12 Oct 80)..... 30

Building Limits Proposed
Collections for Construction

Naming of Parties at Fault for Detergent Shortage Urged
(Jug Grizelj; NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE, 17 Aug 80)..... 52

Briefs
Soviet Official's Memoirs 55
Church Role in Polish Crisis 55
Sentenced for Ethnic Intolerance 55

YOUTH CHIDED FOR UNDERESTIMATING IMPORTANCE OF KNOWLEDGE OF WEAPONS

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 9 Sep 80 p 3

[Article: "The Love of Weapons Is Expressed by Knowing, Using, Protecting and Caring for Them"]

[Excerpts] In the hands of our people, arms have played an important role because with them, the people have fought against every occupier and our freedom, customs and wonderful traditions have been defended. In the youth organizations, good work has been done to increase concern and love for weapons and combat techniques, and for taking care of weapons properly. In their work, these youth organizations have concentrated on two main things: first, the knowledge of the traditions of our ancestors, mainly those of the Anti-fascist National Liberation War, traditions which the party has raised to a higher level, giving them a new content. To achieve this aim, a number of activities have been organized, such as meetings with veterans, visits to historic places, etc. The organization of sessions on topics such as "The Albanian and the Gun" and "The Gun and Freedom" have been very productive.

The second aspect deals with the concrete activity of the youth in learning about, using, and taking care of weapons. In this area, concepts of self-satisfaction, expressed in an underestimation of the importance of the knowledge and maintenance of weapons, are combatted. In this activity, we rely on the teachings of the party and on the requirements of the People's Military Art, which explain the place of weapons in relation to other key elements of combat. Extensive work has been done to implement the teaching of Comrade Enver Hoxha that although the decisive factor in a battle is the individual, this does not mean that arms should be underestimated. By regarding arms and techniques as important tools in the hands of the individual, we must evaluate them properly and calculate their effect on the enemy.

The youth organizations, in cooperation with the commands, in addition to their educational work in this area, have concentrated their attention in the area of increasing the demands for a daily accounting by each youth so that the directives and requirements in regard to the knowledge, protection and maintenance of weapons and combat techniques will be strictly executed. The love of each person for weapons and techniques is measured by concrete results; education by means of traditions takes concrete form and serves concretely the raising of the coefficient of preparedness.

CSO: 2100

FRG CONCEPT OF GERMAN CULTURAL UNITY REJECTED

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 77, 22 May 80 'iwe-kultur' supplement

[Report from Berlin: "SED Insists on 'Socialist National Culture.'" A translation of the East Berlin DEUTSCHE LEHRERZEITUNG article cited below follows this commentary]

[Text] According to the SED, the GDR's art and culture have nothing in common with any of the developments in art and culture in the FRG. Hans Koch, the well-known East Berlin cultural ideologist of the SED Academy of Social Sciences stated that the "talk" of the "unity of German national culture" would hardly merit any attention, if it were not a cultural-historical and cultural-critical veneer and justification of a "policy fundamentally opposed to detente" and if it did not represent an attempt at "interference in the internal affairs of the sovereign GDR."

According to Koch, it is one of the key axioms of "the adversary's argumentation" that the GDR must not be recognized, at least not as an independent intellectual-cultural reality, and that anything uniquely characteristic of the GDR should be denied and eradicated. However, the existence of the "socialist German national culture of the GDR represents an incontestable reality." According to Koch, all objective analyses have shown that neither in its social traits and substantive characteristics nor in its cultural-historical position, its inner structures, functions and national life is there any "unity, common ground or even the slightest tendency toward agreement with the dominant imperialist culture of the FRG, in which great power-chauvinism and revanchist and hegemonic characteristics are becoming more and more apparent." Koch stated that the culture of the GDR had long been historically confirmed as "German culture of real socialism." (DEUTSCHE LEHRERZEITUNG 21/80).

GDR Academician's Discussion

East Berlin DEUTSCHE LEHRERZEITUNG in German Vol 27 No 21, 23 May 80 signed to press 15 May 80 'DLZ-Konsultation' feature supplement pp 1-8

[Contribution to Party School Year for June 1980 by Prof Dr Hans Koch, Academy of Social Sciences, SED Central Committee: "On the Continued Development of the Socialist National Culture in the GDR." Passages in slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] "As is indicated by the resolutions of the Ninth Party Congress and by the program of our Party, the development of science, education and culture is an integral part of the entire policy of the Party, which is oriented toward the well-being of the people. We want to insure all-round support and encouragement of the striving for a high level of education, for fruitful scientific insight contributing to the consolidation of our socialist society and for a rich and complex cultural life. This is in accord with the nature of socialism, for socialism serves to promote the well-being of the people and the full development of the people's creative faculties. Socialism represents a society of true humanity and realized human rights, of the all-round development of socialist personalities and their cultured way of life. Thus material and cultural elements form an integral whole. We are concerned with cultural development in all sectors of our society, in all spheres of human activity."[1]

Considering what would be necessary "to establish the consummate socialist society,"[2] Lenin in 1923 stated that this would be "impossible without an all-out cultural revolution: This cultural revolution will be sufficient fully to establish socialism in our country...."[3] The implementation of the socialist cultural revolution has long been recognized and confirmed as a /universal law/ of the development of the new society.

The prediction that in the cultural sector protracted, patient and persistent work will be required has likewise been confirmed. In regard to many aspects of the development of the new society and of the socialist personality and consciousness, "only that can be regarded as firmly established which has become part of everyday life and habitual practice."[4]

Today we know from the experience gained in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, including the GDR, that the radical historic changes through which the developed socialist society matures include the further development of the socialist cultural revolution.

Of primary importance are two tasks that are closely related:

Firstly, the Party demands that the GDR's socialist national culture be extensively developed, that its patriotic and internationalist socialist substance be more and more clearly defined, that its creative achievements and new values be expanded in many directions and that the progressive and

humanistic heritage of German history and the great accomplishments of world culture (especially those of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries) be preserved in our culture.

Secondly, indicative of the importance of cultural tasks is the demand "to create the conditions necessary for the full development of the people's social relations and physical and intellectual faculties and for insuring that they can lead a rich and cultured life, that the working people's thought and action are determined by the socialist ideology, by the Marxist-Leninist world view of the working class."[5]

Cultural progress is now inseparably linked to the implementation of the principal task: to achieve--on the basis of an accelerated production growth rate, great efficiency, scientific-technological progress and rapid increases in labor productivity--steady improvement of the people's material and cultural standard of living.

If we want our culture to contribute to continued social progress in the intellectual struggles of our time, it is imperative that we still more effectively make use of the possibilities it offers in regard to the development of the personality and of consciousness.

Culture and the Development of Socialist Consciousness

We need a differentiated, interesting cultural life. It is true of the overall national framework and of any place, of the atmosphere in the work collective or of that in the family that "the degree of stimulation provided by culture and art, the extent to which they help satisfy and form intellectual and moral requirements depends to a large extent on the well-being of the people and on whether their life is a rich one in the cultural sense as well."[6]

Systematically, our Party is trying further to develop /socialist-realistic art/. Regardless of what artistic measures it uses to express itself, its criteria are based on the deep inner links with the reality of socialism and the life of the people, on the consistent party spirit, with which it advocates peace, democracy and socialism and opposes imperialism, aggression and reaction, on the clear socialist ideas and on its solidarity with the people. Thanks to the range and diversity of its--surely not nearly fully exploited--artistic possibilities, socialist-realistic art can exert an influence on the most diverse personal inclinations and interests. It can influence the life of the people, form attitudes toward life, develop socialist convictions and communist ideals and help to foster a sense of beauty.

According to Brecht, socialist-realistic art has "the noble task to contribute to the radical reorganization of the way in which the people live together."[7] In this respect, GDR art has provided strong impulses. Especially noteworthy are the contributions of children's literature and other forms of art.

Erich Honecker emphasized that "...we know of course that not all writers and artists are Marxists-Leninists."[8] However, the GDR's artistic world offers a broad range of opportunities to any artistic endeavor, as long as it furthers--without stabbing real socialism in the back--humanistic ideas and advocates peace, democracy, antifascism and anti-imperialist solidarity. The creative talents and concerns, the life and work experience of the individual artists differ greatly. However, it is bound to be beneficial, if each individual artist is and remains called upon to make as great a contribution to the development of the socialist personality as he or she is capable on the basis of his or her personal circumstances and if each individual's efforts in this regard are appreciated.[9]

To a large extent, our social progress is stimulated by the social awareness inherent in the creative activities of the masses--by motives that they derive from the Marxist-Leninist world view: to be a driving force of the historic creativity of the working class and of the working people--it is toward this that the structures and functions of socialist intellectual culture are presently oriented.

Thomas Mann once confessed "that it was an error of the German bourgeoisie to believe that a cultured individual could be apolitical."[10] /Political culture/ is an integral part of socialism: Lenin held that it was of crucial importance in regard to "the establishment of a state without capitalists, without exploiters, without landowners."[11] Political culture requires not only extensive political knowledge; it is only through the combination of such knowledge with a firm, class-oriented point of view, with a high degree of organization and discipline, with fervent mental commitment and constant readiness for action and combat that we can attain the level of culture required today.

The /education/ that we provide in the schools and through many forms of life-long learning develops appreciation of the laws of development in nature and society. According to Engels, education based on socialist ideas aims above all to heighten the people's awareness so that they can perceive more clearly the laws governing their own social activities--laws that formerly were alien natural laws controlling them--that they can use them with growing expertise and thus increasingly control them.[12] Thus, education--a cultural element of the greatest importance--must be increasingly used to form /creative/ faculties and attitudes.

In our society, to which irrationality and mysticism are entirely alien, importance of the sciences as a /cultural factor/ is noticeably increasing. Academy President Prof Dr Werner Scheler stated that the sciences are a "vital part of the culture of a people, indeed of mankind as a whole." This applies not only to their immediate influence on the productive forces. Science "lays essential foundations for the education and training of the people and helps to develop the specific cultural characteristics of a nation as well as the personality of the individual citizen."[13] Today it is more important than ever to be mindful of the fact that decades ago the

great artist Maxim Gorki "seriously and consciously" ranked the sciences among the most important creative forces concerning the "development of social modes of conduct."[14]

In accordance with our present circumstances, such modes of conduct should be oriented above all toward insuring increased intensity of public work, maximum efficiency of socialist production, a high rate of acceleration of scientific-technological progress, etc. It would be inconsistent with the structures and functions of the new, socialist type of intellectual culture, if we kept aloof on this crucial battlefield of socialism. Just two factors should be singled out here:

Firstly, there is the new interrelationship of /work and culture/, which is being realized by socialism. L. I. Brezhnev called the "historic linking of work and culture," which the best minds so far have only dreamed about, "a turning point of tremendous significance" for the entire history of world culture.[15]

Freed from exploitation, socialist work becomes the supportive foundation of the cultural creativity of the masses and helps to form the substance of the cultural values of socialism. It is not without good reason that conscientious, honest and socially useful work is considered the cornerstone of the socialist way of life. The orientation toward this factor of the development of socialist culture begins with an element of education that is characteristic of our society--the polytechnical character of the school and the validity of principles of work education for all students. This orientation is upheld through the concern about a socialist work culture--appropriate to our social level--"in all places of work and learning."[16] It is reflected in the personality-forming values of the socialist performance principle. This principle calls for the release of a maximum of intellectual-creative capacities, of skills, knowledge, talent and imagination, expressed in the will and ability to work for one's own benefit and in the interest of one's own personality and for the benefit of society. Thus this principle reflects the absolute laws of the development "of the /social/ character of /personal/ talents, faculties and activities."[17]

Secondly, we would like to draw attention to the raising of the /cultural-technological level/. The intensification of production and the development of science and technology make heavy demands on education and training.[18] These requirements are concerned not only with professional qualifications and specialized skills. Equally necessary are an increased aptitude for technological creativity, familiarity with extensive production structures and economic interrelationships, responsibility for the quality of one's own work, striving for a high degree of efficiency, including an efficient use of time, etc. Thus we should also ask ourselves, if Brecht's exhortation applies not only to the theatrical world, but to the socialist intellectual life as a whole: "Afford pleasure about the possibility of controlling the human condition through society."[19]

More so than any other work collective, a pedagogical collective is confronted with the task /to integrate the totality of the consciousness- and personality-forming capacities of the intellectual culture of socialism in its own work/. This goes far beyond the specific requirements of the individual subjects concerned. The common denominator of these efforts is the collective endeavor to develop moral values, by means of which it is possible to meet social and individual requirements in the process of overcoming the contradictions between the conduct of the individual and the interests of society.[20] Thus the demands raised at the Eighth Pedagogical Congress are applicable here: "Education must bring the individual to view all that which is necessary, correct, good and just for our cause as correct, good, just for itself as well and to act accordingly."[21]

This is a key aspect of long-range tasks, in regard to which Kurt Hager stated: "In all fields, we must develop and enforce /our/ socialist position, /our/ value criteria, /our/ attitude toward life, /our/ social psychology. Socialist culture includes man's entire intellectual, moral, aesthetic and emotional level of development, the totality of his knowledge, skills, talents, modes of conduct, attitudes, convictions, social habits and pleasures. All these elements are reflected in cultural requirements."[22]

Development of Socialist Cultural Requirements

Lenin taught that the goal of socialism is the "safeguarding of the maximum well-being and of the free all-round development of all members of society."[23] It is to this end that our Party developed the unity of social and economic policy. In accordance with the basic economic law of socialism, this unity helps better and better to meet the material and cultural requirements.

Of necessity, the development of public work leads to "a steadily expanding and increasingly comprehensive system of types of work and production, which is paralleled by a complex, steadily expanding system of requirements."[24] An actual abundance of requirements--i.e. the opposite not only of a lack of intellectual requirements, but also of a seeming abundance of requirements, which, however, can be reduced to the one "requirement of /possessing/"--is a cultural factor of the first order. Marx speaks of the "culture incorporating all traits of the social individual," which is based on this factor, and of developing "a social individual that has many needs, because it has many traits and relationships."[25] The education and training of cultured, universally educated socialist personalities presuppose an abundance of "real and ideal relationships" on their part;[26] but this is inseparably bound up with diverse material and cultural requirements, both in regard to the individual and in regard to the socialist way of life as a whole.

In the 1970's in particular, the development of cultural requirements was quite dynamic thanks to the concentration on the principal task. The general, 10-grade polytechnical high school was introduced throughout the

country for all children and juveniles; this measure put the development of cultural requirements on a qualitatively new basis.

A number of data should be quoted here. During the period from 1970 to 1978, the following increases were registered: The number of participants in the competition for the title of "Collective of Socialist Work"—to 179.9 percent; the total number of innovators in the national economy--to 257.5 percent; annual yield of the innovator results produced—to 184.3 percent; the total number of participants in the Fairs of the Masters of Tomorrow--to 394.8 percent.[27]

These figures represent more than just economic facts. They stand for considerable "cultural investments" of reflection, interests, creativity, talents and diverse skills, intellectual flexibility and social responsibility. This indicates how the individual's creative approach to his or her own work begins to manifest itself—more or less steadily--as a basic cultural need.

The "rate of consumption" of cultural goods and services is not the primary criterion of the developmental level of cultural requirements. Nevertheless, their significance should not be underrated. In regard to the most important items, the level of cultural requirements is higher in the GDR than in the developed capitalist countries, including the FRG.

In 1978, 98.2 percent of GDR households were equipped with radio receivers, while 86.5 percent owned a TV set. (In regard to television sets, the GDR is among the European countries distinguished by a high degree of market saturation.) The per capita production of books and brochures amounted to 8.3 copies, and the corresponding figures for journals and newspapers were 14.5 and 181.7, respectively; 30.2 percent of the population are registered users of public libraries; thus our republic occupies a leading position among the "reading countries." The figures of attendance (per 1,000 residents) at cultural events are as follows: Movies: 4,795; theater: 634; concerts: 189; clubs and cultural establishments: 3,467; events of the Cultural League: 342; Urania lectures: 698; museums: 1,920; zoos: 840. And of every 1,000 GDR citizens, 755 traveled abroad.[28]

It would be unrealistic to regard cultural requirements as "purely intellectual", as far removed from all requirements of material and physical pleasures. Thus Friedrich Engels pointed out--and we need only recall here the cultural aspect of our housing construction program: "The satisfaction of the need for shelter will become a criterion of the way in which all other needs are met."[29] And further: "A truly humane enjoyment of life"[30] is an integral part of the socialist way of life. Margot Honecker broached the question whether one should oppose the young people's desire to acquire beautiful and pleasurable things--because the enemy hopes they will turn bourgeois. It would be anachronistic "to educate the young people so as to prevent them from developing material demands. In keeping with the growing influence of the moral stimuli, the principle of material interests will

remain for a long time to come a significant driving force of development. In regard to education, it is of crucial importance that our young people realise that one's demands can be met only through one's own work, that they know: One cannot live at the expense of others; one must not place one's own well-being above that of other people."31

Pedagogical collectives in particular should look for ways of overcoming instances of a lack of cultural requirements. The endeavor to attain a high level of "culture of requirements" includes the attitude, in regard to which the SED Program states: "The Party emphatically opposes heartlessness and inconsiderateness in human relations; it opposes hypocrisy, cynicism and disgraceful conduct vis-a-vis the opposite sex. It demands that everyone wage a determined struggle against violations of the law, against asocial conduct and rowdyism and against abuse of alcohol."32

Nobody denies the fact that in regard to certain "beautiful things" that are attractive to young people in particular, we do not always match the offerings of capitalist enterprises. Especially in this regard, we must see to it that consideration of individual elements does not distort the correct view of the whole.

The intellectual-cultural class struggle--which is especially intense at the point of contact between the antagonistic systems--goes far beyond the confrontation of ideological thought systems and political principles. The struggle in regard to needs and demand structures is no less intense. The enemy pins his hopes on the effects produced by three TV programs and approximately 2 dozen radio stations, on many personal encounters with citizens of an imperialist state, on a network of ties that in one way or another links us with the material commodity "culture" of capitalism. It is impossible to isolate young people from all this--even though our educational principles naturally prohibit granting "Western" television programs or "Western" plastic bags the status of "equal" intellectual or material cultural phenomena. We must educate the young people so as to enable them to deal with such phenomena and influences from an /independent as well as party- and class-based position/ and also to refuse--out of personal civic pride--to advertise the products of any capitalist concern. It is not only individual phenomena that are at issue. We are concerned with making clear the /contrary/ development of needs in antagonistic social systems--a development that is contrary even when individual needs focus on identical objects or services. The system of cultural requirements in the capitalist society develops--as a social rule, not as an automatism of all individual demands--/not/ as a need for greater humaneness, for greater personality values. The description of the capitalist "culture" of the development of demands, which was given by the young Marx in 1844, is still applicable today: "All that which capitalism takes from you in the form of life and of humanity, all that it replaces by /money/ and /riches/, and all that which you are not able to do, your money is able to do: It can eat and drink, it can go to the ball and to the theater, it is able (to acquire) art, erudition, the historical rarities...; it is the true /property/." As

far as the worker is concerned in this connection, he may "have only so much that he wants to live and he must want to live only in order to have."[33] In this connection, Marx also analyzed the "refinement of demands" as an ultimately merely /"seeming/ satisfaction of demands," as "civilization /within/ the crude barbarism of the demand."[34]

Socialism renders possible the satisfaction of growing, individually differentiated material and cultural demands by means of a development that is an element of real humanism. Here it is possible to accomplish what Marx stated at that time: "Assuming that /man/ is a /humane being/ and that his relationship to the world is a humane one, then love can be obtained only in return for love, trust only in return for trust, etc. Whoever wants to enjoy art must be an artistically educated person; whoever wants to exert influence on other people must be a person who has a truly stimulating and encouraging effect on other people."[35]

The GDR's Socialist National Culture--Accomplishment and Source of Strength of the Victorious Working Class

The flowering of the socialist national culture is prerequisite to the development of the socialist German nation in the GDR. The characteristics of this nation are determined above all by the victorious working class.

In the FRG, certain circles are talking more and more insistently--and stridently--of "keeping open the German question." However, the historical dice in regard to the birth, existence and successful development of the socialist nation on the soil of the GDR have irrevocably been cast. What is there "to be kept open"? Surely just "Great-German" claims nurtured by hopes--and not infrequently, wild plans--of someday advancing again the domain of German imperialism up to the Oder and Neisse rivers and then filling--at least--the "borders of 1937." These feverish political fantasies that reveal the aggressive character of German imperialism are for the most part based on cultural dreams. For formulas such as "unity of the German national culture" or "common history, culture and language as vital braces of national unity in the past, present and future" sound rather peaceful. Such talk would not merit any attention, if it were not a "cultural-historical" or "cultural-critical" veneer and justification of a policy fundamentally opposed to detente and if it did not represent an attempt at interference in the internal affairs of the sovereign GDR. Especially inflammatory in this respect is the resolution concerning the "German question in education," which was adopted in November 1978 by the Permanent Conference of the Senators and Ministers of Education of the FRG States. There are diverse activities that are clearly indicative of an acute aggravation of the class struggle in the intellectual-cultural realm and of its interconnection with the fate of peace and security in Europe. It is one of the key axioms of the enemy's argumentation that the GDR must not be recognized, at least not as an independent intellectual-cultural reality, and that anything characteristic of the GDR, anything that is related to the development of the socialist German nation, should be denied and--at first intellectually--eliminated and eradicated.

However, the existence of the GDR's socialist German national culture is an irrevocable fact. All objective analyses have shown that neither in its social traits and substantive characteristics nor in its cultural-historical position and inner structures, nor in its functions concerning national life is there any "unity" or "common ground" or even the slightest tendency toward "agreement" with the dominant imperialist culture in the FRG, in which great power-chauvinist, revanchist and hegemonic characteristics are becoming more and more apparent. Our GDR culture has long been historically confirmed as the German culture of real socialism, in which the people of the GDR give expression to and participate in the implementation of their national self-determination.

The principal factors that prove the socialist German national culture--which is characterized by the dominant influence of the victorious working class--to be a culture of a new historical type are the following: Firstly, the socialist national culture of the GDR is developing as the /culture of the victorious working class and of all working people led by the Marxist-Leninist Party/. The emergence of a socialist intelligentsia, primarily from the ranks of the workers and farmers, is one of the most important culturally creative achievements of the working class. Its alliance with this socialist intelligentsia (which naturally includes the productive pedagogical intelligentsia) is a vital source of our cultural progress. This progress is taking place on socialism's "own foundations." For all the specific inherent laws of the various forms of culture, the overall cultural development is subject to the crucial influence of the basic laws governing the development of the advanced socialist society.

Secondly: Culture in particular gives expression--and not only linguistic expression--to those special, peculiar characteristics that distinguish one nation from another. However, these characteristics are not imposed on it by ethnic factors or by its historical origins. Its /present and future-oriented definition/ is taking place primarily in the interaction of all concrete social, economic, intellectual and other processes, in the dialectics of all internal and external conditions under which the developed socialism is maturing. We are fully aware of the fact that the tasks we are confronted with are great and difficult ones. But we take pride in our accomplishments in the field of cultural mass activities, in national education, in literature, in the arts and sciences, in physical education and sports, etc.; this is a justified national pride that we are not willing to share with just any concern director or stockbroker.

This patriotism, which--closely bound up with proletarian internationalism--is a distinguishing characteristic of our culture, is concerned with the historical position, the revolutionary prospects, the history and assured future, the country and state of the GDR, with the respect it enjoys--closely allied with the USSR--in the community of socialist states. Our patriotism comprises the will to defend all the accomplishments, the sovereignty and territorial integrity of our homeland against any imperialist machinations.

Thirdly: Our socialist German national culture gives expression to and defines the position that our republic--the work of the victorious working class--occupies in the entire history of the German people. It represents a type of fundamentally new national-historical interrelationships.

These interrelationships preclude national arrogance, chauvinism and racism. They do not leave any room for ethnic or religious hatred; they are free from the pernicious spirit of anticommunism and from national nihilism and cosmopolitanism. Our culture is firmly rooted in the traditions of the German people's centuries-old struggle for social progress. It is indebted to all humanistic, progressive and revolutionary accomplishments in German history, to every instance of opposition to reaction. Our culture values especially highly

--all the revolutionary uprisings and intellectual programs that demanded freedom and justice for the working people;

--the material, intellectual and moral values created by the masses;

--the rich historical and cultural heritage of the revolutionary German workers' movement; the morality of the bloody struggle against the supremacy of capitalism and imperialism, against militarism, fascism and wars of conquest;

--the--already quite significant--cultural achievements of real socialism on German soil.

Our culture is closely connected with all those elements that have united progressive endeavors in the history of our people with those of other nations.

Fourthly: Our socialist national culture is giving rise to /a new historic type of relationship to the cultural achievements of other nations/--inspired by Lenin's "principle of internationalism and of an intransigent struggle against the contamination of the proletariat with bourgeois nationalism, even in its most refined form."[36] Being essentially /worldly/, it is imbued with the spirit of international friendship and of respect for the humanistic cultural achievements of /all/ nations. Thus new patterns and structures in international cultural relations are being established.

The growth of our "own" culture is connected with an ever-expanding process of rapprochement and mutual enrichment among the socialist national cultures in the fraternal countries. It is primarily through the links with the multinational Soviet culture and the cultures of the other socialist countries that proletarian internationalism, one of the basic assets of our culture, is growing stronger.

Our culture is prepared to accept anti-imperialist-democratic and socialist elements of the capitalist countries. The relations with such cultural

elements in the FRG are developing on the basis of the opposition to the imperialism predominant in that country.

Solidarity-inspired relations with frequently age-old and presently rejuvenating cultures of peoples that have freed themselves from colonial or semicolonial servitude, from national or racist subjugation are becoming increasingly important. This goes above all for socialist-oriented countries.

Fifthly: Like the other countries of real socialism, the GDR--in extensively developing its socialist national culture--is making a noble /contribution to the international culture of socialism/, the most important phenomenon of the world culture of our time. Thus it is opening up a vital source of power for advancing social progress.

Considering the diverse aspects of a cultural policy formulated and directed by the SED Program, we can justly say: "Since its foundation, our Party has been carrying out a cultural policy that implements the most noble aspirations of the humanistic and revolutionary champions of mankind."[37]

FOOTNOTES

1. Erich Honecker, "Die Kulturpolitik unserer Partei wird erfolgreich verwirklicht" [The Cultural Policy of Our Party is Being Successfully Implemented], Berlin, 1979, pp 42-43.

2. V. I. Lenin, "Werke" [Complete Works], Vol 33, p 454.

3. Ibid., p 461.

4. Ibid., p 475.

5. "Programm der SED" [SED Program], Berlin, 1976, p 22.

6. "Bericht des ZK der SED an den IX. Parteitag der SED. Berichterstatter: Genosse Erich Honecker" [Report of the SED Central Committee to the Ninth SED Congress, Delivered by Comrade Erich Honecker], Berlin, 1976, p 102.

7. Bertolt Brecht, "Schriften zum Theater" [Writings on the Theater], Vol 7, Berlin, 1964, p 338.

8. Erich Honecker, "Die Kulturpolitik...," op. cit., p 52.

9. Kurt Hager, "Zu Fragen der Kulturpolitik der SED" [Observations on Problems Concerning the Cultural Policy of the SED], Berlin, 1972, p 48.

10. Thomas Mann, "Gesammelte Werke" [Complete Works], Vol 12, Berlin, 1955, p 829.

11. V. I. Lenin, op. cit., Vol 31, pp 362-363.

12. Friedrich Engels, "Anti-Duehring," in: Marx/Engels, "Werke" [Complete Works], Vol 20, p 264.

13. Werner Scheler, "Zur Rolle der Wissenschaften im Kulturleben der DDR" [On the Role of the Sciences in the Cultural Life of the GDR], Berlin, 1978, p 7.

14. Ibid., p 4.

15. L. I. Brezhnev, "The Great Socialist October Revolution and the Progress of Mankind," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 3 Nov 77, p 3.

16. "Programm der SED," op. cit., p 50.

17. Karl Marx, "Grundrisse der Kritik der politischen Oekonomie" [Outlines of Criticism of Political Economy], Berlin, 1953, p 80.

18. "Programm der SED," op. cit., p 50.

19. B. Brecht, "Schriften...," op. cit., p 341.

20. "Die Moral der entwickelten sozialistischen Gesellschaft" [The Morality of the Developed Socialist Society], Berlin, 1979, p 44.

21. Margot Honecker, "VIII. Paedagogischer Kongress der DDR" [Eighth GDR Pedagogical Congress], Berlin, 1979, p 64.

22. Kurt Hager, op. cit., p 13.

23. V. I. Lenin, "Werke," Vol 6, p 40.

24. Karl Marx, "Grundrisse...," op. cit., p 313.

25. Ibid., p 312.

26. Ibid., p 440.

27. Calculated on the basis of the GDR Statistical Yearbook for 1979.

28. Data based on: Ibid.

29. Friedrich Engels, "Die Lage der arbeitenden Klasse in England" [The Position of the Working Class in England], in: Marx/Engels, "Werke" [Complete Works], Vol 2, p 297.

30. Friedrich Engels, "Two Speeches in Elberfeld," in Marx/Engels, op. cit.. Vol 2, p 556.

31. Margot Honecker, "Protokoll des IX. Parteitages der SED" [Minutes of the Ninth SED Congress], Vol 1, Berlin, 1976, pp 292-293.

32. "Programm der SED," op. cit., p 56.

33. Karl Marx, "Economic-Philosophical Manuscripts (1844)," in: Marx/Engels, op. cit., Supplement, Part I, pp 548-550.

34. Ibid., p 552.

35. Ibid., p 567.

36. V. I. Lenin, "Werke," Vol 20, p 12.

37. E. Honecker, "Die Kulturpolitik...," op. cit., p 37.

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PRUSSIAN HISTORY TO BE ACCEPTED AS PART OF GDR 'HERITAGE'

Honecker on Frederick the Great

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 27 Aug 80 p 5.

[Article signed 'Ws,' datelined Berlin, 26 August: "Honecker Speaks of Frederick the Great; Travel Restrictions To Be Eased--Only If Bonn Recognizes GDR Citizenship--An Interview"]

[Text] SED General Secretary Honecker has made clear in an interview that the GDR will refuse to reduce the age-limit for GDR inhabitants allowed to travel to the west as long as the FRG is unwilling to recognize GDR citizenship. "Serious obstacles on the part of the FRG opposed" the lowering of the travel age-limit, Honecker said. "We have often called for eliminating them but have thus far only met with refusal. That is true mainly of the recognition of GDR citizenship." Because the FRG did not recognize GDR citizenship, it was impossible to make headway in other fields such as legal aid and travel. When asked about the "Prussia Renaissance" in the GDR, Honecker intimated that Rauch's famous equestrian statue of Frederick the Great was going to be reerected in the center of East Berlin.

The utterances by the SED general secretary are included in an interview composed of 50 questions and answers given to the British publisher Maxwell as early as 4 July. Its text, now published by ADN, also is contained in an autobiographical book by Honecker that has now also been published by Maxwell's publishing house Pergamon Press under the title "Aus meinem Leben" (From My Life) in the FRG. Last Monday, on his 68th birthday, Honecker was handed the first copy of the book by the publisher.

In the interview, of which an excerpt was published in the 5 July issue of the SED's central organ NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, Honecker further said about the relations between the two Germanys: "All in all, the relations are not bad but could still be better." But that was not an easy matter to achieve. The problem was that certain FRG circles still had not realized that "the GDR is no enclave of the FRG." In Honecker's view, the development of relations between the two German states had good prospects. What mattered was to make still better use than so far of existing possibilities with

regard for common interests. An improvement of the climate between the two German states, "which we are seeking," could benefit the many-sided GDR-FRG communication, including travel.

The FRG's refusal to recognize GDR citizenship did not prevent the GDR, however, from being generous in humanitarian matters. That was indicated by the figures on travel for urgent family business. There were, after all 1.5 million GDR inhabitants already traveling to western countries annually. "Yet generosity is one thing. The other thing is that in the FRG, subsidized out of the federal budget, regional organizations are still up to their tricks, pushing so-called homeland claims against the GDR, Poland and the CSSR, and often agitating for revenge." Honecker continued: "If it were up to us, the situation could be different. But up to this point, conditions in the FRG evidently do not allow further steps."

'Understanding History in Its Objective Course'

With respect to the SED's relation with German history, the SED General Secretary said: "We foster not only revolutionary, socialist traditions . . . but it conforms with our image of the world to understand history in its objective, actual course, in its overall dialectics. That inlcudes looking at the greatness and the limits of outstanding historical personalities." By now appreciating the historic achievement of Luther and Clausewitz, the SED wholly followed the traditions of Marx, Engels, and Lenin, that of the German workers movement "and our history since 1945." By no means did one thereby ignore the limits of one personality or another, their negative features, their contradictory attitudes or the historic tragedy in which they had been enmeshed.

With reference to the publication of Ingrid Mittenzwei's biography of Frederick II of Prussia in the GDR, which was sold out at once, the interviewer asked Honecker whether that did not amount to a "breakthrough." Honecker answered: "Ingrid Mittenzwei's biography of Frederick the Great, a work which I have great regard for, incidentally, without necessarily endorsing every sentence in it, is from that vantage point no 'breakthrough' but an outcome of our attitude toward our heritage. That also includes the history of Prussia. As you have properly noticed, in the center of our capital, Berlin, there are monuments to Clausewitz, Scharnhorst, Yorck and Gneisenau. Perhaps Rauch's monument to Frederick the Great will be added in the foreseeable future. That would replenish, so to speak, the rebuilt arena of Unter den Linden in the center of Berlin. All this should surprise nobody. Every German land had things that were progressive as well as reactionary in the past, and the monuments usually were created by famous sculptors. It is all part of the culture of our people."

These utterances by Honecker are remarkable in more than one respect. First because he is the first GDR party and government chief to publicly use, unabashedly, the designation "Frederick the Great" for the Prussian king, which had been taboo up to now. Thus far they would always only refer to King Frederick II of Prussia. Secondly, Honecker is in error in saying that,

along with the monuments to Scharnhorst, Yorck and Gneisenau, there also was one of Carl von Clausewitz in the center of East Berlin. In the park around the Unter den Linden opera coffeehouse, four monuments to famous Prussian generals were reerected, to be sure, in 1964, yet along with Rauch's marble Scharnhorst monument, these are the bronze monuments to Ludwig Count Yorck von Wartenburg (1759-1830), August Count Neidhardt von Gneisenau (1760-1831), and Gebhard Leberecht Prince Bluecher (1742-1819). Not Clausewitz then, the theoretician whose 200th birthday was recently celebrated in the GDR, but Bluecher, the man of practice, "Marshal Forward," is the one who was immortalized here. There is no Clausewitz monument in East Berlin.

Finally, Honecker's remark about the equestrian statue of Frederick the Great seems to support the rumors to the effect that for the 200th anniversary of his death in 1986 the monument to the great Prussian king would again stand where it belongs: Unter den Linden in Berlin. The equestrian statue of Frederick the Great--the king on horseback, set on a multi-step pedestal and adorned with rich pieces of sculpture, created by Christian Daniel Rauch in 1851 and unveiled on Unter den Linden--was removed from Berlin under Ulbricht in 1950 and placed, somewhat hidden, in the Sanssouci Park of Potsdam, in the "Hippodrome," in 1961. It rates as one of the most magnificent monumental sculptures of the 19th century in Germany.

GDR Historian's Frederick II Biography

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 27 Feb 80 p 12

[Article by Peter Jochen Winters, datelined Berlin, in February: "East Berlin Has Second Thoughts About Prussia--Much Attention Paid to a Biography of Frederick the Great." A translation of the below cited East Berlin EINHEIT article, coauthored by Biographer Ingrid Mittenzwei, follows the Winters article. For an official FRG analysis of this EINHEIT article see JPRS 73990, 10 Aug 79, No 1706 of this series, pp 11-13. The text of an East Berlin interview with Dr Mittenzwei on her biography is available in JPRS 74590, 16 Nov 79, No 1738 of this series, pp 95-99. For a West German analysis of the development of GDR historiography see JPRS 75760, 23 May 80, No 1788 of this series, pp 41-68]

[Text] In East Berlin you can find people who are willing to make a bet that the equestrian statue of Frederick II, completed by Christian Daniel Rauch in 1851, will on the 200th anniversary of the great Prussian King's death, in 1986, stand again where it belongs: Unter den Linden in Berlin. Yet things are not likely to go that far, after the German communists in 1950 removed the bronze monument--an equestrian statue set on a multi-step pedestal and adorned with rich pieces of sculpture--and reerected it in 1961, somewhat hidden, in the Sanssouci park of Potsdam, the so-called "Hippodrome." What seems more realistic is the speculation that the equestrian statue of Frederick the Great will be assigned a representative spot commensurate with its importance as one of the most magnificent monumental sculptures of the 19th century in the park of Sanssouci.

Sold Out After a Few Days

Yet it is not art that is involved here but history. And if the people in East Berlin are willing to make the bet we referred to above, the reason is that the GDR now has discovered its interest in Frederick the Great--not last, presumably, because of the big exhibition, "Prussia--Attempt at an Accounting," scheduled to be held in West Berlin in 1981. So also, the first GDR biography of Frederick II of Prussia recently came out, and it was sold out within a few days. (Ingrid Mittenzwei: "Frederick II of Prussia," VEB Deutscher Verlag der Wissenschaften, East Berlin). When its author--she is the department chief for "German History from 1684 to 1789" at the Central Institute for History at the GDR Academy of Sciences--gave a lecture about the great king late last year in East Berlin's municipal library, the lecture hall was as crowded as a few weeks later, when the topic was Frederick II and the architecture of his time.

Increased attention to Prussian history has been unmistakable among the GDR's historians in recent years. "A deeper understanding of history strengthens the citizens' bonds with their socialist fatherland and enhances their pride in the achievements of the socialist revolution," SED General Secretary Honecker announced last summer, whereby he underscored the efforts of the SED leadership to distill and take over from German history its "positive historic traditions." "We cannot deal with German history without reworking Prussian history," is the historians' argument over there, and Ingrid Mittenzwei has this to add to it: "Our discussions of our concept of legacy have now also made apparent that now, after mainly having concentrated on the revolutionary traditions of the workers class and the humanistic traditions, we must also deal more with the history of the exploiter class." In application to Prussia this means: After the GDR historians have already dealt in detail with the Prussian reformers of from 1807 to 1813, Stein and Hardenberg, Scharnhorst and Gneisenau, Clausewitz and even Lt Gen Yorck von Wartenburg, who in the last days of December in 1812, and in opposition to the order from his king, signed the Tauroggen Convention, which all was added, as "positive traditions," to the integral part of the GDR's historic "legacy," the time had come to deal with Frederick II, a representative of what was then the "ruling class."

But the time of painting history in black and white is long past in the GDR also. In "necessarily fighting against and turning down everything reactionary in Prussia" one should not "slight or negate its positive progressive elements," leading GDR historians warned some time ago in the SED's theoretical journal EINHEIT. As positive and progressive features and developments in Prussian history they now referred to "certain progressive measures taken by some Prussian rulers," mainly pointing to Frederick I and Frederick II. "The development of socialist society in the GDR, where the social roots of Prussianism were eliminated, requires of us, however, to tap and to integrate with our store of traditions all the positive and progressive achievements and traditions in Prussian history as well," EINHEIT said at that time. This is a maxim Ingrid Mittenzwei has taken to heart in her Frederick II biography, hailed by the critics as an "enrichment of our historical literature" and evidently read by the population.

Seeking Specific Differences

The author seeks to approach Frederick II of Prussia with discernment. She calls him "an exceedingly contradictory historical figure," and she acknowledges he had surpassed the level of 18th century German monarchical grandeur and, as "a most sensitive representative of his class" he then had reacted to the transitional character of his time with a policy of accommodation. So he had, in his domestic policy, banked on limited reforms which never, however, went beyond the framework of the existing order. Frederick II, who died shortly before the French Revolution, had been a man who had, to be sure, received impulses from the newly evolving era and reacted to it "in seeking to adapt bis backward country to the new conditions," but who at the same time--"chained to the conditions of his class and of his country"--erected dams against the new society. Yet--says the Frederick biographer--"the dialectics of history had the effect that what existed could no longer be preserved without adaptability and flexibility."

At the end of her book Ingrid Mittenzwei makes some remarks about "Frederick II and His Posterity" and reaches the following remarkable conclusion: "Frederick II never pursued national goals. Which then means there was no plain continuity between Frederick's policy and that of Junker Bismarck nor any direct line leading from Frederick II via Bismarck upto Hitler, as has sometimes been maintained after World War II." The Nazis had been the ones to draw the line from Frederick the Great via Bismarck to Hitler so as to present themselves as Prussia's genuine heirs. After the war, the Allies held on to this legend and used it not only to justify the dissolution of the Prussian state by the control council law of the Allies but also to condemn everything Prussian altogether. The blowing up of the city palace in East Berlin and the demounting of the equestrian statue of Frederick II are likely to have been a result of that legend too, against which FRG historians came out early in showing that it was not tenable. That the GDR now also bids farewell to that legend is an encouraging sign.

Prussian Progressive Traditions

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[Article by Prof Dr Horst Bartel, member, GDR Academy of Sciences; director of academy's Central Institute for History; Dr Ingrid Mittenzwei, department head in same institute; and Prof Dr Walter Schmidt, director, Institute for History of German Workers Movement, Academy of Social Sciences, SED Central Committee: "Prussia and German History"]

[Text] The history of Prussia belongs to our historic legacy in its totality, and its various elements are in relation to which we define our standpoint from the positions of the victorious workers class. Any one-sidedness or any absolute terms are alien to our Marxist-Leninist image of

> Prussian history. It brings to the fore the reactionary features that are inevitably connected with the development of that state image and at the same time also includes the historically grown positive values due to the efforts of progressive forces there as well which, like everything else that was progressive in German history, are integrated within the GDR's store of tradition.

The GDR maintains a clear and unequivocal relationship with its historic premises. Its historic roots reach far back into the history of the German people. "Our socialist state," as the appeal for the 30th anniversary of the founding of the GDR says, "typifies all that is best in German history, in the same way as it marks a complete break with all that is reactionary."[1] We take our stand vis-a-vis the historic legacy from our German past in its entirety, the good as the bad, but we define clearly and unmistakably, from the positions of the victorious workers class, our standpoint on the various components of this legacy.

An integral part of this legacy is the history of Prussia, one of the largest, strongest and most important German territorial states that had a great influence on German history since the late 17th century. That state had a contradictory development. That contradictoriness it is precisely that forces us to define more accurately our position on the historic legacy left behind by Prussia lest we slight, or even negate, over our necessary fight against and rejection of what was reactionary in Prussia, its positive, progressive elements. Because Prussian history also had reactionary as well as progressive elements.

Joining the issue about Prussian history is all the more urgent since bourgeois ideologues and historians are increasingly seeking to draw a picture of Prussia as they see fit, one which contradicts historic truth. Two trends in it are unmistakable. On the one side, they keep spreading the old conservative variant which more or less glorifies the Prussian state. On the other, flexible bourgeois historians, notably those with a bent for social and cultural history, seek to convey a more discriminating image of Prussia that also will provide critical emphases. Yet ultimately this partial criticism of Prussia serves to justify the FRG's current imperialist system. These efforts enjoy the massive political and financial support by those who have a say in Bonn and West Berlin. That is indicated, for instance, by the exhibition, "Prussia--Attempt of an Accounting," now being prepared on the recommendation and under the patronage of the lord mayor of West Berlin and with the involvement of FRG government authorities, as well as by the recently illegally opened Prussian state library on cultural values. There, in his opening speech, FRG President Walter Scheel ballyhooed the thesis of Prussia as a so-called constitutional state.

In contrast to the clearly academic scholarship in historiography, it unequivocally is the conservative version of the bourgeois image of Prussia which predominates in FRG journalism and mass media. That is the direction in which many newspaper articles, television programs, magazine essays and also the recently published book by journalist Sebastian Haffner, "Preussen ohne Legende," move.[2] They seek to do away with the inseparable continuity between the German Empire as founded in 1871 and reactionary Prussianism. With all the criticism journalism bestows on Prussia, its basic tenor lies in the attempt to undo the reactionary class line from the old Prussian state down to the German Empire and its destruction and the subsequent disbandment of Prussia. It means a whitewash of reactionary Prussianism, exonerating it of its historic coresponsibility for the unleashing of two world wars and the fascist rule of terror.

The Dialectics of Two Class Lines

A scientific analysis of German history shows that in the Prussian state factors predominated over long periods that obstructed all progress, due to specific historic conditions. That was due principally to the privileged position of the feudal landowners and, later, of the junkers with their capitalist economy. Absolutism in Prussia let the nobility keep its extraordinary economic and social privileges and fully surrendered to it the peasants forced into serfdom. Also during the transition to capitalism in the 19th century, the nobility, now, in the "Prussian way," putting on airs as a class of the capitalist society, retained its economic, social and political power positions, by which it could continue its reactionary influence.

In this special role of the Prussian aristocratic and junkers' class is rooted the ominous continuity of militarism ranging from late feudalism to imperialism. The militarization of society, this late feudal militarism that started under King Frederick Wilhelm I, by preserving its class foundations in the 19th century, then grew into the militarism of the junkers and capitalists and, eventually, into a dangerous symbiosis with German imperialism which had come too late when the world was divided up. Thus Prussia became and remained the incarnation of militarism in the world. It pervaded all of public life and produced pride of place, nationalistic arrogance and a spirit of aggression as much as submissiveness, slavish obedience, hypocricy and bigoted offialdom.

Those were the concomitants of reactionary Prussianism which had for its maxims the suppression of any democratic aspirations within and aggressiveness against the outside. All progressive forces in German history found themselves in bitter struggle against Prussianism. Nor did Prussia have any "German calling," as bourgeois ideology has been pretending, despite some voices to the contrary, but up to the early 1860's was engaged in nothing but naked big power politics to extract maximum profits from a Germany split up into all the different feudal states. In the bourgeois transformation that had set in late in the 18th century, the Prussian state eventually

became the strongest and most evil and dangerous enemy of any democratic unification of Germany. And when, under the double pressure from economic needs and a threatening revolution from below, Prussia under Bismarck's leadership created the German national state, in blood and iron, and for all intents and purposes completed the bourgeois transformation, this limited bourgeois advance came combined with the preservation of the reactionary rule by the junkers, Prussia was not absorbed by Germany, but Germany was Prussianized. The upper hand was maintained by those reactionary forces of Prussianism that had turned antidemocratism within and aggression against the outside into a state doctrine.

This judgment on the ominous role of reactionary Prussianism in German history was elaborated in its basic features by the representatives of the revolutionary German workers movement, mainly by Marx, Engels and Mehring, and was further developed on the basis of new historic experiences through many different scientific studies in Marxist-Leninist historiography. The reactionary policies of the Prussian state, Prussianism in history and at the present, was, is and remains a subject matter of most intensive confrontation. In the course of the thus far greatest social transformation on German soil, the GDR has made a radical break from reactionary Prussianism.

By breaking the power of the junkers and monopoly capitalists, the GDR destroyed the social buttresses of Prussianism and Prussian-German militarism and thus paved the way for establishing a new, a socialist German fatherland. A central spot in this process was assigned to taking issue intellectually with reactionary Prussianism, which had proven the historic root of fascism. By destroying its social foundations, the socialist society also rid itself of the ominous social effects and traditions of Prussianism and thereby then also gained a new historic position from which the "other Prussia," the values and traditions created by the progressive classes in that state, can be tapped.

Prussian history, after all, is not confined to the work of the Hohenzollern dynasty and the aristocratic and junkers' class controlling that state. Those reactionary forces, while they decisively shaped the development of the Prussian state, they did not exclusively decide that development. It is also true of Prussia that the people's masses are making history because they ultimately constitute the decisive impulses for social progress and, as the producers and through their steady "quiet labor," create the material foundations for progress and, through their sociopolitical activities much as they may vary in the different phases of development, make the most important contribution to overcoming obsolete and enforcing new social conditions. The revolutionary activities of the people's masses ultimately, together with elemental economic needs, also forced the ruling classes of Prussia to accommodate themselves to historic progress in the transition from feudalism to capitalism.

The History of Prussia Also Has Its Progressive Traditions

GDR historiography has done a great deal in recent years to illuminate the progressive sides of Prussian history. Yet important research tasks remain to be solved in this direction. In this, GDR historiography can proceed from scientific insights by the founders of Marxism and by the leading representatives of the revolutionary German workers movement. Marx, Engels and Mehring have as long as they lived implacably opposed reactionary Prussianism and engaged in resolute struggle against all the pro-Prussian myths disseminated by bourgeois historiography. But they very accurately distinguished between this Prussianism and the social activities of the various classes in the Prussian state and thus never slighted or ignored the progressive tendencies and aspirations in Prussian history. They looked at Prussia with discrimination. They took account of the positive features the progressive classes had wrought. Nor were they oblivious of certain progress-promoting measures by some Prussian rulers. The classic authors of Marxism as much as Mehring recognized the historic place value of the Prussian reforms as a breakthrough achievement for making capitalist conditions prevail in Germany. To determine our own relationship, as a socialist German state, with Prussia's legacy we need not revise the image of Prussia as held by the revolutionary German workers movement, as bourgeois ideologues claim we have to. In our preserving and fostering the progressive traditions from Prussian history we also can pick up the insights of the leading representatives of the German proletariat.

Prussia was not only the state of the Hohenzollern and the country bumpkins, of militarism and aggression. Prussia also was the country of important peasant revolts late in the 18th century and in the 1848 revolution, the place of the liberal aristocratic reformers between 1807 and 1813, the part of Germany where the capitalist development went most rapidly and assumed the widest scope in the 19th century, and in the metropolis of which, in Berlin, the German bourgeois-democratic revolution reached what probably was its most important climax, on 18 March 1848. Here also it was where a strong workers class grew up which took up its independent struggle against semi-feudal Prussianism and the bourgeois exploiter system early in the game. The at times rapid and comprehensive development of Prussia in its economy, social structure and culture in the era of transition from feudalism to capitalism and, especially, in the time of the bourgeois transformation in the 19th century cannot be detached from the historic achievements of the working classes and strata, the peasants, petty bourgeois, the young working class, the progressive intelligentsia and, indeed, also the rising bourgeoisie.

During certain developmental phases and in certain areas, exploiter classes also contributed to Prussia's progress--as they did in all other class-antagonistic states as well. Marxist-Leninist historiography keeps its distance from idealizing the masses as much as frommoralistically denying progress potentials in exploiting classes. It objectively takes into account the antagonistic character of social progress under exploitative

conditions, the fact, that is, that under such conditions social progress to a large extent is brought about through exploitation. Not only the production organization and coordination but also the concentration and application of the surplus product as wrought from the working classes is among the functions of the exploiter classes.[3] Marxist-Leninist historiography here insists on the essential value criterion for how much the surplus product, though used throughout in the class interest of the exploiters, at the same time also is employed for the advance of progress. And finally it inquires into the "historic mission" of any given exploiter class seeking predominance in the class struggles to do away with the old and establish a new social order, that is, into whether and how much it exercises its responsibility as the leadership force for all classes in the new society.

As to the history of Prussia, this mainly involves the role of the Prussian bourgeoisie in the process of the bourgeois transformation of Germany. We have to inquire also, however, into the achievements by representatives of the Prussian nobility which, when the bourgeois society came to prevail, transformed itself into a capitalist junkers' class, in getting the bourgeois transformation started and completed. For there is no homogeneity within an exploiter class, it is diversified and composed of diverse fractions which also take different positions on the tasks of any given era. The Prussian nobility also produced various progressive representatives and had a liberal wing in the 19th century that advocated bourgeois, if moderate, progress. Finally we shall have to explore how the representatives of the nobility, notably the "crowned heads," in the Prussian state, applied the surplus product gained through exploitation, how much it served the advancement of progress or was used to block it.

The Janus Head of Absolutistic Prussia

A judgment on that for the age of absolutism will not be able to pass by the undeniable fact that Prussia's rulers used the means extorted from the people to insure their own class rule within and their active and aggressive foreign policy. Since Frederick Wilhelm I, roughly two-thirds of all state revenue were devoured by a gigantic standing army. Based on that, Frederick II conducted wars of conquest, annexed Silesia and engaged in the first division of Poland. That did not fail to have negative effects on the productive forces and the weak stratum of commercial and manufacturing capitalists then developing.

Under the conditions of the transitional era from feudalism to capitalism, securing late feudal class rule however also depended on the willingness by the princes or some progressive civil servants and aristocrats to accommodate themselves to the new trends in development. Prussia's rulers could not evade the effects of the era either. Up to 1640, when Elector Frederick Wilhelm came to the throne and the rise of Prussia began, there had only been one country in which the bourgeois revolution had won, the Netherlands. At the same time, with the start of the bourgeois revolution in England,

the emancipation struggle of the European bourgeoisie reached a new and higher level. When Frederick II died in 1786, the bourgeois transformation had already spread to the American continent, while France had come to the eve of its great bourgeois revolution which initiated the definitive triumph of capitalism in Europe. These transformations did not remain without effects on the feudal states, mainly because their internal structure was also beginning to change. Absolutism, coming to prevail then in many European states, ultimately was a form of accommodation to these new phenomena.

In Brandenburg-Prussia, leading representatives of the ruling class--even if for egoistical class interests--developed a relatively high willingness to accommodate. There, up to the last third of the 18th century it was greater than in many other German territorial states and ranged from imitating and restructuring progressive developments in more advanced states to adapting bourgeois ideologies to the backward feudal conditions all the way to the further development of the machinery of state. So Prussia's rulers got many suggestions for developing their government system, with respect to their commercial policy and army organization for instance, from the bourgeois Netherlands. This focus on the Netherlands was later supplemented by taking over experiences in the agricultural field from bourgeois England. The success of these efforts remained a limited one, to be sure, because Prussia's ruler would not touch the privileges of the nobility and would grant the bourgeoisie merely a narrow leeway for development.

In comparison with other West European states, Brandenburg-Prussia remained a backward country. Its population, mainly the feudally exploited peasants, lived in poverty and under the constant pressure from the landowners and the omnipotent machinery of state which would extort all and everything from them on behalf of the standing army. As the objective in the policy of accommodation never was the well-being of the people, the electors and kings did not care about social progress toward capitalist society either. Prussia's rulers engaged in dynastic power politics; they wanted to strenghten their state. For that purpose they took over experiences of the Netherlands, England and France.

Yet intention is not identical with effects in the history of the exploiter societies. The Hohenzollern, sure enough, reached their goal and in the course of the 18th century became the most powerful princes in the empire, along with the Habsburgs. Simultaneously, however, they inadvertently loosened existing structures of feudal coinage. The monarchy could not be strengthened economically without protecting the weak manufacturing bourgeoisie and without a minimum of cooperation.

The ability and willingness for accommodation were in the last analysis reflected by absolutism itself which, under the conditions of the transition to capitalism, insured the rule of the nobility. In spite of all its peculiarities, expressed in the enormous weight of the feudal landowners and in the

militarization of public life, one of the achievements of Prussian absolutism lay in the limited encouragement it gave to the productive forces. This includes principally the domestic colonizing stimulated by Prussian kings, mainly by Frederick II, the cultivation of fallow regions like the Oder basin or the construction of important canals. This expansion of the culture landscape goes to the credit of Prussian peasants and busy colonizers, some of whom had been expelled from other states for religious reasons. Under the prevailing conditions it could not have been carried out without the state playing an active role, i.e., without its financial resources, the work of experienced engineers and the employment of organizationally skilled civil servants.

Typical of Prussian absolutism was the development of the state machinery, by which the Prussian rulers consolidated their domestic rule, enforced their militarization of society—military modes of conduct were to a large extent carried into civilian life—, and shored up their aggressive foreign policy. The dialectics of history brought it about that thereby the state apparatus reached a high degree of centralization and "rationality" ever since the 1720's. Orderliness in finances and thrift now came to be the vogue at the Prussian court. Among the myths of Prussian historiography is that of the incorruptible, upright Prussian civil servant. Much could be objected to that. Nonetheless, there was still enough order and incorruptibility for the Prussian administration to serve as a model for the reforms by other absolute rulers and for the French apostles of enlightenment in the second half of the 18th century to derive a sense of reliability from it.

Noteworthy in Prussian absolutism furthermore was a certain encouragement for science and culture. "In fact, in its dealing with science one can discern the progressive face of the absolutistic Janus head," the GDR's noted Romance scholar Werner Krauss wrote about the European absolutistic states.[4] In Prussia, to be sure, this process had no continuity. Nor did it embrace the whole breadth of cultural development. Even so, science and culture gained a relatively wide margin, especially under kings Frederick I and Frederick II. In those years Prussia became an asylum for German or French men of the Enlightenment. On the initiative of Leibniz and under his direction the Prussian Academy of Sciences was established in 1700. In the further development of Berlin important monumental structures were created such as the opera Unter den Linden, designed by Knobelsdorff, and its forum. They, as much as the structures at Sanssouci belong among the architectural treasures that have come down to us from that period and for the restoration and maintenance of which the GDR government spends copious sums.

None of this abridges in any way the class character of Prussian absolutism. The bourgeois transformation, whatever the bourgeois historians may claim, did not start with the enlightened absolutism of a Frederick II. The reforms by the Prussian king inhered in his system. Nowhere did they cross the boundaries of feudal society, and they stopped precisely at the point where the interests of the feudal nobility would have been impinged. Rather, what was needed to initiate the bourgeois transformation in Prussia was the great French Revolution.

Prussia and the Bourgeois Transformation--Revolutionary or Reformist?

Prussia's position was ambiguous in this new world historic era. The Prussian state belonged among the most active reactionary powers trying everything possible for one and a half decades, by invasion attempts and counter-revolutionary wars against revolutionary France, to cancel the revolutionary bourgeois achievements in France gained by the 1789-1795 revolution. After 1815, Prussia, together with Austria and Russia, would form the international reactionary alliance, the "Holy Alliance," that would seek to nip in the bud any bourgeois-oppositional movement in Europe. In 1848/49 it was, along with Austria, the most powerful adversary of the bourgeois revolution in Germany.

The destruction of the Prussian state then was a condition for a democratic unification of Germany and, at once, a requirement for making bourgeois-democratic conditions prevail in Central Europe. "The Prussian state with all its setup, its tradition and its dynasty was exactly the only serious internal enemy the revolution in Germany had to overcome," is the judgment of Friedrich Engels. "Disbanding of the Prussian and disintegration of the Austrian state, true unification of Germany as a republic--there could be no other revolutionary program coming up for us."[5] The destruction of the Prussian state was the objective of all revolutionary forces in the 19th century. For this state, ruled by the junkers' class, not only provided the actual backing for the semifeudal reaction in all of Germany, but it became the main force itself seeking an antidemocratic solution of the tasks of the bourgeois transformation, the power center of a "revolution from the top."

Simultaneously, however, important positive impulses for bourgeois progress in Germany sprang from the revolutionary activities of the peasants, plebeians and workers, from the work of liberal Prussian aristocrats, and from oppositional efforts in the Prussian bourgeoisie. The effects of the French Revolution and the revolutionary wars, most clearly revealed in the striking defeat of the old Prussian state at Jena and Auerstedt, and the simultaneous pressure by antifeudal movements in Prussia, while they were not sufficient for overthrowing the reactionary junkers' class and setting the bourgeois society in Prussia on its revolutionary course, did yet create enough sociopolitical leeway for liberal aristocrats since 1807 to pave the way to the bourgeois system through reforms. Even if these reforms were kept within bounds as determined by the junkers' interests and still further restricted since 1815, progress, through the initiation of the bourgeois transformation in Prussia, still assumed national dimension and radiation. While the Prussian reforms did not reach the degree of the transformation brought about in the West German areas more strongly affected by the French Revolution, they were still more decisive and comprehensive than in many other German territorial states.

It explains why bourgeois patriots looked to Prussia then and thought they saw a center of progress in it and why Prussia, in the struggle against the foreign rule under Napoleon, became a center of national resistance

and could play a historically positive role during the war of liberation in 1813. Thanks to the activities by the popular masses, released and encouraged by the reforms, the war of liberation assumed features of a people's liberation struggle. GDR historiography has already done a great deal in the early 1950's, mainly in connection with the 140th anniversary of the war of liberation, in scientifically elaborating and creating awareness of the progressive traditions of the Prussian reform period. The stimulating television film about Scharnhorst has recently picked up those efforts. Historical science and propaganda ought to pay tribute in the future, above and beyond the merits of the military reformers, to the achievments of the reformers in other areas of social development as well.

Also in the struggle against the political restoration of aristocratic rule after 1815 and in the time of the preparation and implementation of the bourgeois-democratic 1848/49 revolution, progressive class forces in Prussia played an important role. Not until the Prussian bourgeoisie headed the feudal opposition in 1840, it assumed a national scope, and a development was initiated that led to the 1848 revolution. Its resistance against the Prussian government at the first united Landtag in 1847 formed the climax in the political-progressive struggle by that class for extending the bourgeois transformation. This was the most important example of the German bourgeoisie's actively assuming its hegemony. All the more apparent then was the betrayal by the Prussian bourgeoisie during the 1848 revolution, when it surrendered its claim to power out of fear of the people and the independently acting workers class.

The class struggles in Prussia were of a decision-making character throughout the revolution. On the one hand, what happened in Berlin on 18 March 1848 smashed the omnipotence of reaction in Germany. On the other hand, the defeat of the revolutionary forces in their struggle against the coup d'etat of the crown in November 1848 ushered in the decisive counterrevolutionary reversal in Germany. In the 1860's Prussia became an important center in the struggle between revolutionary and counterrevolutionary forces for ending the bourgeois revolution in Germany. Along with more immediate economic needs, the revolutionary mass movements were what forced the Prussian junkers to enforce the most important demands of the 1848/49 revolution, even though in their own specific manner, by a "revolution from the top." In the final phase of the bourgeois transformation, the work of the doubtless most far-sighted representative of the junkers' class, Otto von Bismarck, whom Friedrich Engels called a "royal Prussian revolutionary,"[6] had progressive consequences, even though strongly confined by the interests of the junkers' class.

To the extent that Prussia, in consequence of the industrial revolution, became the economically strongest and most important German state, having important industrial centers of Germany at its disposal in the Rhineland, Silesia and Berlin, it also became the main field for the German workers class to constitute itself economically, socially and politically. The weavers' rebellion in Prussian Silesia in 1844 sparked the active movement

of the German proletariat. Rhenish Prussia became a chief bastion of the first Marxist party, the Communist League, in Germany. The Rhenish metropolis on 3 March 1848 experienced the first independent political action taken by German workers, initiated by the communists, during the 1848 revolution. Cologne in 1848/49 became the headquarters of the communist vanguard. There, the first independent newspaper of the German proletariat, the NEUE RHEINISCHE ZEITUNG, was published. Berlin and other Prussian cities became centers of the first large strike movement of German workers in the spring of 1848. In the Rhine Province as well as in Berlin, members of the Communist League secured the revolutionary continuity throughout the period of reaction and had a significant share in the new upswing of the workers movement in the 1860's. The Universal German Working Men's Association, founded in 1863, had its most important bases in Prussia. In Berlin, Magdeburg and several Prussian cities on the Rhine, the first organized groups of adherents to the International Workers Association sprang up in the mid-1860's. In the struggle against Bismarck's Anti-Socialist Laws, the Prussian regions, because of the strength of the workers class there and its direct confrontation with Prussianism, became centers for the development of the revolutionary German workers movement.

The German Bourgeoisie--Heir to Reactionary Prussianism

The unification of the empire in 1871 became a decisive caesura in the history of Prussia and of the German people. This event was contradictory in character. Doing away with the splintering of Germany and forming a bourgeois German national state meant significant social progress. Because a united German state conformed to the needs of capitalist development. It facilitated a rapid development of the capitalist mode of production and of the modern industrial proletariat and finally offered the socialist workers movement new opportunities for forming on a national basis. It was in this sense that Marx wrote to Engels in 1870: "If the Prussians win, then the centralization of state power [will be] useful for the centralization of the German workers class."[7] At the same time, the founding of the Reich was a victory for Prussian reaction. The German bourgeoisie carries part of the blame and a special responsibility for it. Once again, afraid of a democratic popular movement, it had betrayed its own historic class tasks and formed an antidemocratic reactionary class alliance with Prussian junkerdom, in which the latter exercised the predominant political influence. This enabled the bourgeoisie to conserve and preserve arch-reactionary Prussianism far into the 20th century, becoming one of the pillars of Prussian-German militarism.

The 1871 unification of the empire fastened together the unification with Prussianism and militarism. It provided Prussia with supremacy in the German Empire, securing that supremacy by the especially reactionary class and government structure of that state which would then essentially determine the policies of the German Empire. The historically fateful relationship between Prussia and the empire was the result of capitalism's counterrevolutionary prevailing over the militaristic founding of the empire and therefore also remained a fundamental social problem--as long as the empire

and Prussia existed. "The German Reich," Friedrich Engels wrote in 1886, looking into the far distant future, "is placed in vital danger by its Prussian foundation."[8] Prussia's supremacy in the empire led to the further expansion of militarism. The military apparatus and its administrative and planning organs remained almost completely outside any parliamentary control. In terms of its class structure borne mainly by junkerdom and parts of the haute bourgeoisie, and pervaded by specifically Prussian caste prejudice, this forceful militarization, for antidemocratic motives in domestic policy and aggressive motives in foreign policy, for all intents and purposes became the "state's main purpose."[9] The military apparatus and its executive organs were given crucial political weight in deciding all domestic and foreign policy questions.

After the unification of the empire in 1871, Prussia had lost the last function still connecting it with social progress in Germany. Now it became a bastion of reaction all the way through. The systematic Prussianization of Germany began. As the Prussian prime minister and its chancellor at one and the same time, Bismarck started an extensive campaign against the Social-Democratic workers movement in this newly founded Prussian-German empire and for 12 years kept the notorious Anti-Socialist Laws alive. The Prussian militarists engaged in a systematic mobilization of the German army and started building a navy with which to threaten England. By having stolen Alsace and Lorraine, Germany had already made a permanent enemy of France.

German imperialism, developing since the turn of the century, which had arrived too late when the world was divided up and which, to quote Lenin, was essentially bourgeois junkerdom imperialism, found its most important tool in Prussian militarism and the most obedient executors of its rapacious policy in the Prussian ministerial bureaucracy, which eventually led to the catastrophe of World War I. The November Revolution in Germany, breaking out under the influence of the Great Socialist October Revolution, did weaken the positions of Prussian reaction but did not render it impotent. The Rhenish-Westphalian heavy industrialists and the junkers east of the Elbe, embodying reactionary Prussianism in the 20th century, conducted the counterrevolution and the fascist "seizure of power." It was patently symbolic that the Prussian General Field Marshal and German Reichspraesident Paul von Hindenburg appointed Adolf Hitler chancellor and, in March 1933, demonstratively stood at his side in the garrison church of Potsdam in front of the sarcophagus of Frederick II.

Not until World War II was lost, which had, on behalf of German monopoly capital, been unleashed by the fascists and had been conducted by generals reared in the Prussian tradition, some Prussian conservatives recalled the Tauroggen Convention and Bismarck's warnings never to let a conflict with Russia arise. Some of them took part in the antifascist resistance struggle and found their way to the Free Germany National Committee. The influence of Prussian reaction had proven so fateful however that the victorious allied powers officially dissolved the Land of Prussia by a control council

decision in 1947. Dissolving the Prussian state was a necessary historic act and conformed with the centuries-old historic experiences the German people and other European peoples had had with militarism and reactionary Prussianism. Yet the actual destruction of reactionary Prussianism could come only through the progressive forces of the people itself under working class leadership. With the revolutionary elimination of imperialism on GDR soil, the economic, social and political roots of Prussianism likewise were destroyed.

The Marxist-Leninist picture of Prussia has clear and sharp contours. It is based on the realization that Prussian history too is governed by the dialectics between two class lines. It avoids all one-sidedness and absolute terms and unmistakably brings out the reactionary features inseparable from the development of that state entity. At the same time, however, it also includes all those historically grown values, the positive values that come from the efforts of progressive classes--even in as reactionary a state as Prussia, and those are the ones that our discriminating understanding of our inheritance accepts, preserves and fosters as our traditions. The ideological class struggle against present-day imperialism calls for a confrontation, on principle, with all manifestations of reactionary Prussianism which find their continuation under the imperialist conditions in the FRG. The development of socialist society in the GDR, where the social roots of Prussianism have been eliminated, demands however that we tap all positive and progressive achievements and traditions also found in Prussian history and integrate them with our own store of traditions.

FOOTNOTES

1. "Appeal for the 30th Anniversary of the Founding of the GDR," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 18 November 1977, p 1.

2. "Prussia Without Myths," Hamburg, 1978.

3. Cf. Rolf Barthel, "Class Contradiction and Historical Advances," "Probleme der geschichtswissenschaftlichen Erkenntnis" (Problems in Historical Science Knowledge), Akademie publishing house, Berlin, 1977, pp 115 ff.

4. "Studien zur deutschen und franzoesischen Aufklaerung" (Studies on German and French Enlightenment), Ruetten & Loening, Berlin, 1963, p 43.

5. Friedrich Engels, "Marx and the NEUE RHEINISCHE ZEITUNG, 1848-1849," Marx/Engels, "Werke" (Works), Vol 21, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1962, p 20.

6. Friedrich Engels, "The Role of Violence in History," ibid., p 438.

7. Marx to Engels in Manchester, 20 July 1870, Marx/Engels, "Werke," Vol 33, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1962, p 5.

8. Engels to August Bebel at Borsdorf near Leipzig, 13 September 1886, Marx/Engels, "Werke," Vol 36, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1967, p 524.

9. Friedrich Engels, "Anti-Duehring," Marx/Engels, "Werke," Vol 20, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1962, p 158.

'Prussia's Image' for Workers Class

East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 20-21 Sep 80 p 9

['Reflections for the Weekend' column by Ottomar Harbauer: "Prussia, History, We and Others"]

[Text] Prussia--that word arouses ambiguous feelings, surely.

By Law number 46 of the Allied Control Council for Germany, of 25 February 1947, that Land was officially dissolved. Properly called there the "cradle of militarism," it had perished as the heartland of the "Thousand Year Reich" and together with it.

It has nothing certainly to do with apolitical nostalgia if in the state west of our border, which wishes that so much should continue to exist that has long been dead, new myths about Prussia are invented and added to the old ones. After everything that has happened in German history, no one may be indifferent to which image of Prussia it is that is publicly being sold there, and for whose benefit. And especially it does not leave us unruffled if one intends to attribute to the GDR a view on Prussia, for transparent political reasons, that is far removed from reality.

The revolutionary German workers movement has always had a vivid interest in the past, and not only in that of its own class. It advanced while taking critical issue with history and constantly absorbing progressive and humanistic ideas of the past. Reactionary chatterers often have accused the GDR of having a ruptured relationship with, or even escaping from, German history. A dumber claim than that has never been made. Deeply rooted in this history itself, tied up with it through thousands of spiritual threads, the GDR at once faces up to the totality of our historical inheritance. Prussia is part of our past.

Marx and Engels, Mehring and Karl Liebknecht handed down to us a cogent characterization of reactionary Prussianism. Implacably they fought against militarism, which infested all life in the Prussian state like weeds, sought to choke any democratic sentiment within, and attacked other peoples by its aggressions. The Prussian sense of submissiveness (which would later be held up to ridicule in a masterly fashion by Heinrich Mann), the nobility's overbearing sense of dignity of rank and its arrogant intellectual stupidity were the targets of their acerbic mockery. At the same time, however, they never disregarded the progressive elements in Prussian history.

The image of Prussia held by the German workers class thus has long had clearly delineated contours. No cause for revising it exists.

If we today can discern still more lines within these contours and lights and shadows protrude more prominently, it certainly has something to do with the fact that our country after 1945 took thorough critical issue with reactionary Prussianism and eradicated its social and political roots. It became possible to take a calmer view on that period of German history. Our image of Prussia became more differentiated.

Prussian history of course includes also the achievements and political actions taken by the people, the liberal bourgeoisie, the noted reformers and the patriots among the military leaders. Famous sculptors and architects worked in Prussia, without whom there would be no Sans Souci and no Linden Forum, and important poets and painters. And without the great scientific achievements of that time, our people's intellectual reservoir would be much poorer. Prussia, after all, also was the center of modern industrial development, and that means of the revolutionary German workers movement.

We look at history as it has been, in all its dialectics, i.e., its contradictoriness, with "good" and "evil" existing in juxtaposition. This discriminating view also applies to the ruling classes and their representatives, even though we certainly have no desire to "turn" Prussian kings into heroes of progress.

But this is the way it is: Based on our condemnation, in principle, of reactionary Prussianism, we also critically investigate that period of our history and, in doing so, discover quite a lot that can satisfy the legitimate working class claim to preserving our historic legacy and be absorbed in our socialist state's store of traditions. That will then also be withheld from being misused for nationalistic purposes.

If that galls them on the Rhine—we could not care less.

5885
CSO: 2300

IMPORTANCE OF NATIONAL, LOCAL PATRIOTISM EXPLAINED

GDR Citizens: Patriots, Internationalists

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 26-27 Jan 80 p 9

['Blickpunkt' (Focal Point) feature article by Dr Guenter Kertzscher: "We Really Have Our Fatherland--Reflections After the 11th SED Central Committee Session." For references to other discussions of the subject see translation of an East Berlin EINHEIT July-August 1980 article published under the heading, "Need for Intensified 'Homeland History' Study Discussed," in JPRS 76481, 24 Sep 80, No 1815 of this series, pp 103-111]

[Text] When I talk of the "territory" of the GDR, I am using a concept that can be handled most soberly. I refer to a piece of the global surface of our planet, defined by a marked national border and with appropriate aspects in terms of geography and international law. If I talk about "fatherland," I am using a word to which there is more than merely a concept. It--like the moon at hazy days--is surrounded by an aura made up of sentiments, experiences, historical memories, attractive or repulsive, never leaving you indifferent. You must listen to the sound of the word, whether it is big and full or tinny and hollow.

In Hoelderlin's poems, "fatherland" has a lofty sound, and also in Schiller's language: "Your fatherland, so dear, that you must join, and hold it firmly with all your heart, there are the mighty roots of all your strength." Hollow and suspicious the word sounds in "Deutsche Kriegslieder" (German War songs), published in 1914. Actually it is not a matter of the poets' linguistic gift, for there were noted people among their authors. It depends on the historic circumstances which stand clearly before our eyes: Under the slogan that the peoples had to defend their fatherland they were driven into imperialist war--and not only the German people. In our language, the word "fatherland" has long not been able to recover from that abuse. Not until the GDR was founded, under entirely new circumstances, we use it with good conscience and without holds barred.

Homeland Sentiment and Patriotism

In the "Communist Manifesto," Marx and Engels put it like this: "The workers have no fatherland." That is a point of polemics. It addresses the accusation that the communists wanted to abolish the fatherland. And then the text continues: "We cannot take from them what they don't possess. Since the proletariat must first of all acquire political supremacy, must rise to be the leading class of the nation, must constitute itself as the nation, it is, so far, itself national, though not in the bourgeois sense of the word." This somewhat qualifies the apodictic statement that the workers have no fatherland. One could put it like this: They do not have it. That means they live in it but do not possess it. It is owned by the exploiters. The exploited are treated poorly in this fatherland. In that sense they do not have one.

But they do have a homeland which they certainly love no less than do the ruling classes in capitalist society. Love for the homeland is the centerpiece of patriotism.

In the Weimar Republic period, in 1929, Kurt Tucholsky published a book with the ironic title "Deutschland, Deutschland ueber alles" (Germany, Germany Above Everything). It is full of mordant criticism of that society, of those circumstances that would give rise to fascism and war. But its last chapter deals with the love for the homeland. The author writes about "his" country: "It begins in Central Germany, where the air is so clear above the roofs, and the more northward you go, the louder beats your heart, until you sense the sea. The sea—. As already for kilometers before, every pole and every thatched roof suddenly gains a deeper importance . . . here we stand only, they tell us, because right behind us is the sea—and the sea is what we are there for. Wind-blown is the shrubbery, on fine sand you gnash your teeth . . ."

The whole section is an affecting expression of patriotism. The author might have rejected that word, and this quite properly so because he does not include the state and society in it. Those he hates. And still he does not want to give up his fatherland: "And just as the national associations are drumming across the roads--with the same right, the very identical right, we, having been born here, and writing and speaking a better German than most of the national asses--with precisely the same right we claim the river and the forest, the beach and the house, the clearing and the meadow: our land it is."

Abuse of the Word Fatherland

In that sense the workers too have always had a fatherland: their land, *their language, their local dialect, the humanistic culture of their* people. And politically? Not the ruling bourgeois state could be their fatherland, but the tradition of their revolutionary struggle was already part of it. After all, as Marx and Engels put it, they struggled to

"constitute themselves as the nation." Thus their fatherland to them, to quote what Lenin said later, is the "given political, cultural, social milieu" of the class struggle. The revolutionary proletariat could not be indifferent to the conditions for its struggle. Just because at no time the fatherland was an indifferent matter, the imperialist bourgeoisie was able to misuse the ties of all the working people with their fatherland.

Against this abuse Lenin fought rigorously during World War I. "There is no other way to 'defend one's fatherland' in Europe in the 20th century," he wrote, "but by fighting with all revolutionary means against the monarchy and the landowners and capitalists in one's own fatherland, i.e., against the worst enemies in one's homeland."

It was a matter of turning the imperialist war, mendaciously ballyhooed as the defense of the fatherland, into a struggle for liberating the fatherland from imperialism. In 1918 Lenin called for the defense of the fatherland. The October Revolution had then taken place. Now the Russian workers defended their fatherland, for now they had a fatherland in the true sense of the word.

We too today have a fatherland in the full sense, the GDR. It is our land between Cape Arkona and the Fichtel Gebirge. Socialist conditions see to its being a true fatherland without any restraints. We are working together and for ourselves. We have achieved something, have experienced something in common, and are jointly planning our future. It gives rise to the sense of of "we" that connects us. For the 30th anniversary of our republic, we paid tribute to our common path, the achievements we have accomplished, the battles we have won. It was a holiday at which, as Erich Honecker said in his report to the 11th Central Committee session, the GDR citizens demonstrated "their deep love for their socialist fatherland."

The fatherland provides safety as well as space for our developing capacities and capabilities. It offers security and protection. The well-being of men, the happiness of the people, that is the meaning of socialism. That is our country's supreme precept.

We Are Prepared to Defend It

A fatherland lives through its citizens. The result of labor determines the standard of living. Among us, in socialism, both sides are closely and directly connected with each other. Not only labor is wanted but also a sense of responsibility, stock-taking, initiative. We are all for our fatherland. We are ready to defend it any old day whenever anyone comes to defame or insult our fatherland. Our allegiance to our socialist fatherland is an essential element of what we mean by human dignity.

The love for our fatherland does not blind us to everything else. We are no chauvinists. We appreciate what other peoples have achieved and are achieving. We have respect for their peculiarities. We feel part of the

family of socialist states and know of our commitment to that community. Our policy is borne by a sense of coresponsibility for peace all over the world. Thus we are patriots and internationalists at once.

LDPD on Promotion of Patriotism

East Berlin DER MORGEN in German 11 Jun 80 p 3

[Excerpts of speech by Gerhard Lindner, member, Political Committee; secretary, Central Executive Committee, Liberal Democratic Party of Germany (LDPD); given at recent Political Committee meeting in House of Ministries, East Berlin: "Homeland Sentiment and Action." A translation of a July 1978 article defining the GDR's historical traditions, published by the party's monthly organ, see JPRS 71785, 31 Aug 78, No 1582 of this series, pp 3-5]

[Text] The LDPD members in the residential areas concentrate their commitment on the shaping of universally interested personalities for whom patriotism, homeland sentiment and national consciousness, social activity and a sense of community are important and indispensable values in life. With constituting the socialist nation in the GDR, the promotion of patriotism, of consciously feeling at home, and the deliberate presentation of the various elements that document our national identity play an ever increasing role in our theoretical thought and our cultural life in practice.

The citizens' identification with their state, their town, their residential area keeps reasserting itself as an important social impulse for the will for achievement and for being interested in all territorial problems. If love for one's immediate home area and the pride in what one has achieved oneself combine with a view at the historic lines of development and with respect for the national identity of other peoples, patriotism will produce those patriotic and internationalist values that are commensurate with the ideals of the workers class.

Homeland sentiment thus is an essential motive, object and subject of activity in cultural policy. That is served first of all by animating our intellectual-cultural life in the whole breadth of the culture concept in the residential areas. It is served by all those relevant intellectual concerns, all the cultural offerings, all the sports activities which make the citizen find out the residential area offers the place and space for his personality development, allowing him to develop and satisfy his needs.

And then, the development of homeland sentiment is served by a whole number of specific forms of cultural work and activity which have become more prominent in recent years and the encouragement of which also calls for our party's participation. We refer to the appropriation, cultivation and further development of traditions and of our cultural legacy in its whole breadth, the preservation, fostering and further development of customs and habits and territorial peculiarities, of folklore and natural and local history, the memorials, the care for the eye-witnesses of human capabilities and much else besides.

Many party friends in all bezirk associations have committed themselves to this task at work and at leisure time. Broad is the palette of our party friends' participation in the preparation for the folklore festival within the 18th workers festival to be held this month in Stralsund. Our party friends are working with dedication within the circles of our friends in the newly founded societies of the GDR Culture League, such as the society for memorial sites, the society for local history and the society for nature and environment.

In regarding the residential area as an essential place for personality development and for shaping the socialist way of life, which is intimately connected with the sphere of work and the sphere of individual life, it becomes clear that the forming of the socialist way of life here too connects with doing away with old habits of thinking and living, and with confronting late bourgeois models of behavior.

The socialist way of life does not form by itself and certainly not without turning back all attempts at ideological diversion by our imperialist enemy. It therefore is necessary, throughout the creative process that forms the socialist way of life, to deal with basic issues, to give oneself an accounting of what has been achieved, and constantly to consolidate one's political-ideological standpoint again in the struggles of our times. That also is why we regard our party events as an indispensable part of our intellectual life in the residential areas.

All who work in the residential areas must give further thought to two things: (1) How can we fully tap available reserves and, through new ideas and initiatives, and by involving additional forces, further extend the advances made in the National Front community; and (2) what are the new demands and possibilities resulting from the rapidly proceeding changes in our socialist reality.

Higher intensity and increased labor efficiency is the most important source of culture in socialism, as our cultural level, in turn, is an important source for improved labor efficiency.

At the end of the speech, the tasks for the LDPD executive committees in promoting cultural-intellectual life in the residential areas were summarized under five points. They include a penetrating clarification of the fundamental cultural aspects of party events resulting from social development, the promotion among all party friends of the desire for culture, the constructive political-ideological work in each basic unit and its influence on the cooperation within the National Front, as well as the active participation by the Liberal Democrats in all tasks in the residential areas.

5885
CSO: 2300

AUSTRIAN GENERAL INTERVIEWED ON MILITARY IMPLICATIONS OF STRIKES

DW110856 Bonn DIE WELT in German 9 Sep 80 p 5

[Interview of Gen Wilhelm Kuntner, commanding officer of the Austrian army's leadership academy by Carl Gustav Stroehm, date and place of interview not given]

[Text] There are many indications that Poland has not calmed down yet by a shot. And the tones from Moscow grow sharper. The "brotherhood-in-arms" fall military exercises of the Warsaw Pact have been in progress since yesterday. Reminiscences of Prague come alive. How alarming is the situation? This is the topic on which DIE WELT interviewed Austrian General Wilhelm Kuntner.

WELT: General, do you still consider the Polish army a reliable ally of Moscow and of the Warsaw Pact after the latest strikes and revolts in Poland?

Kuntner: ARMEE RUNDSCHAU, the journal of the GDR People's Army, wrote in July this year: "Today the Polish Army is considered a modern coalition force within the combined armed forces of the Warsaw Pact countries. The PZPR--with which 85 percent of the officers, every other professional noncommissioned officer, and 23 percent of the soldiers are affiliated--consistently insures a constantly closer concerted action especially with the Soviet Army, the National People's Army and the Czechoslovak People's Army."

This is a quotation from a journal of the Warsaw Pact shortly before the outbreak of the strike. Perhaps we ought to phrase the question thusly: To what extent is the PZPR still a solidly structured, integrated instrument among the East Bloc's Communist parties?

Parallels exist here with the events of 1968: but with a converse effect. In Czechoslovakia it was the new leadership elite of the communist party which had set its sights on, say, a friendlier communist social system and immediately was accepted by the party have been enforced by means of pressure from below. The future will tell whether the Polish Communist Party with its present leadership is credible to the leading Soviet power or whether a change will start this Polish party, albeit not in the direction of further concessions, but in the direction of a hardening of the situation.

WELT: So you do not see any chance for further concessions from the party to the people?

Kuntner: The limits of these concessions do not depend so much on the Polish party leadership as on the interests of the leading power of the Warsaw Pact, that is, the Soviet Union. The tones we are hearing from Moscow these days are not a good omen. However, it will depend on Moscow as to whether something can emerge in the Warsaw Pact which so far has been unprecedented.

Every West European should be gratified if this happens--yet every thinking person ought to ask himself soberly whether anything like what has now happened in Poland is possible at all in a communist country and in a communist alliance.

WELT: Suppose the development takes a negative turn, how would you assess the combat potential of the Polish Army? Do you believe that this army--as threatened already by the Polish army paper a few days back--would allow itself to be used internally in a conflict similar to civil war?

Kuntner: Since I know Poland and the Poles I venture to doubt that an army like the Polish army with its total of 300,000 men could be used against its own people, despite the fact that many communists are in that army. This may be different in the case of the 70,000 men of the security forces, including the border troops, which are under the supervision of the Ministry of the Interior. But then, the orders of magnitude are different: those who went on strike numbered many hundred thousand men and they now have certain expectations--they are perhaps in a sort of euphoria. If these expectations are not fulfilled, we have to fear indeed that internal conflicts will be inevitable--especially if the Polish working people are too greatly disappointed.

I believe that what matters to this Polish workers' movement is not so much as improvement in the economic conditions, but having a chance to live as central Europeans: with the basic rights of freedom, without censorship, and in a society in which man is not just an instrument of the party bureaucracy but really can be a human being.

WELT: Do you consider a Soviet military intervention to be feasible, possible--or ruled out?

Kuntner: Something that has happened once before cannot be ruled out. I believe that the Soviets will try very hard to keep their own armed forces from becoming involved in an internal conflict of a Warsaw Pact state, particularly now, shortly before the Madrid CSCE followup conference slated to begin in November in Madrid. But, on the other hand, it is absolutely clear to me that when the collective security of the Warsaw Pact states is involved, as Moscow interprets it, the Kremlin will not shy away from an armed intervention in Poland as a last resort.

WELT: What size military force would something like that require? Would the troops of the pact maneuvers "brotherhood-in-arms 80" suffice, the troops that are being concentrated now close to the Polish border on GDR territory?

Kuntner: The maneuvers taking place now in the GDR were announced a few days prior to the Polish strikes. A total of 40,000 men are involved. That would be too few for an intervention. Moreover, the Soviet Union has stationed 20 divisions in the GDR alone, in Poland there are two-to-three Soviet divisions,

and another 30 divisions are stationed in the European part of Russia, that is East of Poland. Alerting these units or marching them off is certainly not a problem for a big military power. I see no connection now between the Warsaw Pact maneuvers and developments in Poland.

WELT: Could you imagine a military collision between the Polish and the Russian armies?

Kuntner: In the Czechoslovak crisis, that is in 1968, many people were surprised that the CSSR army did not resist the Soviet invasion at all. We know today that this army was trained for more than two decades that the enemy and invader would come from the West. It seemed impossible to turn the Czechoslovak Army around in a few hours, saying that invaders were coming from a completely different side, namely from the East.

That would be different in Poland due to a long tradition, and maybe also due to the fact that Poland does not have a border with NATO. The Poles have a different awareness with regard to their state and people than the Czechoslovaks. Soviet military planning, therefore, would have to take into consideration, in contrast to 1968, that the Polish Army might not side with the Warsaw Pact everywhere, and that at least parts of the Polish Armed Forces could side with the Polish people and the workers, just as in Hungary in 1956.

WELT: How many troops would the Soviets have to use militarily in order to carry out a successful intervention in Poland?

Kuntner: Well, that depends on the assessment of the Polish Army, but if the Soviets want to exert control over Poland very quickly--just to create a fait accompli vis-a-vis the world public--they would have to set up at least 20 divisions in the East as well as in the West so as to starve out the reoccurrence of such movements as in Gdansk.

WELT: How long do you think it would take to make preparations for such an enterprise vis-a-vis Poland?

Kuntner: The preparations for the Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia in 1968 lasted for many weeks, but at that time it went parallel with several Soviet attempts to solve the problem politically. Purely militarily--that is, without the attempt to achieve a political solution--the Soviets would need 1 week for the concentration of troops in the case of Poland. But we would spot that in time.

WELT: Could it happen to Western politicians and military men that they might wake up some day unsuspectingly while the Soviets have invaded Warsaw?

Kuntner: No. Particularly, since the Soviet Armed Forces in the GDR have all been deployed with a view to the West--and in order to turn them around in the direction of Poland, some reorganization would naturally be necessary, which one would most accurately observe in the West with today's electronic means.

WELT: Is it not so that regardless of how the Polish movement may develop in the future, the strategic situation in Europe must change due to this development?

Kuntner: Particularly the political landscape will change. If the reform movement continues, the whole East Bloc will change in the long run, because developments cannot be limited to Poland. But if there is an intervention, detente will lose face and significance completely. One cannot apply force internally while saying externally that detente exists.

We in the West knew about the limits of the process of detente. We started out from the assumption that there were common interests among Europeans despite the differences in political and economic systems. But if the application of force is necessary, we ought to strike the word detente from our vocabulary.

CSO: 2300

AIR ROUTES, AIRPORTS FOR CIVIL AVIATION DESIGNATED BY DECREE

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 77, 25 Sep 80 pp 2-4

[Decree of the Council of State for the establishment of air routes, airports and aerodromes assigned to civil aviation]

[Text] The Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees:

Article 1. - The air routes assigned to civil aviation for international and domestic air transport, as well as for purely domestic air transport, are those outlined in Annex No 1.

The width of air routes is:

a) 20 km (10 km to the left and right of the line of flight) for international air routes;

b) 10 km (5 km to the left and right of the line of flight) for domestic air routes.

The designation of air routes and the minimum flight levels for them will be established by the Department of Civil Aviation and will be published in the radio-navigation map of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

The maximum flight level for air routes is 14,950 standard meters.

Article 2. - The airports and aerodromes assigned to civil aviation, as well as their zones, are those outlined in Annex No 2.

The vertical limits of airport zones will be established by the Department of Civil Aviation and will be published in the approach maps drawn up for each airport.

For take-offs and landings, those aircraft that fly utility missions and for sport will use the airports and aerodromes outlined in the Annex, as well as the airfields established according to legal provisions. The airfield zones will have a maximum lateral limit of 20 km from the center of the field and the vertical limit will be a maximum of 200 meters above the ground and obstacles on it.

Article 3. - Annexes No 1 and No 2 are an integral part of this decree.

Article 4. - Articles 6-9, 13 and the annex "The Airports and Aerodromes Assigned to Civil Aviation, as well as Their Zones" in the Flight Rules in the Air Space of the Socialist Republic of Romania, approved in Council of Ministers Decision No 793/1974, published in BULETINUL OFICIAL of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Part I No 98, 11 July 1974, as it was amended and modified in Council of Ministers Decision No 65/1978, is hereby abrogated.

[Signed] Nicolae Ceausescu, President of the Socialist Republic of Romania
Bucharest, 23 September 1980, No 287.

Annex No 1

Air Routes Assigned to Civil Aviation

A. For international and domestic air transport:

1. Border crossing point with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (48°03'N - 23°19'E) - Baia Mare - Tirgu Mures - Brasov - Mizil.

2. Border crossing point with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (45°28'N - 28°14'E) - Galati - Urziceni - Floresti - border crossing point with the Bulgarian People's Republic (43°42'N - 24°51'E).

3. From the Black Sea (43°56'N - 29°10'E) - Constanta - Galati - Brasov.

4. From the Black Sea (43°42'N - 28°48'E) - Constanta - Tandarei - Urziceni - Strejnic - Curtea de Arges - Deva - Arad - border crossing point with the People's Republic of Hungary (46°18'N - 21°10'E).

5. Border crossing point with the People's Republic of Bulgaria (43°45'N - 29°49'E) - Tirgu Jiu - Arad.

6. Border crossing point with the People's Republic of Bulgaria (43°48'N - 23°43'E) - Tirgu Jiu.

7. Border crossing point with the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (44°46'N - 21°34'E) - Tirgu Jiu - Floresti - Mizil - Galati.

8. Border crossing point with the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (45°16'13"N - 21°16'43"E) - Timisoara - Arad.

9. Border crossing point with the People's Republic of Hungary (47°00'N - 21°41'E) - Oradea - Sibiu - Strejnic.

10. Oradea - Cluj-Napoca - Sibiu - Brasov - Strejnic.

11. Baia Mare - Cluj-Napoca - Tirgu Mures.

12. Floresti - Curtea de Arges.

13. Curtea de Arges - Sibiu - Deva.

14. Timisoara - Deva.

B. For domestic air transport:

1. Urziceni - Tulcea.

2. Constanta - Tulcea - Galati - Bacau - Suceava.

3. Galati - Iasi - Suceava.

4. Mizil - Bacau - Iasi.

5. Floresti - Craiova - Tirgu Jiu - Caransebes - Timisoara.

6. Arad - Oradea - Satu Mare - Baia Mare.

7. Oradea - Deva.

8. Satu Mare - Cluj-Napoca - Deva.

9. Tirgu Mures - Suceava.

10. Bacau - Tirgu Mures - Sibiu.

[Annex No 2 on next page]

Annex No 2

Airports and Aerodromes Assigned to Civil Aviation, as well as Their Zones

Airport (Aerodrome)	Airport (Aerodrome) Zone: Lateral Limit from the Center of the Airport (Aerodrome)	Airport (Aerodrome) Zone: Vertical Limit from the Ground - in meters -
1	2	3
A. Airports Open to Domestic and International Air Traffic		
Arad/Arad	Segment of a circle extending 20 km, limited by the border with the People's Republic of Hungary and the coordinates: 46°02'00"N - 21°06'30"E and 46°02'00"N - 21°25'30"e	Limit set by the Department of Civil Aviation
Bucharest/Baneasa	An irregular area, with the farthest side 22 km away	
Bucharest/Otopeni	Segment of a circle extending 25 km	
Constanta/M. Kogalniceanu	A circle extending 30 km	
Tirgu Mures/Vidrasau	A circle extending 20 km	
Timisoara/Giarmata	A circle extending 25 km	
B. Airports Open to Domestic Air Traffic		
Bacau/Bacau	A circle extending 20 km	Limit set by the Department of Civil Aviation
Baia Mare/Tautii-Magheraus	A circle extending 20 km	
Caransebes	A circle extending 30 km	
Cluj-Napoca/Someseni	A circle extending 30 km	
Craiova/Craiova	A circle extending 20 km	
Iasi/Iasi	Segment of a circle extending 20 km, limited by the border with the USSR	

1	2	3
Oradea/Oradea	Segment of a circle extending 20 km, limited by the border with the People's Republic of Hungary	
Satu Mare/Satu Mare	Segment of a circle extending 20 km, limited by the border with the People's Republic of Hungary	
Sibiu/Turnisor	A circle extending 30 km	
Suceava/Salcea	A circle extending 20 km	
Tulcea/Cataloi	A circle extending 20 km	
C. Aerodromes for Utility and Sport Aviation		
Bacau/Gherajesti	A circle extending 5 km (contained within the zone of the Bacau/Bacau Airport)	200
Brasov/Ghimbav	A circle extending 5 km	200
Brasov/Sinpetru	An irregular area limited by Brasov-Risnov-Predeal-Teliu-Feldioara-Brasov	1,300
Bucharest/Clinceni	An irregular area limited by: Domnesti de Jos-Jilava-Calugareni-Ghimpati-Clejani-Domnesti de Jos	2,000
Calarasi/Calarasi	A circle extending 5 km	200
Cluj-Napoca/Dezmir	A circle extending 5 km (contained within the zone of the Cluj-Napoca/Someseni Airport)	300
Craiova/Balta Verde	A circle extending 5 km (contained within the zone of the Craiova/Craiova Airport)	200
Constanta/Tuzla	A circle extending 5 km	200

1	2	3
Deva/Saulesti	A circle extending 5 km	200
Galati/Tulucesti	A circle extending 5 km	200
Iasi/Iasi-South	A circle extending 5 km (contained within the zone of the Iasi/Iasi Airport)	200
Pitesti/Geamana	A circle extending 5 km	200
Ploiesti/Strejnic	A circle extending 7 km	1,000
Suceava/Scheia	A circle extending 5 km (contained within the zone of the Suceava/Salcea Airport)	200
Timisoara/Cioca	A circle extending 5 km (contained within the zone of the Timisoara/Ghiarmata Airport)	200
Tirgu Mures/Muresani	A circle extending 5 km (contained within the zone of the Tirgu Mures/Vidrasau Airport)	200

8724
CSO: 2700

EXTRAVAGANCE CITED IN RELIGIOUS BUILDING IN BOSNIA

Building Limits Proposed

Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 9 Oct 80 p 4

[Excerpt] The coordinating council of the Republic Conference of the SAWP of Bosnia-Hercegovina, considering the problem of construction by religious communities, said today in Sarajevo that in the past few years a considerable number of religious facilities had been built in this republic which confirms the fact that the democratization of our society is felt also in this regard. But a reminder was given at the meeting that excesses had arisen in the building of such facilities, for example, the demonstration of power, unnecessary luxury, and the creation of grandiose facilities which do not correspond to actual needs, to the developed status of the opstina, or even the standard of living of the believers. It often happens that legal standards are violated, especially in constructing these facilities without permits. Also, despite precise legal regulations and political views about this problem, various problems arise in practice, such as the illegal action of religious communities, the self-will of individual clericalists, and sectarian behavior.

In Bosnia-Hercegovina at present more than 220 such facilities would be or are in the process of being built. It was said at the meeting that problems are arising in getting building permits, i.e., [there is] "administrative silence" in certain opstinas, or to put it better, there is a lack of understanding among individuals [who believe] that building these projects means the expansion of society toward religious communities.

It was proposed at the meeting that in future the construction of religious facilities should be resolved more simply, for example, urban regulations should establish the space and size of such a facility, so that unrealistic demands will not arise in this regard.

The council examined also some manifestations of politicalization in the publishing and informational activity of religious communities, stating that there are also problems here and an increasing number of texts with politicized content, ranging from hidden allusions to openly clericalist attitudes.

Collections for Construction

Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 12 Oct 80 p 6

[Excerpts] ...Such intensity in the construction of religious buildings is followed, often unfortunately, by clericalist or sectarian behavior, illegal actions and talk, among other things, about the unhindered expression of religious freedom. In Bosnia-Hercegovina this is also the result of the fact that there are three traditional religious communities, each of which wants to build religious facilities for their members and do not want to lag behind the other religions.

The frequent building of churches and mosques is, of course, an expression also of the large material possibilities of citizens who are believers. Their contributions to religious communities, the raising and furnishing of these facilities, is their private affair. No one can or should put pressure on them in any way or form. We are not pointing to this...without reason. Certain behavior at the time of building and especially of dedicating the new structure reminds one of a kind of misuse of the increased material possibilities of believers and a kind of pressure on their possibilities and interests.

In the solicitations that are often carried out among believers the costs of construction [reconstruction, etc.] often reach several million [dinars].

Such solicitation was recently discussed in the SAWP and it was concluded that agreements regarding such building should be reached in accord with religious needs and the material possibility of citizens, not only because it [such construction] means another "imposition on the village...," which should be considered in these stabilization times, but also because any soliciting among citizens can violate and threaten their human and moral dignity, which can separate and unjustifiably divide them into first- or second-class citizens, into more devout or less devout, even into greater or lesser members of the faith.

CSO: 2800

NAMING OF PARTIES AT FAULT FOR DETERGENT SHORTAGE URGED

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1546, 17 Aug 80 p 25

[Article by Jug Grizelj: "Lessons of an Incident"]

[Text] The "detergent incident" seems to be fading. And what it teaches us is certainly that it is very easy to cause confusion, but very difficult to correct it. He (or they) who a year ago was unable to examine all the consequences of the actions which brought about the shortage on the market of this obviously indispensable article showed at the very least an incompetence which bordered on negligence.

It turned out, that is, that the consequences of the shortage of this article were vastly out of proportion to the causes of the disturbance, as we have clearly heard (much later, of course, and altogether too late) even from many official spokesmen and places.

During its entire duration the "detergent incident" was characterized by a kind of duel, to be sure often half-unspoken and conducted nervously on both sides, which took place, to oversimplify the thing, between the administration and the public. Aside from keeping the public in a state of uncertainty (especially in the first phase) as to the first causes of the shortage of detergents, it is significant that the competent institutions on several occasions stubbornly insisted in moments of crisis on the argument that supply was "by and large" becoming normal, as was to be seen, it was said and is said even today, from the large amounts of detergents which the factories are distributing to the distribution sector which, however, is unable to satisfy the market, since "individuals are unnecessarily piling up reserves" and are thereby impeding normalization of the supply of this article.

The response of the public to these charges was to ignore them and to stubbornly persist in their siege of the stores.

There is no doubt that the statistical indicators were accurate and that the market did at one point actually obtain more than last year. Yet this

means nothing: the market, i.e., individuals, having been tricked and burned by bad experience, which has now taken it to the point of losing faith, is now demonstrating that lack of faith by hoarding up reserves, as natural a human reaction as there is.

In such a situation "normal amounts of detergents," of course, do not satisfy the market. But this is not the reason why the detergent market is still unsettled, but the consequence. It is the consequence of what we have called incompetence and negligence, and that is an altogether inappropriate name for officials in an administration which are by no means nameless, officials who proposed and conducted the policy of economy and stabilization and carried it out in this unselective way.

Detergents are slowly coming back, and in any case it seems that this problem is solved. What has not been solved--though the question of responsibility and indeed personal responsibility for every action is worked over every day by every spokesman, is the question of the ephemeral history of the still more ephemeral "detergent incident," whose consequences, however, are far from being ephemeral, as has also recently been said from several of the most prestigious political rostrums and forums.

If we wish to speak about the "detergent incident" from the standpoint of our so-called reputation in the world (which in any case, I believe, is a rather artificial category, since no country lives on the reputation which it has outside its own borders unless that reputation is based on its reputation at home), it would then be worth saying that there is something really comic in the failure of millions of foreign tourists on the Adriatic in the recent past to understand how there could be a shortage of detergents and coffee in a country where they have been well and hospitably received, where they can obtain nearly everything they need for a pleasant vacation, just as in their own advanced countries, and those things they can obtain are indeed more expensive and more difficult and complicated to produce or to import than detergents and coffee.

They simply do not understand. They do not understand that an advanced country like ours can have a shortage of detergent, and by and large they explain this by our "sense of the exotic." The foreigners, of course, are wrong, we are well aware of that, this is not a matter of a taste for the exotic, but of negligence and incompetence on the part of a person or persons who have a first name and a last name. Why don't we say so.

The least important reason for this is for the heads to roll, though here and there a public resignation in this or a similar case would certainly signify more than we suppose. But above all so that the administrative official, at least in this sector, would be on a par with a self-manager in an organization of associated labor who is quite well aware that he must bear public responsibility for any oversight both before his own organization of associated labor and before society as a whole.

As far as I can remember, there has never been a case when a journalist refrained for reasons of any political or any other sensitivity from publishing the actual names of the specific individual responsible in a work organisation for a specific loss that occurred. On the contrary: when a newsman is prevented from attending some meeting of a work collective where someone's specific responsibility and guilt is being debated--we appeal to all the well-known principles of public scrutiny of proceedings in our self-managed society.

If all of us, and concerning this "detergent incident" I am referring both to the broad base of self-management and to the highest and most responsible delegate forums, to the assemblies and political organizations--took note that the "detergent incident" occurred because of someone's incompetence and irresponsibility, then who are we helping when we do not allow the public to be present when we sit in judgment on those responsible?

What purpose is there in it except that it nurtures an unfortunate and long obsolete assumption of the past--that there is a double standard for responsibility: one used for responsibility of a public figure and another for the responsibility of one who is not a public figure.

If this case, which we have provisionally referred to as the "detergent incident," is not an occasion for rumors to develop about a double standard concerning responsibility, then it would really be difficult to say what sort of occasion that might be.

7045
CSO: 2800

BRIEFS

SOVIET OFFICIAL'S MEMOIRS--The 26 September 1980 issue of the party weekly Belgrade KOMUNIST in Serbo-Croatian p 4 publishes a criticism of Soviet Marshal Aleksander Vasilevski's World War II memoirs which came out in the USSR in 1973 and have now been published in Belgrade. It was pointed in asking why they are being published in Yugoslavia, especially without an introductory comment. Readers, it says, should be made aware of the fact that the author glorifies the Stalinist era in a blatantly propagandistic way, justifying Stalin's pact with Hitler and ignoring historical events, such as the army purges, the Yugoslav and Balkan actions, and the Yalta Conference. [Editorial Report]

CHURCH ROLE IN POLISH CRISIS--The 28 September 1980 issue of the Zagreb Catholic bimonthly GLAS KONCILA in Serbo-Croatian pp 3,7,12, publishes a full-page article on "the Catholic Church in the latest events in Poland," featuring a prominent picture of Lech Walesa and workers praying with a priest and citing Walesa's statement, "Without religion I would be nothing." It also cites from Cardinal Wyszynski's 2 September letter in which he said that the causes of the crisis "are not only economic, but the roots are much deeper. The Cardinal believes that these [causes] are rooted in the monopoly of the party in economic life, the fact that workers are deprived of freedom of opinion and the defense of their rights.... The government is concerned only about increasing production, not considering the physical and phychic possibilities of the workers, their family and religious obligations. ...The workers know where one should seek help to revitalize our society. In another item, GLAS KONCILA also makes reference to the first radio broadcasts in Poland of religious services. This issue also includes a half-page reportage, with picture, on the sentencing of the Russian Orthodox priest Gleb Yakunin. [Editorial Report]

SENTENCED FOR ETHNIC INTOLERANCE--On 23 September 1980 Ago Curovac (born in 1929), watchmaker, and Muharem Hasanbegovic (born in 1946), a member of the religious clergy from Gorazde, were each sentenced to 4 years in prison for the criminal act of inciting to national, racist and religious hatred, division, or intolerance (Article 134, Paragraph 1 of the SFRY Criminal Code). The sentence was pronounced by the criminal council of the district court in Sarajevo presided over by Judge Rizah Hadzic. [Text] [Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 24 Sep 80 p 28]

END

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East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1824

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

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7 November 1980

EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1824

CONTENTS

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

GDR Sees Improved Bloc Relations With Third World
(Various sources, various dates)..... 1

Socialism Gaining 'Foothold', by Hartmut Kohlmetz
West German Commentary
Importance in East-West Conflict, by Emil Langer

BULGARIA

Biographical Sketch of Ruben Avramov Levi
(Deyan Pavlov; RABOTNICHESKO DELO, 23 Sep 80)..... 16

Briefs
Aleksandur Lilov in Vratsa 19
Bozhinov at Okrug Plenum 19
CSSR Minister 19
Bozhinov Visits Plovdiv Fair 19
Todorov, Soviet Academician 19
National Assembly Committee 19
Scientific, Technological Forecasting Symposium 20
Stoyan Mikhaylov Activities 20
Bozhinov in Plovdiv 20
Lilov Visit to Vratsa 20
Stanishev at Aktiv Meeting 20
GDR Deputy Minister 20
Latvian Visitor 21
USSR Cinematography Official 21

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Political Reliability Key Factor in Militia Cadre Selection
(Mattuschak; DER KAEMPFER, Sep 80)..... 22

Department Head Describes Flight Engineer Training
(C. Kippenhahn; MILITAERTECHNIK, No 5, 1980)..... 25

Problems Cited in Damage to Aircraft Engines
(R. Beck; MILITAERTECHNIK, No 5, 1980)..... 31

Ready-Alert System Meteorological Services Described
(Horst Karos; FLIEGER-REVUE, Sep 80)..... 41

POLAND

Journal Views Problems of Media Censorship
(Marian Flasinski; PRAWO I ZYCIE, 5 Oct 80)..... 45

ROMANIA

Responsibility for Compensation for Damages Under Socialist Law
(Renee Sanilevici; REVISTA ROMANA DE DREPT, Jul 80)..... 51

YUGOSLAVIA

Suspension of Self-Management Procedures on Upswing
(Stevan Niksic; NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE, 21 Sep 80)..... 68

Slovenian Survey on Reasons for Changing Jobs
(Boris Petrovic; VJESNIK, 27 Sep 80)..... 74

Situation of Churches, Relations With State Reviewed
(NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE, 7 Sep 80)..... 80

Emphasis on Good Relations, by Milan Milosevic
Church Holdings

GDR SEES IMPROVED BLOC RELATIONS WITH THIRD WORLD

Socialism Gaining 'Foothold'

East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 12 Sep 80 p 4

[Article by Hartmut Kohlmetz: "Karl Marx--A Guide Even for the Millions in Africa; Socialism Is Beginning To Gain a Foothold on the Fourth Continent"]

> [Text] The 1970's marked the transition from the cold war to detente. At the start of the 1980's, the world stands at the crossroads: will it manage to make the principles of peaceful coexistence prevail further, end the more and more dangerous arms race and undertake effective disarmament steps? Or is the world going into another cold war? The answers to that as well as the questions about the causes for the exacerbation of the international situation and about ways for defusing it are the subject of this article series. Today we will deal with the change on the African continent.

The 1970's turned Africa into a focal point of the worldwide class conflict. Since the Portuguese empire collapsed (1974), colonialism has virtually been eradicated. The independence of Zimbabwe in April this year also marked the beginning of the end of minority rule in the south of Africa. And more than that: Laying the corner stone for the Karl Marx monument in Addis Ababa during a visit by a GDR party and state delegation in November last year was conspicuously symbolic of the further progress on the fourth continent. During the laying of the corner stone, Erich Honecker said: "It shows that millions of people in Africa have started to regard Marxism-Leninism as a guide in their righteous struggle for national and social liberation."

A new phase of the liberation struggle has begun in Africa. The greater strength of socialism, the new possibilities for international solidarity arising therefrom, and the relations for mutual advantage initiated meanwhile between the young African states and the socialist countries have made it possible to enter the struggle for the second liberation: economic independence, indispensably prerequisite to any real political independence.

A Lift for the Second Liberation

The peoples' in the former Portuguese colonies decision to move toward a people's democratic course of development in the socialist direction and the overthrow of the feudal-monarchistic regime in Ethiopia (1974) and the social revolution that came with it provided the impulse. That such revolutionary decisions by the peoples can no longer be swept under the rug without trouble by the military export of the counterrevolution on this continent either is an experience imperialism had to make in Angola as in Ethiopia.

To be sure, imperialism refuses to reconcile itself with such losses in positions. It wants no consolidation of the young states' political independence wishing to determine their raw material production and prices themselves. It does not want the emergence and development of states that have opted for socialism. It wants no alliance consolidating between the progressive African states and the countries of real socialism.

"The immense African continent," as U.S. Defense Secretary Brown explained in May 1978, "deserves attention not only because of its strategically important geographic location but also because of its growing value as a raw material source."

And indeed, Africa--along with the petroleum centers of the Near East--is imperialism's most important raw material source. For that reason its strategic goals in the worldwide class conflict lie in "preserving the access of the West to the raw material deposits vital for the prosperity of the rich world," as the bourgeois LE MONDE DIPLOMATIQUE wrote in July 1978. On the whole, Africa's soil harbors circa one-third of the world's mineral resources.

No Blank Check for the Status Quo

The former U.S. Secretary of State Kissinger had wanted to persuade the world public that by accepting the detente policy the United States had received a blank check, as it were, from the Soviet Union for preserving the status quo in the Third World. He evidently believed the Soviet Union's great interest in detente would make possible putting the Soviet Union under pressure and preventing it from engaging in internationalist solidarity with the African nations. That design had to collapse of course like a house of cards because the communists do not throw their class position overboard.

After throwing back the South African aggressors in Angola, stirred up by the United States--in the fall of 1975, the racists were only 25 kilometers from Luanda--, through military support from the Soviet Union and Cuba, the time had come for imperialism to seek a new Africa strategy. Its principles were formulated by the current national security advisor to the U.S. President, Brzezinski.

The battle between socialism and capitalism was being decided in the Third World, he explained in his book, "America in a Hostile World," published in excerpts only in the summer 1976 issue of FOREIGN POLICY. For that reason, the capitalist countries, the "industrially developed democracies," should have to unite in order to "solve the problems with the developing countries" through such a united front. The leadership in this "creative process of constructing a new world community" would of course go to the United States which was called upon "to structure the rapidly changing world in a manner that conforms with our national interests."

The imperialist conspiracy based on this concept, by which unrestrained supremacy in Africa is to be reconstituted, was sealed at the NATO Council Session in Washington in May 1978 and the subsequent summit meeting of the seven leading imperialist powers in Bonn in July 1978. Part of this counter-offensive were and are the confrontations around the Horn of Africa to bring Ethiopia down on its knees. That also includes South Africa's attacks on Angola and the military operations of former Southern Rhodesia against Mozambique and Zambia. In the same directions were and are aimed the attempts at imposing neocolonialist pseudo-solutions on Zimbabwe and now also Namibia. This furthermore includes the nuclear conspiracy with South Africa up to igniting the first nuclear bomb in September last year, the buildup of a Rapid Deployment Force, and the slander campaign in the African states directed against the Soviet Union, Cuba and the GDR.

These imperialist activities have kindled dangerous tension in many places and extracted costly human and material sacrifices from the peoples which they would have needed urgently for their own material and cultural development. In drawing up an interim balance-sheet for the imperialist counter-offensive thus far, the enemies of the African peoples were able temporarily to gain some positions, to be sure, in a few countries that were willing to provide the United States with military bases. But on the whole, the imperialist plot did not work.

On What the Peoples May Continue to Rely in the Future

The most recent session of the Political Advisory Commission of the Warsaw Pact states reiterated its continued resolute support for the African peoples. That gives them the guarantee that they will continue their advances throughout the 1980's in getting rid of the yoke of imperialism, neocolonialism and racism.

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 119, 7 Aug 80 pp 1-2

[Report from Berlin: "East Wants To Form Closer Ties With Developing Countries--GDR Journal Stresses Growing Significance of Developing Countries in East-West Conflict." A translation of the East Berlin DEUTSCHE AUSSEN-POLITIK article cited below follows this commentary]

[Text] The semiofficial East Berlin journal DEUTSCHE AUSSENPOLITIK (No 8, 1980) has advocated closer ties between the developing countries and the socialist states. New successes in the national and social liberation struggle by the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America would depend on how they "cooperate with the USSR and the other socialist states, how effectively they use the aid and support offered by them, and not let themselves be pushed into anticommunist and anti-Sovietist positions." The course of socialist development taken by some of these states made it possible "gradually to overcome the backwardness and dependency inherited from their colonialist past and create the material-technical, social and political-ideological preconditions for having the revolutionary process grow into the socialist revolution." The future of the socialist-oriented developing countries would depend "significantly on how firmly those particular countries are solidarily affiliated with the socialist states."

DEUTSCHE AUSSENPOLITIK in this context stressed the great role played by the circa 120 developing countries in the intensifying East-West conflict. The developing countries, as the largest group of states in numbers, had "a great influence on UN decisions." Some developing countries had immense raw material and energy resources and played a great role, especially, for the economy of the Western states. The increasing weight of the developing countries with respect to the East-West conflict was, last but not least, determined by the military-strategic location of many of these states.

Importance in East-West Conflict

East Berlin DEUTSCHE AUSSENPOLITIK in German Vol 25 No 8, Aug 80 signed to press 3 Jul 80 pp 37-48

[Article by Dr Emil Langer, Academy of Social Sciences, SED Central Committee, East Berlin: "Lenin and the National Liberation Movement"]

[Text] From 19 July to 7 August 1920, 60 years ago, the Second Congress of the Communist International (Comintern) was held in Petrograd and Moscow. The resolutions of that congress were of extraordinary importance for the development and struggle of the growing communist movement.[1]

In the preparation of the program documents and resolutions of that congress, Lenin, whose 110th birthday is being celebrated this year by progressive forces all over the world, had a decisive share. Among the studies on which the congress deliberations were based also was the "Original Draft for the Theses on the National and Colonial Question."[2] This study by itself makes clear that the Second Comintern Congress through Lenin's creative work also made a significant contribution to preparing a scientific orientation for the activities of the communists in the colonial and semicolonial countries. That is attested by the fact that Lenin delivered the report by the commission for the national and colonial question.[3]

To give a vivid picture on just a few pages of the whole breadth and variety of the problems treated at that congress is impossible. Instead, by selected problems we wish to pay tribute to the share Lenin and the Second Comintern Congress have had in extending the doctrine of the national and colonial question and the strategy and tactics of the international revolutionary workers movement vis-a-vis the national liberation movement.

In contrast to the parties of the Second International (1889 to 1914) that were dominated by the opportunists, the Comintern adopted a rigorously revolutionary position based on proletarian internationalism with respect to the national and colonial question. That stance had for its premise the teachings of the founders of scientific communism. Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels had paid much attention to the peoples' liberation struggle in the colonial and semicolonial countries. They had revealed the essence of the national and colonial question and proven the inevitably established community of interests and struggle between the workers class in the so-called motherlands and the subjugated peoples in the colonies. Marx and Engels illuminated that the struggle by those peoples for national liberation and social progress was inseparably connected with the struggle of the international proletariat, with the successes and victories of the revolutionary workers movement. They created the theoretical principles for the interrelations and cooperation between the international workers movement and the national liberation movement.

These important insights by Marx and Engels also governed the practical political work of the First International in opposition to colonialism and on behalf of the peoples' freedom. They were further developed by Lenin, creatively and through heavy confrontation with revisionist conceptions, under the conditions of imperialism and the general crisis in capitalism, into a doctrine on the national and colonial question and the strategy and tactics for the international workers movement vis-a-vis the national liberation movement.

Lenin and the Role of the National Liberation Movement in the Revolutionary World Process

While the reformist parties of the Second International were of the opinion that the suppressed peoples were "not yet ripe" for their independence and regarded the movement in the colonial countries as as an "insignificant national and utterly peaceful movement," Lenin marked its new quality as follows: "Millions and hundreds of millions--in fact, the overwhelming majority of the population on our globe--are asserting themselves now as independent, active, revolutionary factors."[4] Based on the theoretical insights by Marx and Engels into the dialectical connection between the revolutionary proletarian movement and the national liberation movement, Lenin wrote in 1916: "The social revolution can proceed in no other way but in the form of an era in which the proletariat's civil war against the bourgeoisie in the progressive countries combines with a whole number of democratic and revolutionary movements, including the national liberation movements of the undeveloped, backward and suppressed nations."[5]

The first victorious socialist revolution in the world itself also met tasks of an anticolonial revolution, of a national liberation revolution. It, at the same time, amounted to a turning point in the liberation struggle of the colonially suppressed peoples altogether.

With the victory of the Great Socialist October Revolution, the national liberation movement entered a new phase and got a mighty boost. In the first socialist state it got its most loyal ally. The Soviet Union, as Lenin announced, acted not only as the "representative of the proletarians of all countries," but also as the "representative of the suppressed peoples."[6] The first firm foundations were laid for the anti-imperialist alliance between socialism, the international workers movement and the national liberation movement. Lenin stressed "that the revolutionary movement of the peoples of the East can develop successfully and reach its goal only through its direct connections with the revolutionary struggle of our Soviet Republic against international imperialism."[7]

After the victory of the Great Socialist October Revolution, Lenin prepared a prognosis for the future role of the national liberation movement within the revolutionary world process. The awakening of the peoples of the East, that was caused by the October Revolution, would be followed, he predicted, by an epoch in which all these peoples "take part in deciding the destiny of the whole world and stop being merely an object for enrichment."[8]

Lenin defined the liberation movement of the suppressed peoples as "national-revolutionary,"[9] as an "active factor in the struggle for the overthrow of world imperialism."[10] The specific share this movement would have in the revolutionary world process he primarily saw in that it would have the task to eliminate imperialist colonial rule in vast areas of the world and pave the way for solving general democratic tasks and for surmounting the backwardness for which colonialism was to be blamed. At the Second Comintern Congress in 1921, he drew the conclusion that "in the decisive battles of the world revolution to come, the movement of the majority of the world population, which originally aimed at their national liberation, will turn against capitalism and imperialism and perhaps play a much greater revolutionary role than we had expected, and where the masses of the working people and the peasants in the colonial countries, though they are still backwards now, will play a very great revolutionary role in subsequent phases of the world revolution."[11]

Enriched in recent decades by the scientific achievements of the communist world movement, mainly that of the CPSU, in settling newly ripened theoretical and practical problems in the national and social liberation struggle under the conditions of the successful advances of the socialist world system and the further deepening of the general crisis in capitalism, the Marxist-Leninist doctrine on the national and colonial question has emphatically attested to its strength all over the world in revolutionizing and actively chang'ng the popular masses.

That the national liberation movement developed into a significant factor of the anti-imperialist struggle is inseparably connected with the world-transforming victories of socialism. The international conference of the communist and workers parties in 1969 defined that movement as one of the three main revolutionary currents of our time, and as an alliance partner of the socialist states and the international workers movement in the struggle against imperialism and reaction and for social progress.[12]

The course of events in Asia, Africa and Latin America fully confirmed Lenin's analysis and prognosis and those of the communist world movement, especially also those of the 25th CPSU Congress and of the Ninth SED Congress with respect to the role of the national liberation movement in the world-wide revolutionary process. The overwhelming majority of the once colonially suppressed peoples on those continents won their national independence. Today circa 120 states, in which more than 70 percent of the world's population lives, make up the group of the developing countries and constitute four-fifths of the UN member states. They have become active participants and coshapers of world politics and international relations. Their weight in the conflict between socialism and imperialism and in the struggle for peace and social progress keeps increasing.

The peoples' national liberation struggle contributed to a change in the situation in the United Nations and other international organizations, a change that reflects the development of the international balance of power. As the numerically strongest group of states, the developing countries exercise a great influence on UN decisions. Most of these countries take part in the movement of the nonalined states, which plays an increasing role in international life, actively struggling against imperialism and aggression, neocolonialism and racism.[13] These states also are more strongly affecting the activities of other international organizations. More than ever the USSR and the other socialist states, together with most of the liberated countries, have been able to bring about important resolutions in such organizations that serve the defense of world peace, the safeguarding of international security, the elimination of dangerous sources of conflict, the expansion of international detente to other areas in the world, the total elimination of all sources of colonialism and racism, and the democratic transformation of international economic relations. At the same time it is apparent that the increasing diversification among the developing countries and the growing socioeconomic and political differences among them affect the consistency of their anti-imperialist struggle and the cohesion in their stand against neocolonialism and hegemonism. Thus it should not be excluded that nonalined states, as Erich Honecker put it, "in one case or another assume diverse positions in the United Nations because of differences in their socioeconomic levels and their political orientation."[14] This applies as much to their activities on other levels of international politics.

Some of the developing countries have enormous raw material and energy resources. Among other things, for instance, from 80 to 90 percent of the

petroleum and phosphate deposits outside the socialist world, and from 50 to 60 percent of the copper, iron and manganese ore deposits, are concentrated in such countries. Africa, for instance, holds 97 percent of the world supplies surveyed in chromium, 85 percent of the platinum, 65 percent of the gold, 50 percent of the manganese and 25 percent of the uranium. African countries are among the most important producers of petroleum, iron, diamonds, bauxite, phosphates, copper and alloy steels. These few figures and facts suffice to explain how much of a role the developing countries currently play, especially for the economy of the imperialist states, and how great their potential is for the future shaping of international economic relations and the solution of global problems of humanity.

It conforms with the aggressive character of imperialism that it opposes in every way the struggle by the peoples in the developing countries for their economic independence, for the power of disposition over their national resources, to keep or regain those raw material and fuel sources.

The South African racist regime and the NATO states stubbornly deprive the Namibian people of their freedom and independence, not last because it has uranium deposits counting among the largest in the world. The FRG imports 30 percent of its uranium from Namibia although UN resolutions prohibit the import of raw materials from that country.

In the 1970's imperialism sought to appropriate the resources of the developing countries mainly by an increased capital export offensive. "The aggressive circles of imperialism seek raw material sources," Erich Honecker said, "political and military-strategic positions, spheres of influence, and maximum profits."[15] The contradictions between the imperialist states and the developing countries are going to continue throughout the 1980's.[16]

The attitude of the nationally liberated states is gaining increasing importance for the solution of global problems of humanity, especially in the struggle for peace and disarmament. It must be kept in mind that most sources of conflict and war in the world, which were generated or are being maintained by the aggressive policy of imperialism and the Chinese leaders' hegemonistic drive for expansion, relate to the nationally liberated countries or the still colonially or racially suppressed peoples. Advances in arms limitation and disarmament and the removal of imperialist military bases from territories of once colonial countries would solidify the sovereignty and integrity of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America and spare them their great military expenditures.

The frantic U.S. and NATO armaments policy implies an ever more copious and profitable export of arms to the developing countries. The armaments expenditures of some of those countries have risen by leaps and bounds in recent years. According to Soviet publications, the proportion in general world armaments expenditures on the part of the developing countries rose from 5.8 to 12.6 percent between 1965 and 1975. In 1976, their armaments expenditures came to $ 90.7 billion. Some states, especially Brazil and

Argentina, have themselves become arms producers and suppliers. Brazil alone already sells arms to 33 states. Its armaments export in 1979 came up to a value of approximately $ 500 million. In 1980, prospects are it will go to $ 1 billion.[17]

Containing the arms race and disarmament measures would release considerable funds for peaceful purposes, which also would support the developing countries in their solving their economic, social and educational and cultural policy problems. This would create more favorable conditions for coming to grips with the global problems mankind is confronting. That applies to the struggle against hunger and disease, environmental protection and other matters that have to do with the population explosion and modern civilization that are becoming more and more urgent. According to UN surveys, for example, more than 30 million children below the age of 5 starved in 1978, and circa 800 million are vegetating below the subsistence minimum.

The most recent estimates of the UN Center for Demography suggest the inference that the population in the developing countries will continue to increase rapidly and that 80 percent of the entire population of the world will be living there by the end of our century.[18] This enormous growth causes many complicated economic, social, medical and other problems and tasks which can be resolved only by an efficient use of national resources and by international cooperation.

The labor potential in those countries will have approximately doubled by the year 2000, with circa 1.5 billion working persons. The historically most important trend in this is the constant growth of the workers class that will find its social role enhanced.

Last but not least, it also is the military-strategic location of many of these countries that increases the weight of the former colonial world in international relations, in the conflict between socialism and imperialism, and in the struggle for peace and social progress.

Lenin's 1919 remark, that the revolutionary movement of the peoples of the East could successfully develop and reach its goal in immediate connection only with the Soviet Union's revolutionary struggle against international imperialism, remains wholly pertinent. The assured prospects of the national and social liberation struggle by the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America also have a close connection with the growing strength of real socialism and of its international influence. New successes in this struggle will depend on how well the anti-imperialist, revolutionary forces in the countries on these continents strengthen further their own commitment in the international arena and work together with the USSR and the other socialist states, make efficient use of the aid and support they have offered them and not let themselves be pushed into anticommunist and anti-Sovietist positions. The close alliance among world socialism, the revolutionary workers movement in the capitalist countries and the peoples' anti-imperialist liberation movement, based on reciprocal objective identity of interests, is a crucial prerequisite and guarantee for victory in the cause of national and social liberation and imposes solidary obligations on all alliance partners.

The policy of peace, detente and peaceful coexistence, pursued by the USSR and the other states in the socialist community, in conformity with the essence of socialism, expresses the fundamental vital interests of all peoples. As historic experience has proven in recent decades, it also is a decisive precondition for the successful development and victory of the anti-imperialist movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Only by all developing countries' active commitment to the safeguarding of peace and the prevention of imperialist interventions and aggressive acts by hegemonial forces, the peoples of the former colonial and semicolonial countries will find it possible to solve their vital problems. Erich Honecker said about this: "In peace, the interests of the peoples, and their struggle for national independence and social progress, prosper. The class policy of monopoly capital raises danger to peace and the nations' security. Therefore the struggle for peace is the central issue for mankind and for the class struggle in the international arena."[19]

Lenin on the Social Prospects of the Former Colonial and Backward Countries

The founders of scientific communism arrived at the ingenious prediction that it would be possible for colonially suppressed and dependent nations to shorten their developmental process toward socialist society and spare themselves the agonies of the capitalist system. Lenin defended these theoretical insights against all attacks by rightist opportunist and ultra-leftist forces and creatively extended them further under the new historic conditions in our century. At the Second Cominform Congress he reaffirmed the possibility "that the backward countries with the support from the proletariat in the most progressive countries" could arrive at socialism "without having had to pass through the stage of capitalist development."[20]

The theory of noncapitalist development demonstrated its vitality first within the framework of the USSR and then in the Mongolian People's Republic. It has been and is being enriched by the experiences of the peoples of Vietnam, the Korean Democratic People's Republic and other states that have turned toward socialist development. Social development oriented toward socialism, as it is becoming reality today in an increasing number of nationally liberated states, doubtless is the most important sociopolitical phenomenon in Asia and Africa after the disintegration of the imperialist colonial system. It is a significant criterion in the further spread of the revolutionary world process and in the deepening of the general crisis of capitalism. Practical public affairs in the countries that have opted for the socialist orientation confirm that this course amounts to a revolutionary transition process entailing anti-imperialist, antifeudal, democratic and increasingly also anticapitalist transformations. This course of development makes possible gradually to overcome the backwardness and dependency inherited from the colonial past and to create the material-technical, social and political-ideological preconditions for having the revolutionary process grow into the socialist revolution. Decisive for this are the altered international correlation of forces, the firm political alliance between the progressive forces of any of those countries with the

USSR and the other socialist states, and the formation of a revolutionary vanguard of the working people, equipped with the scientific world-outlook, that is able to give political leadership to the state and society.

The peoples in the countries with a socialist orientation are visibly successful in their efforts at securing and solidifying their state sovereignty, constructing their national economy and gaining economic independence, making public and political life more democratic, developing an educational and health system, encouraging national culture and raising the standard of living. They are securing for themselves the power of disposition over their national resources and are developing a strong governmental economic sector as the economic basis for their revolutionary-democratic power. The USSR and other socialist states, the GDR included, are providing them in this with extensive political, economic, scientific-technical and other aid. The 34th CEMA session, from 17 to 19 June 1980, reiterated once again: "Led by the principles of internationalism, the CEMA member countries, on a bilateral and multilateral basis, support the young states that have taken the course of socialist development as well as other developing countries in their rapid economic development and in consolidating the political and economic independence of these countries."[21]

Aleksey Kosygin, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, at that session made a special point of how important it was to develop cooperation with Angola, Afghanistan, Democratic Yemen, Kampuchea, Laos, Mozambique and Ethiopia.[22]

The countries with a socialist orientation are pursuing an anti-imperialist peace and detente policy and are standing in the front rank of the national and social liberation struggle by the African and Asian peoples. Due to uneven starting and developmental conditions, there are great differences among them with respect to the course of the revolutionary process and the changes in their base and superstructure achieved thus far and desired in the future. Social development in those countries proceeds under complicated domestic and external conditions and contains many social and political contradictions. It is accompanied by bitter conflicts and also, at times, by stagnation and reversals. As Erich Honecker emphasized, advances "mainly depend on the development of the classes, their power ratio, the degree of organization in the revolutionary forces, and the formation of vanguard parties."[23]

Imperialism and domestic reaction seek as best they can to stop the revolutionary process and reverse the social transformations initiated. In this they are exploiting the fact that the countries of socialist orientation still depend to a large extent on the capitalist world market right now and for the foreseeable future.

The nearly 20-year historic experiences by nationally liberated states moving toward socialism teach us, however, that this form of progressive social development is a real and auspicious course of struggle by the peoples for a new life, even if some countries have broken it off or stagnations or retrogressive trends have occurred.

A perspective in social development oriented toward socialism will be secure to the extent that, mainly, stable relations evolve in the revolutionary exercise of power by the working people, based on the political alliance among the workers, peasants and other working people under the leadership by the workers class and its Marxist-Leninist vanguard. It essentially depends on how firmly the countries concerned are tied in solidarity to the socialist states.

Lenin on the Specifics in the Communists' Struggle in the Colonies and Semicolonies

Lenin marked as the "corner stone of all Comintern policy in the national and colonial question the mutual rapprochement between the proletarians and the working masses in all nations and countries in a common revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of the landowners and the bourgeoisie."[24] Accordingly, the guidelines he had prepared, which were adopted by the Second Comintern Congress, set as conditions for membership in the Comintern: "Any party that wishes to belong to the Third International is obligated implacably to unmask the machinations of 'its' imperialists in the colonies, support every liberation movement in the colonies, not by words but by deeds, demand the expulsion of its own imperialists from these colonies, awaken truly fraternal sentiments for the working population in the colonies in the hearts of the workers of its own country, and for the suppressed nations, and engage, in its country's army, in systematic agitation against any suppression of the colonial peoples."[25]

To the extent that the communist parties in their practical politics let themselves be guided by these principles and the colonially suppressed peoples overcame their own reservations toward the working people in the imperialist states, the alliance developed between the revolutionary workers movement and the national liberation movement in its anticolonial, anti-imperialist struggle. The slogan, "Proletarians of All Countries and Suppressed Peoples All Over the World, Unite!" which was first formulated at the First Congress of the Peoples of the East in 1920, more and more turned into a joint action program.

In the outcome of this evolution and of the struggle by the revolutionary forces there also formed communist parties and groups in colonial and dependent countries. Among the historic distinctions of the Comintern is that it did extensive work in supporting the formation of such parties and solidifying them ideologically and organizationally. It is of course largely the specific sociopolitical and national-ethnic conditions in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America that mark the appearance and effectiveness potential of these parties. Lenin repeatedly pointed out that one could not possibly speak of any "purely proletarian movement"[26] in colonies the most important feature of which was that precapitalist conditions were still prevailing there.

"It would be utopian to believe," he explained, "that proletarian parties, if they could evolve in such countries in the first place, would be in the position to carry out communist tactics and communist policy in such backward countries without establishing certain relations with the peasants movement and energetically supporting it."[27]

Reviewing the practical results of the work by Russian communists in former tsarist colonies, in Turkestan for example, he however also made the point "that in spite of these difficulties it is possible to awaken in the masses the desire for independent political thinking and independent political activity even where there is almost no proletariat."[28] While already the First Comintern Congress had been attended by revolutionaries from China, Korea, Persia, Turkey and Latin America, the Second Congress for the first time also saw delegates from other colonial and dependent countries among its attendants, from India, for example. They represented Marxist circles and groups and leftist forces in socialist organizations and national-revolutionary liberation movements that had taken a mighty boost after the Great Socialist October Revolution. About the magnitude of the task the communists had in the colonies and semicolonies to work out a correct revolutionary strategy and tactics commensurate with the realities of colonial dependence and backwardness, Lenin said: "Here a task arises for them unlike any other ever for communists all over the world: Based on general communist theory and practice, they must, while adapting to specific conditions such as do not exist in European countries, know how to apply this theory and practice to conditions where the population is made up almost completely by peasants and where the struggle has to be directed not against capital but against the residues of the Middle-Ages."[29]

Of special value was the remark that the revolutionary party of the proletariat must be able "to combine with the broadest masses of the working people, principally with the proletarian but also with the nonproletarian working masses, get closer to them and, if you wish, meld with them to a certain degree."[30] It was necessary for the party "to use any, even the tiniest possibility to gain an ally among the masses, even if he be only a temporary, fluctuating, unsafe, unreliable or conditional ally."[31]

The national liberation struggle has emphatically provided practical confirmation of the correctness of these remarks by Lenin and of the Second Comintern Congress resolutions. The communist parties that evolved in Asia and Africa have followed a complicated course, rich in sacrifice. Since being set up, all their efforts have been directed at liberating their peoples from the colonial yoke and representing the working masses' vital public interests. The communist movement has also grown on these continents and has become politically stronger in recent years. Its guiding and mobilizing role in carrying further the national and social liberation struggle has grown. Most communist parties have in the 1970's rendered more precise and further developed their political, strategic and tactical positions and adopted new party programs or program documents.

It is of extraordinary importance that in several African and Asian states, like in Angola, Mozambique, Congo, Benin, Ethiopia and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, the revolutionary-democratic parties or movements have pronounced scientific socialism the basis of their policy and have begun to organize themselves as revolutionary vanguard parties. This attests to the fact that even in countries with weakly developed class distinctions, where thus far no communist parties had formed, the movement for national and social liberation increasingly begins to combine with scientific socialism.

The SED and the GDR have always stood by the side of the peoples struggling for their national and social liberation and have lent them the greatest possible assistance. They do attach special importance to the socialist-oriented states, to the formation of revolutionary vanguard parties in Africa and Asia because they, after all, as Erich Honecker put it at the 11th SED Central Committee session, embody social progress and another great victory of scientific socialism.[32]

At present, alliance relations of new dimensions and new qualities are developing with these states and parties. An important contribution to that have been the friendship visits of party and state delegations in 1979, headed by SED Central Committee General Secretary and GDR State Council Chairman Erich Honecker to several African and Arab countries. The long-term friendship and cooperation treaties signed on those occasions with Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen open up great prospects for these relations on behalf of our common struggle against imperialism and its neocolonialist policy, and for peace and social progress.

FOOTNOTES

1. Cf. H. Schumacher, "Die Kommunistische Internationale (1919-1943). Grundzuege ihres Kampfes fuer Frieden, Demokratie, nationale Befreiung und Sozialismus" (The Communist International, 1919-1943--The Basic Features of Its Struggle for Peace, Democracy, National Liberation and Socialism), Berlin, 1979.

2. V. I. Lenin, "Werke" (Works), Vol 31, pp 132-139.

3. Cf. ibid., p 228.

4. Ibid., Vol 32, p 505.

5. Ibid., Vol 23, p 53.

6. Ibid., Vol 31, p 448.

7. Ibid., Vol 30, p 136.

8. Ibid,, p 145.

9. Ibid., Vol 31, p 229.

10. Ibid., Vol 30, p 145.

11. Ibid., Vol 32, p 505.

12. Cf. "International Conference of the Communist and Workers Parties, Moscow 1969," Berlin, 1969, p 12.

13. Cf. E. Honecker, "Die naechsten Aufgaben der Partei bei der weiteren Durchfuehrung der Beschluesse des IX. Parteitages der SED" (The Next Party Tasks in the Further Implementation of the Ninth SED Congress Resolutions), Berlin, 1980, p 20.

14. Ibid.

15. Ibid., p 13.

16. Cf. ibid., p 24.

17. Cf. V. V. Gorokhev and P. P. Yakovlev, "Armament Expenditures in Latin America," LATINSKAYA AMERIKA, Moscow, No. 3.

18. Cf. "World Population Trend," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, Berlin, 19 June 1980.

19. E. Honecker, "Die naechsten Aufgaben . . . .," op. cit, pp 13-14.

20. V. I. Lenin, "Werke," Vol 31, p 232.

21. "Communique of the 34th CEMA Session," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, Berlin, 20 June 1980.

22. Cf. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, Berlin, 19 June 1980.

23. E. Honecker, "Die naechsten Aufgaben . . . ," op. cit., p 19.

24. V. I. Lenin, "Werke," Vol 31, p 134.

25. Ibid., p 196.

26. Ibid., p 231.

27. Ibid., p 230.

28. Ibid., p 231.

29. Ibid., Vol 30, p 146.

30. Ibid., Vol 31, p 9.

31. Ibid., 0 56.

32. Cf. "11. Tagung des ZK der SED," Berlin, 1979, p 21.

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF RUBEN AVRAMOV LEVI

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 23 Sep 80 p 4

[Article by Deyan Pavlov, senior scientific associate: "Notable Scientist and Distinguished Statesman"]

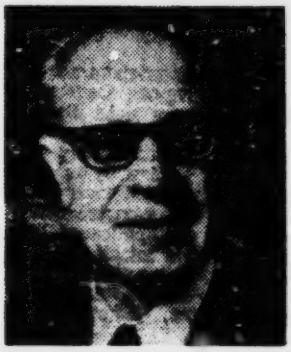
[Text] Comrade Ruben Avramov, a veteran statesman as well as a notable figure in cultural and scientific fields, recently turned 80 years of age. Our nation celebrated his anniversary with due respect and gratitude for his work as professor, member of the Central Committee of the BCP, hero ofsocialist labor, public figure in art and culture and director of the Institute on Contemporary Socialist Theory.

Comrade R. Avramov was born on 23 September 1900 in Samokov into a large family of workers. During World War I he became a sympathizer of the leftwing socialist party. In 1919 the students circle in which R. Avramov participated merged with the then created youth communist league in Samokov. Through his initiative a league of this kind was founded in Dolna Banya too. In the fall of the following year young Ruben arrived in Sofia and started active work in the Komsomol of the capital and in 1922 became its secretary. R. Avramov, a courageous and unwavering fighter, participated in the preparation of the September 1923 uprising in Sofia by organizing combat units. In October of the same year Avramov was made a member of the Central Committee of the BKMS [Bulgarian Communist Youth Union].

At the beginning of 1925 R. Avramov's life entered a new phase. Following the decision of the BKMS Central Committee he was sent as a delegate to the enlarged plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist Youth International. After the April 1925 bombing of St Sofia Cathedral in Sofia and the beastly terror, the Office in Exile of the BCP Central Committee decided that R. Avramov should stay in the USSR as a political emigre. The fascist regime in Bulgaria sentenced him to death in absentia.

He graduated from the Lenin International School, founded by the Executive Committee of the Comintern with the purpose of training cadres from other fraternal parties. Later on he was appointed lecturer at the Bulgarian sector of the Communist University for training of cadres for the communist parties in some capitalist countries. In 1931 he became a lecturer at the Lenin International School. With great energy and devotion to the party Avramov participated in the work of the Bulgarian emigres in the USSR.

In 1936 R. Avramov began to work actively in the struggle of the workers in Spain to save the republic from the raging fury of fascism. After the election victory of the Popular Front in Spain, the Spanish students at the Lenin International School auditing the courses of the sector chaired by R. Avramov went back to their country. The ardent proletarian internationalist Avramov, following the decision of the Comintern, Central Committee, joined them in Spain as emissary of the Comintern.



Caption of Photo: Hero of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.
The State Council has issued a decree awarding Ruben Avramov Levi with the title "Hero of the People's Republic of Bulgaria" for his active participation in the fight against fascism and capitalism, for his contribution to the building of socialism and in honor of his 80th birthday.

During the Spanish war he was appointed in early October of 1936 by the military commisariat of the Spanish Republican Army as an inspector general of the military commissars of the Central Front. At the end of 1936, due to his courage, decisiveness and excellent promotional qualities as mass oragnizer and ideological activist, Avramov was recommended by the government of the Spanish Republic and the Communist Party Central Committee to organize the work of the military commissars in the entire republican zone. He was also appointed chief editor of EL KOMISARIO, the organ of the military commissariat of the Spanish Republican Party.

Day after day, week after week and month after month, Ruben Avramov, the communist internationalist, worked diligently under most trying circumstances and fulfilled all tasks entrusted to him with his habitual revolutionary assertiveness and organizational talent.

In March 1939, after many complex and unforeseen difficulties, R. Avramov left Spain, which was soaked in blood by the war, and, aided by the French Communist Party, reached Paris together with some Spanish comrades. The second half of May of the same year he was back in the USSR, his second fatherland.

In Moscow the Comintern Executive Committee appointed him director of the newly created 2-year party school for training party cadres among Spanish military emigres. In 1942 he became director of the unified school of the Communist International. In this capacity he contributed greatly to the emergence of ardent revolutionaries in the ranks of the fraternal communist parties who later on played an important role in the

fight of their own people against capitalism and fascism, on the side of freedom and socialism. At a later date R. Avramov was made one of the editors of the famous radio station Khristo Botev (1943-1944).

Happy days followed after the 9 September 1944 victory, to which R. Avramov had devoted his strength and entire life without reservations from his early years. At the end of September 1944 he arrived in his country, where new and serious responsibilities awaited him as a party, social, and national figure, as well as teacher, publicist and propagandist. First he worked as acting deputy of the Agitation and Propaganda Department of the BCP Central Committee and has continually been elected at all congresses.

Comrade Avramov has always held responsible positions in the cultural, scientific and ideological fronts during the entire period of the building of socialism. Wherever the party sent him he worked selflessly and successfully for the fulfillment of the tasks in the ideological, scientific and cultural fronts, and also contributed to the victory of the Marxist-Leninist ideology in Bulgaria under the leadership of the party. He participated abroad in many international conferences of the fraternal communist parties.

R. Avramov is a relentless fighter for the promotion of the Leninist April line of the party led by Comrade Todor Zhivkov. This line has opened wide horizons in the transition to socialism and the building of a mature socialist society in our country.

Comrade Avramov's entire life represents a courageous fight based on the principles of unmasking bourgeois ideology, anticommunism, anti-Sovietism, the rightist and "leftist" revisionism, reformism and anarchism. Therefore, it was most natural for Comrade Avramov to head for the past 10 years the Institute on Contemporary Socialist Theories, a specialized scientific enterprise for the fight against hostile ideology and propaganda.

Being a consistent Marxist-Leninist, R. Avramov has always tried to combine his practical with his theoretical and propaganda work, and to contribute to the defense, application and further development of our immortal revolutionary ideology.

The soldier of revolution, the ardent communist, Ruben Avramov Levi, is celebrating his 80th anniversary in the combat line of the party, fulfilling today as well his sacred duty of a patriot and internationalist.

1010
CSO: 2200

BRIEFS

ALEKSANDUR LILOV IN VRATSA--On 7 October Aleksandur Lilov opened an historic exhibition in Vratsa City, dealing with the anniversary of forming the Bulgarian state. Later on Aleksandur Lilov met the BCP Vratsa Okrug Bureau and was briefed on the tasks performed by the BCP Vratsa Okrug Organization at present. [AU082032 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 7 Oct 80 AU]

BOZHINOV AT OKRUG PLENUM--On 7 October Todor Bozhinov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, and Kiril Zarev, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the State Planning Committee, took part in a plenum of the BCP Smolen Okrug Organization, at which improving the labor organization and applying the new economic approach were discussed. [AU082032 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1430 GMT 7 Oct 80 AU]

CSSR MINISTER--Grigor Stoichkov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, yesterday received Ladislav Gerle, CSSR minister of metallurgy and heavy industry, who is visiting our country. They discussed questions pertaining to the further development of cooperation in the production and delivery of hydropower equipment, as well as in the field of metallurgy industry and heavy machine building industry. The meeting, which proceeded in a friendly and cordial atmosphere, was attended by Nikola Todoriev, Bulgarian minister of power supply, as well as Jaroslav Hejna, CSSR ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary.. [Text] [AU031824 Sofia ROBOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 30 Sep 80 p 3 AU]

BOZHINOV VISITS PLOVDIV FAIR--On 3 October Todor Bozhinov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, visited the Plovdiv International Fair. He visited the Bulgarian display and was briefed on the technological novelties displayed at the fair. [AU031824 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 3 Oct 80 AU]

TODOROV, SOVIET ACADEMICIAN--Today Comrade Stanko Todorov received academician Vladimir Kotelnikov, vice president of the USSR Academy of Sciences. [Text] [AU022105 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 2 Oct 80 AU]

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY COMMITTEE--The permanent committee on social policy opened a session at the National Assembly. The session is chaired by Peko Takov, chairman of the committee. Members of the council on the reproduction of human resources attached to the State Council are also taking part in the session.

The National Assembly deputies will discuss issues of the workers health protection. They will be submitted reports by Radoy Popivanov, minister of national health, and by Misho Mishev, chairman of the Bulgarian Trade Unions Central Council. The National Assembly deputies will also study documents on investigations carried out in connection with the health protection of workers in the capital and in seven okrugs of the country. [AU022105 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 29 Sep 80 AU]

SCIENTIFIC, TECHNOLOGICAL FORECASTING SYMPOSIUM--Sofia, 1 Oct (BTA)--The 2nd International Symposium on the Problems of Scientific and Technological Forecasting opened here today with a speech of Mr Nacho Papazov, chairman of the State Committee for Science and Technological Progress. At two plenary sittings and the sessions of five sections, specialists from Bulgaria, the GDR, Cuba, Poland, Romania, the Soviet Union, Hungary and Czechoslovakia will exchange experience in application of scientific and technological forecasting in the national economy and the different industries and will discuss the deepening international cooperation in this sphere. [AU022105 Sofia BTA in English 1448 GMT 1 Oct 80]

STOYAN MIKHAYLOV ACTIVITIES--Stoyan Mikhaylov, BCP Central Committee secretary, has received the working group of the CPCZ Central Committee Education and Science Department, led by Chief Jan Majcharcik. During the cordial and friendly talks, issues concerning implementation of the BCP decisions on developing education in our country and on further expanding cooperation between the two communist parties in the sphere of science and education were discussed. [Text] [AU032128 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 3 Oct 80 AU]

BOZHINOV IN PLOVDIV--On 9 October Todor Bozhinov visited Plovdiv. He visited several industrial plants and took part in a meeting of the BCP Plovdiv Okrug Bureau and Plovdiv Okrug People's Council Executive Committee, in which he was briefed on the tasks solved at present by the okrug party organization. [AU100946 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1630 GMT 9 Oct 80 AU]

LILOV VISIT TO VRATSA--On 9 October Aleksandur Lilov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, visited Vratsa Okrug. Accompanied by Nano Lalov, BCP Varna Okrug Committee first secretary, Aleksandur Lilov visited research institutes, agrarian plants and the Kozloduy nuclear plant. [AU100946 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 9 Oct 80 AU]

STANISHEV AT AKTIV MEETING--On 7 October Dimitur Stanishev, BCP Central Committee secretary attended a meeting of Sofia Okrug state, party and economic and public aktiv, which marked the beginning of the party education academic year. Nikokay Dyulgerov, BCP Sofia Okrug Committee first secretary, spoke on the tasks of BCP Sofia Okrug Organization. [AU072140 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1630 GMT 7 Oct 80 AU]

GDR DEPUTY MINISTER--Sofia, 7 Oct (BTA)--Today member of the politburo of the CC of the BCP and first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers Todor Bozhinov received deputy minister of heavy mechanical engineering and appliance building of the GDR (Eckhard Nezmann). Talks were held on the techno-scientific cooperation in the field of heavy mechanical engineering and the production of

complete projects. Some basic matters of specialization and joint production of mining, metallurgical and power generation equipment up to 1985 were reviewed. [Text] [AU072140 Sofia BTA in English 1835 GMT 7 Oct 80 AU]

LATVIAN VISITOR--Georgi Yordanov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, received a delegation headed by Viktor Krumin, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of foreign affairs of the Latvian SSR, yesterday. The meeting, which proceeded in a warm and comradely atmosphere, was attended by (Valentin Dyakov), trade attache of the USSR in Bulgaria. [Text] [AU062020 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 3 Oct 80 p 4 AU]

USSR CINEMATOGRAPHY OFFICIAL--On 4 October in Varna Lyudmila Zhivkova received Filipp Yermash, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Cinematography. In a friendly atmosphere they held a discussion on the problems and tendencies of modern cinematography. [AU052200 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 4 Oct 80 AU]

CSO: 2200

POLITICAL RELIABILITY KEY FACTOR IN MILITIA CADRE SELECTION

East Berlin DER KAEMPFER in German Vol 24 No 9, Sep 80 p 5

[Article by Lt Col Mattuschak, People's Police, military scientist: "Training Course Capacities Always To Be Fully Utilized According to Type--Observance of Quality Characteristics in Selecting Cadres a Prerequisite for Successful School Attendance"]

[Text] Cadres naturally play an important role in the successful realization of the class mission of the militia cadres which, as a component of socialist national defense, always guarantees continuous high combat strength and combat readiness. Therefore, the work of cadres is an extremely important part of the organizational activities of party and state officials, of police officers responsible and of course also of commanders.

In the total course of development of the militia, the party continues to devote great attention to the cadre problem. Lenin teaches that the cadre is the combat strength of the party and of the state when building up socialism, when strengthening the nation's defense strength, and when solving all socioeconomic problems. Lenin's theoretical legacy contains a universal foundation for the principles of selection, assignment, training and education of the cadre. Lenin placed the political aspect first in solving the cadre problem. He regarded a successful solution of the tasks without approaching the selection of cadres politically as unthinkable. The cadres, their knowledge and experiences, unshakable party loyalty and devotion to socialism decide the success of the matter and finally decide the victory in battle. It is therefore by no means a coincidence that our Marxist-Leninist party places political reliability first when it comes to the selection, acceptance and training of militia members. This principle applies even more for the selection, advanced training and deployment of leadership cadres.

In order to successfully lead men and units in combat, political reliability alone does not suffice. For that it is necessary to have also basic military and theoretical knowledge. The majority of the cadres cannot attain this through self-study. This absolutely necessary knowledge is conveyed in concentrated form and by specialists at the appropriate schools, also to militia members.

The criteria for the selection and assignment of militia cadres to the respective schools are unequivocably established in the appropriate documents. Our

experiences with the Ernst Thaelmann Academy are evidence that a good job of selection continues to be done in districts and counties.. The realization that an even distribution in accordance with training capacities guarantees the highest degree of success during the respective training courses has gained acceptance.

A further increase in the quality and effectiveness in preparation and execution of the political and combat training as well as the additional extracurricular training has always been achieved through the goal-directed use of the cadres in the appropriate functions after completion of their course of instruction. Therefore, it is necessary when selecting and assigning cadres that the comrades assigned to a basic course for commanders and deputies for training as well as for deputies for political work at the Central School, for example, have already completed a course for platoon-leaders and, if possible, have carried out this function. The same holds true for other courses as well. That means that cadre preparation is to be assured and carried out in accordance with the regulations contained in the programs. We must, however, frequently note that new course participants do not know the programs and accordingly were not able to prepare for them. If this were improved it would also assure that a higher standard could be strived for and also reached in the first hours of a course of instruction.

We consider very good and desirable what is already being successfully practiced in a number of units. There a comrade who has already graduated from the academy in the same, if possible, or another course, is assigned to a cadre as a sponsor, as it were. This sponsor familiarizes the comrade with the most important things, including the program, which await him at the academy. This has proven best in our experiences also, because the comrade assigned to the course is thus made familiar with the operation of the school and with the prevailing atmosphere and can orient themself more quickly, which, to be honest, saves us a lot of work and works out favorably for the course of instruction, discipline and order. We say to that openly: Imitate!

We have trouble, and the assigned comrade is in difficulty, if it has not been assured that this or that cadre brought along the necessary documents, clothing and supply items appropriate for the course. In addition to cadre documents (personal files), this concerns primarily: Proof of qualification (as far as already received), militia ID, a complete uniform and protective mask, and two authorized notebooks.

In this connection it is also necessary to point out once again that the assigned comrades were taught the regulations regarding alertness and secrecy, and know the contents of the service order militia well. Finally, timely arrival must be assured. We have good reasons to point out that fact also.

It is probably understandable to everyone that the preparation and carrying out of the training process is made considerably more difficult by non-compliance with the most important criteria here. That is shown particularly in the fact that assignment to classes according to the individual categories is made more difficult i.e. delayed, resulting in the fact that military formation takes up precious training time. It is not possible fully to plan the beginning of training and of advanced training. When the participants have differing or even partially

insufficient preparation, additional time and effort are taken up to compensate for this, resulting in decreased accomplishments of the objective of the course of instruction. At the same time, additional demands are made on the class collective in order to give help and support beyond that normally given to individuals.

That means that the process of training and continued training is negatively influenced by the noncompliance with the regulations for the selection and assignment of cadres, the training and qualification of all comrades are affected detrimentally by one or a few. The universal fulfillment of set goals in the training programs can only be reached with increased efforts on the part of the teaching personnel which finally costs them their free time and, over the years, also their health.

High effectiveness and quality in training, coupled with proper selection and assignment of cadres, are the keys to further successes in the increase of combat strength and combat readiness of the militia. Theoretically this is clear; it is important to put the theory into practice.

9328
CSO: 2300

DEPARTMENT HEAD DESCRIBES FLIGHT ENGINEER TRAINING

East Berlin MILITAERTECHNIK in German No 5, 1980 signed to press 15 Jul 80
pp 228-230

[Article by Col C. Kippenhahn, commander, Flight Engineer Department, Franz Mehring Officers' College: "'Franz Mehring' Air Force/Air Defense Command Officers' College, Flight Engineer Department"]

[Text] The Flight Engineer Department (FID) at the officers' college of the Civil Air Defense Command (LSK/LV) trains military cadres who are ready and able to assure the combat training of the NVA's flying forces through engineering technology as well as aircraft supply technology under any conditions, as well as in the continuous and timely maintenance of aircraft i.e. aircraft supply technology (FVT).

Based on the variety of demands and tasks, officer cadets receive basic training in the following specialties: "FID officer for cell/engine," "FID officer for aircraft armament," "FID officer for special electrical equipment," or "FID officer for radio and radar equipment," or "officer for flight-technical supplies."

The FID has at its disposal experienced and highly qualified superiors and teachers who, together with the faculty of social sciences and basic training, with the party and FDJ organization, educate the officer cadets to class-conscious officers who are loyally devoted to the party and to their socialist homeland, and who meet the requirements of their first and second assignments.

1. Tasks and Requirements for Officers of the FID or for airport Technical Security

The engineer and airport technical security of the air force places complicated demands on FID members or FVT personnel. The conscious work of FID or FVT personnel gains in significance especially when the enemy attacks quickly and at extremely low altitudes. The greater their sense of responsibility and qualifications the more extensive the practical capabilities and skills of the young officers, the greater is their contribution to securing the combat readiness of the air force.

This means for the officer of the FID or the FVT:

Supported by a solid and useful Marxist-Leninist knowledge, he trains his subordinates to be class-conscious, combat-ready fighters in the sense of socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism.

He trains his subordinates in high military discipline and order, alertness, reliability and honesty.

On the basis of his military technical knowledge, his practical capabilities and skills, he is capable of carrying out the operation, maintenance, care and repair i.e. aircraft supply technology, and to lead and to control collectives in these activities.

He is prepared to form his collective into a military combat collective, to lead it to high accomplishments in socialist competition, to supervise, guide and inspire them with enthusiasm through exemplary work.

He is capable of enduring great physical and psychological stress, and is prepared for the highest accomplishments in combat.

These selected requirements show that during the training process not only the officer cadets, but also the instructors must continuously qualify themselves.

2. Main Points of Emphasis in Training

The officer cadets receive--independent of training specialty or use--complete training in the social sciences, with the subjects distributed over the entire training period, as well as military training in artillery, protection, topographic, tactical, engineering, communication and motor vehicle training (Class V driving permit); in addition they receive training applicable to their specialty in the basic subjects of mathematics, electrotechnology, communication technical systems and automatic guidance.

Experienced officers and college instructors give the officer cadets extensive basic knowledge in natural sciences and tactical technical special knowledge. They are always making the effort to update the teaching materials on the basis of the most modern scientific findings as well as to improve the forms and methods of training in accordance with the requirements of the 1980's. They also have a significant part in shaping the officer cadets into socialist soldier personalities, influence their abilities to make expert decisions, their ability to gain knowledge on their own, their disciplined conduct while guaranteeing high combat readiness of the technology in their charge, and the constant strengthening of their professional motivation of becoming FID or FVT officers in our air force.

The department has under it the following subjects: Cell/Engine, Special Electrical Equipment, Flight Radio and Radar Equipment, Aircraft Armament, and Engineer Technical Safety.

The subject Cell/Engine familiarizes the officer cadets with aerodynamics/flight mechanics, thermodynamics, hydraulic-pneumatic systems, mechanical systems, the cell and the engine, as well as with the theoretical principles, constructive solutions, structure, characteristic processes, principles of operation and interaction of the various structural components and component parts of the aircraft (helicopter) cell as well as the hydraulic and pneumatic installations and flight engines. During their practical training the officer cadets gain basic skills in all control, maintenance and repair work for modern flight technology.

The subject Special Electrical Equipment introduces specialty-related knowledge, capabilities and skills in areas of power supply, engine control, flight regulator and flight navigation. Part of this is the preparation of installations and systems of the special electrical equipment before and between uses as well as restoring its usefulness in case of defects or breakdowns. The greatly increasing size of engine regulation equipment, the extensive industrial measuring and control equipment in the power equipment and the high degree of automation in flight control show the responsibility of the officers in this specialty for flight safety and for the success of the combat mission by the pilot.

Main subjects taught are:

Power equipment systems of planes and helicopters. It is the goal of training to learn the theory behind electrical machines as well as the principles of operation and of energy distribution, as well as of voltage control.

Flight regulators and flight navigation installations, with the goal to be able to assure proper operation, maintenance and control through solid knowledge of the mode of operation, methods and principles of construction of these systems.

Hands-on briefing in the actual installation of the plane or helicopter, which the graduate will use, with the objective of understanding and mastering the tactical technical possibilities, interaction and the use of control and measuring devices.

Combat duty which trains and teaches practical engineer technical safety according to technical documents and technologies, in cooperation with the engineering personnel.

The subject Flight-Radio-Radar Equipment teaches specialty-oriented knowledge, capabilities and skills in the area of radio, radar and flight navigation equipment of planes and helicopters. Part of this is the preparation of this equipment before and between uses as well as restoring its usefulness after a mission.

Main courses taught are:

Principles of signal communication technology, radio location and radio navigation with the objective of teaching operational principles and methods of present and future installations.

Hands-on briefing in actual plane and helicopter installations, their tactical technical possibilities, the structure, interaction with peripheral installations, their measuring devices and their uses.

Combat service enabling the officer cadets in the shortest time possible to assure safety in maintenance, preparation for combat, equipment protection, searching for and analyzing defects, and decisions regarding restoration of combat readiness of aircraft or helicopters, based on current service regulations and technical documentations, in cooperation with engineering personnel.

The subject Aircraft Armament teaches how to maintain, care for, prepare for deployment, use and repair the armament for manned missiles. It teaches technical and specialized basic knowledge and its use in the area of aircraft armament and planes, i.e. helicopters' installations and equipment which guarantee the specific and effective use of these weapons.

The technical and specialized principles are:

Mechanics and its use in aircraft construction, ballistics, dynamics of missiles, of gyrostats, and mechanisms.

Principles of aerodynamics for rapidly flying missiles and their use in aircraft rockets and projectiles.

Principles of guidance and guidance systems of guided rockets.

Problems of missile stabilization

Rocket and projectile propulsion and its use in aircraft weapons

Selected principles of explosives theory, of explosives and their fuses as well as their use in projectiles and bombs

Principles of infrared and laser technology

Principles of computer technology and their use in sighting mechanisms as well as in control and test equipment

Principles of electronic, electrical and electromechanical guidance systems as well as their use.

The subject Engineer-Technical Safety (ITS) fulfills various tasks of very different character. The ITS is for all FID specialties. It teaches the officer cadets extensive knowledge regarding the organization and conduct of ITS in combat training and combat operations of all branches of the NVA air force. The cadets are made familiar with the general rules and principles of work on aircraft, their duties in their first assignments and the contents of the FID service regulations.

This subject is the basis for the FID activity, it extends over all training years and is part of the final examination.

Troop maintenance falls under the same subject. Here the officer cadets receive the necessary equipment for the troop maintenance of flight equipment and other flight technical equipment, they learn about the theory of aviation materials and fuels. In addition, specialists from LSK regiments are being qualified in courses. They are trained for repair of engine cells, as welders for flight materials, users of combine trade union headquarters technology or for nondestructive material testing. They also assure the advanced training of welders and their supervision after TGL 2847. It is the goal of all courses to award or to receive government licenses or permits.

Aircraft supply technology is another field under this subject. It is responsible for the training of officers in airport security. After graduating as officers, they work as platoon leaders or deputy TA in a flight technical company or in an installation of the Rear Services. The officer cadets of this branch receive a wide spectrum of knowledge. They are able to organize and to lead the airport technical safety of flying and helicopter regiments, to prepare, use, maintain and repair aircraft supply technology, as well as to supply fuels and technical gases timely, continuously and properly.

Special training and basic tactical-technical training occurs in the following fields:

Power machines and operating machines

Special technology (construction, structure, functioning)

Combat service (use and maintenance of aircraft supply and special technology such as airfield fuel supply vehicles, liquid fuel transport and reloading technology, aircraft starting devices, among others; and Read Area security (tactics, organization, leadership).

3. Practice-Related Training of Officer Cadets

For the practice-related training of officer cadets, the FID has in addition to rooms, laboratories and workshops a training airport too. Already in the first year of training, the cadets gain practical abilities and skills at the training stands as well as the training combat technology. Until into their second year of training, they primarily learn elements of service control. In their third year they are fully familiarized with the operation of engineer-technical safety and the execution, supervision and control of all work in relation with the use and maintenance of aircraft technology or aircraft supply technology.

Only after they have mastered it in its entirety does their practical training at the officers' college come to an end. They gain their first practical experience at the beginning of their first year in a fighter bomber wing or in a flight technical batallion. In their second year they improve their capabilities and skills in leading military collectives in the role of squad leader in the

troop practical training courses I and II or in socialist military training. Simultaneously they study the practical leadership activity of an officer in his first and second assignment, by making them part of the technical and flight services. The final practical training course III for cadets in their third year takes place in the regiments and companies in which they serve as officers. Here they must prove themselves, because they work in those military collectives to which they will be assigned or which they will lead politically and militarily after graduation.

Love for their socialist homeland is expected above all else from officer applicants. This should be reflected in their entire demeanor and in all their actions, especially in seeking greater friendship with the Soviet Union and the other socialist states. In addition we expect openness, honesty, cooperation and modesty in forming true socialist relationships in the training and combat collectives. That means being socially active even before beginning the honor service in the NVA. Emphasis is placed on work in the socialist youth alliance, in the worker communes of the Society for Sport and Technology, or in the collectives of officer applicants under leadership of the kreis military commsnd. All possibilities given in schools, enterprises and local installations should be taken advantage of in order to gain the necessary prerequisites such as political clarity about the work of the NVA, physical endurance and professional ambition.

The officer applicant for training in the area of flight engineer service and aircraft supply technology must have a love for technical problems of modern weapons systems of the air force and must have an interest in carrying out the organization and leadership of engineering or airport technical safety. His thinking and actions must be aimed at solving all political, military and specialized tasks with initiative, while taking economic problems into consideration.

The faculty itself will make every effort in order to further the applicant's professional motivation. For that reason the political, military and specialized training takes place at a high level under troop related conditions, and training --in accordance with the steadily increasing demands in the technological revolution in the military--aims at the highest results.

9328
CSO:2300

PROBLEMS CITED IN DAMAGE TO AIRCRAFT ENGINES

East Berlin MILITAERTECHNIK in German No 5, 1980 signed to press 15 Jul 80 pp 250-253

[Article by Lt Col R. Beck: "Prevent Intake of Foreign Bodies Into Aircraft Engines; How Can Damage to Turbine Engines Be Reduced?"]

[Text] Negative effects result in three respects whenever it is necessary in the air force to exchange aircraft engines prior to the termination of their required operating hours.

First of all, the unit's combat readiness is impaired because the particular aircraft is not operational for the period required for the failure investigation and the engine change.

Second, flight safety is endangered when engine damage is not recognized at the right time.

Third, we get heavy military-economic losses when only a small part of the required operating hours was "used up."

It follows from all this that everything must be done to prevent premature engine changes. The absolutely critical point here is represented by engine damage due to the intake of foreign bodies.

Engine failure due to technical causes essentially springs from design factors as well as the quality of production or industrial repair, apart from the few cases of gross mishandling by rated and engineering-technical personnel. The modern turbojet engines used in our LSK [Air Force] have a very high degree of operational reliability. There are rarely any technical causes leading to engine change. The critical aspect of "intake of foreign bodies" also springs from the fact that, considering the current level of development of our engines, because of the need for minimizing the overall pressure losses in the intake part as well as the dry weight and the frontal cross-section, there are no devices for intercepting foreign bodi - in front of the air intake of the axial compressor.

1. Responsibility of Commanders and Supervisors

The three conditions for the intake of foreign bodies, mentioned in the article by Colonel Kippenhahn (MILITAERTECHNIK, No 4, 1980), characterize the multiplicity of possibilities and at the same time the danger of foreign bodies getting into the engine. It follows from this that the specialized services, which organize flight operations, which provide back-up support, guidance, and supervision, must together prevent the intake of foreign bodies. But that job can be done successfully only if the particular commander educates the supervisors of all pertinent specialized sections and, if necessary, forces them consistently to implement the requirement for cleanliness and orderliness in their area of responsibility.

The body of regulations applicable to flight operations and technical support services, the design of the aircraft and its ground equipment, as well as the requirements regarding the condition of flight operations areas (aprons, hardstands, taxiways, and runways) to a great extent take into consideration the danger of foreign bodies being sucked into the engine. Nevertheless, we still have such cases where engine failures result from the intake of foreign bodies. What therefore must be done in order to prevent premature engine change due to foreign body intake?

Above all we must extensively eliminate all causes and circumstances promoting the intake of foreign bodies. All personnel must be able and must be trained responsibly to obey the regulations, to keep aircraft and ground equipment in excellent technical condition, and to assure the proper condition of flight operations areas. Whenever damage on compressor blades and other engine components is observed, it will be necessary to make technically justified decisions as to the permissibility or impermissibility of continuing the particular engine in use. It is furthermore necessary to utilize all possibilities of unit-level repair as a function of the design features involved in the particular engine type. Commanders on all echelons are fully responsible for the general condition of the equipment while the particular flight engineering supervisor is responsible for technical inspection and reporting as well as the instructions given on the basis of those reports.

2. Eliminate Causes and Conducive Circumstances

Table 1 shows the essential danger sources regarding foreign body intake. It is not supposed to be complete and it is intended merely to help identify and eliminate causes and conducive circumstances promoting engine failure.

The cases mentioned in the left-hand column as a rule cause such severe engine damage that it cannot be repaired on the unit level. In some cases, the costs of industrial repair can be the same as the initial procurement

costs, that is to say, repair will no longer make any sense. The multiplicity of possible causes underscores the complex character which all efforts to protect engines against foreign bodies must reveal. It might be added at this point that, under the conditions of routine unit operation, it is not always easy to eliminate all causes and conducive circumstances.

Table 1. Causes and Conducive Circumstances Promoting Intake of Foreign Bodies

Foreign body is already in or within immediate vicinity of entry part	Foreign body is whirled up and gets into action radius of suction forces of entry part
Mishandling by flight operations personnel (violations of regulations and technologies, deficient inspection)	Defective condition of flight operations areas, separation of surface layer (blacktop, synthetic resin)
Failure to remove foreign bodies (tools, blank covers, nondurable material, etc.) in suction range	Breaks, cracks, crumbling of concrete, use of blacktop surfacing in places subjected to heavy stress due to gas jet and fuel leak losses
Failure to close hatches in suction shaft, combined with foreign bodies located in suction area behind the hatch lid to be closed	Defective fastening of taxiway wheels
Impermissible changes on ground equipment leading to the loosening of parts in the suction range	Defects in the cleaning of flight operations areas prior to the start of flight operations (wire remnants from sweeping brushes, concrete, blacktop, and ice remnants)
Taking along of foreign bodies in pockets of special work uniforms	Lack of cleanliness in parking areas (remnants of safety wires, screws, cleaning rags, etc.)
Incorrect donning of and loose parts in special work uniforms	Failure to sweep hardstand pad prior to starting engine
Staying in safety zones with engines running	Improper order at parking area (depositing of ground equipment, canvas, tools, etc.)
Defective attachment (securing) of self-locking screws and snap closures in suction range (for example, use of self-locking trigger-guard screws of incorrect length)	Contamination of flight operations areas due to violations of regulations regarding driving on air field

Design and production-engineering deficiencies (manufacture and industrial repair)	Driving on flight operations areas with dirty vehicles (for example, pebbles stuck in tire tread)
Deficient attachment (securing) of self-locking screws and snap closures in suction range (including on-ground equipment)	Unauthorized personnel driving on flight operations areas
Deficiencies in driving through water	Improper behavior by rated personnel Failure to maintain required taxiing intervals
Use of unsecured screws in suction range, defective welding seams, crack formation in suction range (including on-ground equipment)	Failure to watch wind direction during takeoff of groups of aircraft
Loose rivet in suction range	Using taxiways not cleared for use Insufficient inspection during acceptance of flight operations areas Pulling out of power dive too low during ground target firing practice using unguided rockets Failure to observe ornithological situation

The limited time available for preparing aircraft for a repeat takeoff, unfavorable lighting conditions during night flight, severe physical and psychological stresses on personnel during working while wearing protective clothing, unfavorable weather conditions and the requirement for short takeoff intervals during unit takeoffs make it difficult to meet all requirements for the protection of engines against foreign bodies. It is therefore all the more necessary to make sure that both the technical support service and the flight operations service are prepared, carried out, and supported on the basis of a high level of discipline as well as excellent capabilities and skills on the part of personnel. Every participating comrade, regardless of whether he is a tank truck driver, an aircraft mechanic, or an aircraft commander, must carry out the regulations in an exemplary fashion and must be able to recognize danger sources and act accordingly. This in particular means that the commanders and supervisors must always analyze their organizational and educational activities from the viewpoint of "foreign bodies" and consistently implement the corresponding regulations.

3. Recognize and Eliminate Causes of Actual Engine Failure

The examination of actual engine failure plays a special role in recognizing and eliminating weak points. This is currently not yet being done every where on the basis of uniform criteria and with the required effectiveness.

In what direction is the investigation to be conducted?

Inspection of Engine Damage
(As a rule: Compressor Rotor Blade)

In case of minor damage (so-called dents [impacts]), it is first of all necessary to determine whether the engine can continue to be used or what repair possibilities exist under unit conditions (see chapters 4 and 5). On the basis of the shape, dimensions, number, and location of damage points it is then necessary to work out the most accurate possible concepts as to the type of foreign body (make photos, sketches). In special cases, it is possible to conduct trace-plot investigations, calling upon criminal investigation specialists. Here it is necessary to keep in mind that the origin of the foreign body has not yet been established as a result of the investigation findings, for example, "hexagonal screw, M-7, shaft length 10 mm."

Investigation To Determine Missing Parts

All parts located in the suction range of the aircraft as well as ground equipment and tools must be subjected to a careful visual inspection (main point: see left-hand column in Table 1). The tool and the 1:1 ground equipment set must be checked for completeness.

Checking Documentation

Starting with the last compressor inspection recorded (as a rule, the last flight preparation phase), it is necessary in detail and in chronological order to record the "record" of the engine: flight preparation, pre-flight check, flying shifts (broken down for each individual flight), trial runs, tool time checkups, etc. For each stage it is necessary to determine the date, the time, the personnel involved, and any unusual observations. Furthermore it is necessary to determine, for the individual flight shifts, the wind speed, wind direction, takeoff direction, as well as, for the individual flights, the number of the exercise, takeoff interval, and takeoff formation. During ground target firing practice using unguided rockets, it is necessary to look into the maintenance of flight patterns.

Inspection of Flight Operations Area

Here it is necessary to examine the structural condition of aprons, forward takeoff line, taxiways, runways, and braking stations, including the guy wires and safety line. Besides, it is necessary to look into compliance

with and effectiveness of specified cleaning operations and acceptance functions as well as the implementation of the driving patterns for motor vehicles.

Interviewing Rated, Engineering-Technical, and Supervisory Personnel Involved

The basis of the interview might consist of written reports which the personnel involved must prepare in advance regarding all phases of flight preparation and implementation. In this process we clear up the questions arising from prior investigations and reports regarding the development of operations and any unusual incidents as well as compliance with military regulations.

Drafting the Conclusions

By analyzing the above-mentioned investigations, we can determine the cause or possible causes. If it is impossible to come up with clear statements regarding this situation--something which happens particularly frequently in the case of the so-called "dents"--then the minimum requirement calls for us to list all weak points in the entire process of flight preparation and implementation in a thorough fashion.

Spelling Out Measures To Be Taken

These measures are designed to eliminate the above-mentioned causes or weak points. The following can be such measures, for example:

Repairing the engine,

Suspension of personnel and deadlining of equipment,

Readmission after suspension,

Analysis of situation together with rated, engineering-technical, and back-up support personnel,

Instruction on specific topics (for example, compressor inspection),

Preventive inspections on aircraft and ground equipment,

Design changes on aircraft and ground equipment,

Organizational determinations (for example, specific determination of taxi and driving patterns, inspection of taxiways, additional cleaning work),

Improvement of structural condition of flight operations surfaces,

Drafting of technical reports, training materials, etc.,

Disciplinary and damage restitution measures.

As a function of specific conditions one can of course omit or expand individual elements of the investigation procedure described here while other steps can be added. The important thing is to make sure that the investigation will be carried out not only by the flight engineering service but together with responsible officers from all specialized services involved (for example, air base support service).

4. Make Technically Justified Decisions

In order to exchange engines, which have sucked in foreign bodies, only if operational safety is endangered, the manufacturer will determine technical conditions for blade damage as a function of the design features. If these conditions are exceeded, then the engine must be changed. In this way we avoid unnecessary engine changes in case of rust spots, small nicks, erosion on blades, etc., which result from very tiny foreign bodies. The following, for example, are permissible on the blades of the first compressor stage of a certain engine type (Figure 2):

Dents on no more than ten blades,

On one blade, no more than five dents, including up to three dents at the entry edge and up to two dents at the exit edge,

The dents must be at least 10 mm away from each other,

Dents at the leading and trailing edge of a blade must not be located on one particular radius,

For each blade, one dent with a maximum depth of 0.5 mm, the others less than 0.5 mm deep,

There must be no dents in zone "B."

The decision as to the further use or the removal of the engine in case of determination of dents must be made very carefully and must be technically justified. If the wrong decision is made, we either endanger flight safety or we get an unjustified heavier economic damage plus an additional expense. Past experience tell us that the dent depth is overestimated in case of visual estimation without the use of measurement instruments.

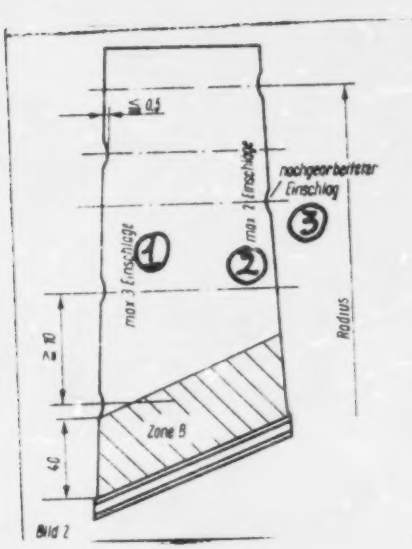


Figure 2. Permissible damage to a blade in the first compressor stage. Key: 1--maximum of three dents; 2--maximum of two dents; 3--repaired dent.

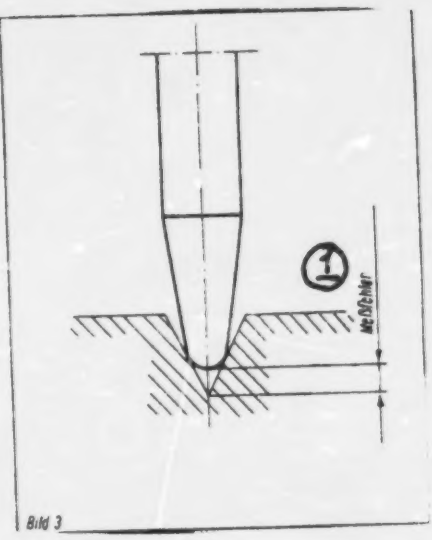


Figure 3. Measurement error in depth measurement using precision instrument. Key: 1--measurement error.

5. Possibilities of Judging Dents

The visual inspection of the first and second compressor stages as a rule is accomplished only with a good light source, without special aids, because in most aircraft there is a possibility of getting at the compressor intake via the suction shaft. For the purpose of visual inspection of the rear compressor stages, the manufacturer has provided special hatches in the compressor housing, whereby aids such as illuminated mirrors, endoscopes, etc., must be used. Here there is a danger that the magnification effect of the optical aids might cause the dents to be overestimated. It is therefore absolutely necessary to make sure that personnel will acquire a certain training level for this type of work with the help of comparison blades. Because visual overestimation of dent depth also results from the shadow created by burr formation and dirt, it is necessary to remove the burr from the dent before making any judgment and to clean the dent with an organic solvent.

When cracks are observed in a blade, it is necessary in every case to exchange the engine or, if possible, the particular blade. In case of a suspected crack, a suitable crack examination method must be used.

The measurement of the depth of these dents is possible only if the blades are easily accessible and if we can stop the entry of additional foreign

bodies during measurement (for example, in the first compressor stage or in compressors whose housings can be opened under utilization conditions). In the GDR air force, a portable measurement equipment set was assembled for use under field unit conditions on the basis of innovator proposals (figure 4); it facilitates direct and indirect depth measurement. For direct depth measurement, we use a precision instrument which was provided with a sensor tip and special support legs (figure 5). This measurement method is simple and quickly applicable but has the disadvantage that, in case of dents with a radius where the base of the dent is smaller than the radius of the sensor tip, we get a measurement error which is difficult to judge (figure 3).

In case of indirect depth measurement, we make a negative casting of the dent. For this purpose, after removal of the burr, we paint a separation agent on the damaged spot and we then form a small depression around the dent with plasticine. Into this little depression we pour the mold mass which has been stirred together from two components. After the hardening and removal of the negative casting, we can measure the impact [dent] depth with the precision instrument as a rise on the negative casting. This method extensively eliminates the measurement error connected with direct depth measurement but its handling is more expensive.

The foreign body which goes by the name of "bird" creates special requirements when it comes to deciding on the further use of the particular engine.

After a bird has been sucked in, the compressor blades are often not distorted but there is a danger that feather or meat remnants might clog the pipelines leading to the air outlet from the compressor. If these pipelines run outside the compressor housing and, which is the case as a rule, contain filters in front of sensitive structural components and systems, then we have an objective inspection possibility. A technically justified decision to be sure however requires a considerable effort but yields clear result.

If however the air flows through the interior of the compressor (for example, the shaft) and if such elements as the cooling-air ducts in the turbine rotor blades--which are so extraordinarily important for operational safety--are being supplied, then there is a greater danger that these narrow ducts might become clogged. In that case there is no objective inspection possibility on the unit level. To make a decision, we thus face the difficult task of determining whether a bird did fly in, whether that can lead to clogging, or whether we are dealing here only with parts or remnants of a bird (separation due to the sharp-edged parts of the air intake)--something which does not constitute a danger. In the first case of course the engine must be changed.

From this viewpoint it is understandable that the subject heading of "bird intake" accounts for a very large percentage of premature engine changes

due to foreign body entry, particularly in engines with interior cooling of turbine rotor blades. Here we particularly crassly run into the requirement which applies to all categories of foreign body entry: by means of complex efforts it is necessary to eliminate conditions for foreign body entry and, in case of the appearance of such a situation, it is necessary to make responsible decisions.

6. Utilizing All Unit Repair Facilities

These possibilities depend first of all on the engine design. As a rule, we can repair only engines with a limited number or limited dimenstions of dents in compressor rotor blades under unit conditions. From the viewpoint of high military-economic savings, which can be achieved in this way, it is necessary fully to utilize these repair possibilities.

Here are some examples:

We clean the blades in case of dents which, in keeping with the manufacturer's technical conditions, permit the further utilization of the engine ("permissible dents"). The purpose here is to prevent the development of cracks along dents. The cleaning must be done with fine-grained grinding-cloths (specified by the manufacturer) in such a manner that the dent can be completely removed and that we will get small grooves, especially in a direction lateral to the blade edge. This is permissible only if we can be adequately sure that no foreign bodies (grinding agents, chips) will get into the compressor.

The exchange of blades and the exchange of the first compressor stage are accomplished on engines, which facilitate this change by virtue of their design, according to the technology provided by the manufacturer.

7. Conclusion

The above article is designed to help the reader understand the need for the absolute protection of engines against foreign bodies and the complexity of this problem. The problem of "foreign body intake" is one of those areas where only through circumspect, responsible behavior, coupled with solid knowledge and ability, often without any major additional effort, we can accomplish the task which was formulated as follows by our minister of national defense:

"Our responsibility as socialist military personnel commands us to secure the required level of combat strength and combat readiness of the armed forces coupled with the lowest possible burden on the economic potential."

PHOTO CAPTIONS

Figure 1. Damaged compressor rotor blades.

Figure 4. Testing box for depth measurement.

Figure 5. Measuring the dent depth with a precision measurement instrument.

5058
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READY-ALERT SYSTEM METEOROLOGICAL SERVICES DESCRIBED

East Berlin FLIEGER-REVUE in German No 9, Sep 80 pp 383-385

[Article by Horst Karos: "National People's Army (NVA)--Flight Meteorologists"]

[Text] There is a popular saying to the effect that, when the frogs croak for a long time and when the swallows fly high, we are going to have nice weather but when the swallows fly low and when the frogs jump, we are going to have bad weather. Those animals, whose behavior does supply some hint as to changes in the weather, however cannot be used as accurate weather forecasters. Anybody who wants to get precise information on the weather simply will not be satisfied with the report to the effect that the weather is going to get nicer or worse. Military pilots for example need a large volume of information about the current and future weather situation in order to be able safely to accomplish their flight mission. The faster, the further, the higher, or the lower they fly, the more thorough must the weather data for them be. This is why every air field of our NVA [National People's Army] has its own weather station. We want to report about the work of such a flight weather station here.

Nine Men and One Woman

The Hermann Matern Fighter Wing has a long record of good results in airborne combat training and in the accomplishment of assignments on routine duty missions. These results last but not least are also the work of the wing's flight meteorologists because they help decide which planned alternate flight plans are to be considered for the particular day, with what degree of safety the flying missions can be accomplished, and the way in which certain special missions can be accomplished. Here, nine men and one woman assemble the weather data and draw and interpret the necessary weather charts. The team leader is the 36-year-old graduate meteorologist Maj Klaus Wolf who, back in 1967, completed his studies at Karl Marx University in Leipzig. Nobody can work here without the proper qualifications and without constant advanced training. This why, during my visit, I did not get to meet the only woman among the group of the wing's weathermakers, as it were. She is Sylvia Kirchner. This 20-year-old lady just happens to

be in Dresden where she is taking a special correspondence course to become a meteorological engineer. Lt Bernd Schmidt already has achieved this skill level. Graduate meteorologists 1st Lt Joachim Schorlemmer and Lt Norbert Strauss likewise graduated from Humboldt University in Berlin a long time ago. Sgt 1st Cl Waldemar Ziegler, a career NCO, has been a category-II team leader for several years. He is assisted by Cpls Arne Hartmann, Bernd Wiemert, and Frank Trabhardt. They acquired the fundamentals required for synoptics specialist (that is the technical term covering experts in the field of weather forecasting) at the NCO School of LSK/LV [Air Force/Air Defense]. In conclusion we might mention PFC Ralph Schoenherr who has the job title of assistant in flight meteorology.

During the recent period, this team considerably contributed to enabling the wing to fulfill the airborne combat training plan in terms of flying hours and flying elements month by month with a high level of flight safety; this was due last but not least to the thorough briefing and flight hazard reports from the meteorologists.

At the Flight Weather Station

The rooms of the wing's weather station are brightly lit and well air-conditioned day and night. Here the comrades know at any moment where in Central Europe it happens to be raining or snowing, what the temperatures are along the Baltic Sea or in the Thuringian Forest, how the wind speed and direction change with the altitude, and many other data. By radio and wire, the weather station personnel however are constantly informed not only about the weather in Central Europe but also on other continents.

While Maj Klaus Wolf was explaining some measurement instruments to me, a radio-teletype unit working at high speed picked up columns of letters and numbers. For the uninitiated, these data are a big mystery. Major Wolf waits until the teletype machine has shut off and then he rips the printed sheet out. With his index finger he points to the 11th item showing the letters lhbp and explains to me that those were data from the Budapest airport. Thus I finally learned what temperature and visibility conditions, what wind speed and wind direction prevailed 20 minutes earlier in Budapest, how high the clouds were above the Hungarian capital, what their shapes were, etc.

In addition to the data from the weather stations at air terminals, the comrades naturally also get data from other stations, such as data from radio probe ascents or they get ready-made radar weather maps via so-called facsimile receivers which likewise provide information on high-altitude winds, thunderstorm activity, and other weather phenomena.

All of these data are supplemented by measurements taken within our own air filed perimeter. For example, every quarter hour, the automatic cloud altitude measurement instrument measures the lower boundary of the cloud

cover. By means of a wind measurement instrument, the wing's flight meteorologists learn every 10 minutes what the average wind speed is in the main landing direction of the runway. Then Sgt 1st Cl Waldemar Ziegler and his comrades very skillfully and accurately enter the data from other sources and their own data on the colored weather map. Around the clock, the NVA flight meteorologists carry out their duties in a three-shift system and every hour a new, up to date weather map is made.

This map helps the meteorologist on duty in preparing the reports and during flight operations it enables him at all times to give accurate information on the weather at our own airfield and in the surrounding areas. But that is not enough. The comrades at the weather station must be able to provide the fighter pilots with detailed information also on the current weather situation at airfields which have been earmarked as intermediate or alternate airfields.

Danger Between Heaven and Earth

This high degree of action readiness, which is also demanded of the flight meteorologists, is due to the flying missions which modern fighter-interceptors can and must accomplish today. As we know, they fly both at very low and at extremely high altitudes and they do so at high speed. Nevertheless, even the most modern fighter aircraft are not independent of the weather; in spite of all of the advanced technology, poor visibility, turbulent air movements, rainfall and snow do influence the course of their flights. Thus, the flying attitude of a fighter plane can be changed in the turbulence range of a thundercloud without the aircraft commander always being able to react to that right away. Let us take another example. Inaccurate data on air pressure near the ground can lead to erroneous altitude estimates and, during low-level flight or during a landing approach, this can lead to complications.

Meteorological Reconnaissance Flight

Even when flight operations are scheduled, the flight meteorologists of the Hermann Matern Fighter Wing are particularly in demand. Before the start of each flying shift, a crew takes off for a weather reconnaissance flight during which it flies along all routes and over all areas in which training and combat flights are to be made. This is done mostly one hour before the first takeoff. Before the comrades of the meteorological flight reconnaissance crew get into their plane, they consult directly along the foreward flight line with the meteorologists on duty who, depending upon the duty schedule, might be Wolf, Schorlemmer, Strauss, or Schmidt. On the basis of the up to date weather chart, they meteorologist on duty then briefs them on the weather to be anticipated.

Then the weather fliers take off, they compare the weather forecast with the actually prevailing weather and record certain observations in writing. After landing, the weather fliers confirm the forecast for the meteorologist

or they make the corresponding supplementary entries. Only then is the "weathermaker" on duty available to the flight operations officer and the unit commander who then, on the basis of the by now complete weather report, determine the particular alternate flight plan.

When all of the aircraft commanders assigned to the particular flying shift get together, so that the flight director [operations officer] or commander can give his final instructions, the flight meteorologist is the first one to speak up. He explains the current and anticipated weather situation to the aircraft commanders, he points out any special aspects, for example, unusual things to be watched out for during the takeoff and landing phase.

The men around Maj Klaus Wolf naturally do not get any rest then either, even though the first takeoff may have taken place. They must continue to keep track of the development of the weather situation, they must analyze all weather data and if necessary immediately notify the flight director as to any weather changes, if such changes could influence flight operations. It then happens by no means infrequently that an alternate flight plan must be selected during the particular flying shift. The commander's decision on that is prepared by the data from the flight meteorologist.

The visit to the flight meteorologists of the "Hermann Matern" Fighter Wing, the conversations with Maj Klaus Wolf and his companions clearly showed me what important, responsible, and also interesting activities these comrades are involved in. They exert direct influence on making sure that the combat value of their wing will meet the requirements arising from the missions of our national defense.

5058
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JOURNAL VIEWS PROBLEMS OF MEDIA CENSORSHIP

Warsaw PRAWO I ZYCIE in Polish No 40, 5 Oct 80 p 12

[Article by Marian Flasinski: "Censorship; on a Model of Legal Regulation"]

> [Text] There is no doubt that one of the most important causes of the deformation of socialist democracy was the blocking of an important channel of public information in books and the press and on the radio and television. This diagnosis, presented by the striking working forces on the coast, has been reflected in the agreement with the government. This agreement confirms the necessity of legal limitation on censorship interference so that censorship remains within the essential boundaries which are essential to protect the most important interests of the socialist state, state and economic secrets, and the morals, customs, and feelings of believers and nonbelievers.

The chief criticism is focused on the past practices of the Chief Office for the Control of Press, Publishing, and Public Performances, as the government body responsible to the chairman of the Council of Ministers.

When we consider more deeply the problem as to the sort of method which assures that the society has access to reliable and current information and at the same time that protects effectively the basic values of the socialist society and state, we should nonetheless meekly ask whether in fact the GUKPPiW [Control of Press, Publishing, and Public Performances] bears the main responsibility for failing to disseminate the mass dimedia of real, critical information about what has happened in the state and in particular about the growing conflicts and their causes, for example, voluntarism, megalomainia, inability, and to a certain extent also the excesses of power of certain representatives of the administration, should we not?

Even for persons who have come into contact with censorship only in a casual, intermediate way, it is obvious that many decisions of the GUKPPiW have resulted simply from prohibitions and commands determined outside of and usually above the chief office, sometimes through the inspiration of the government leadership at the time to defend the special immediate interests of government departments, economic organizations, regions, or even individual parties. Nonetheless the odium of public criticism has fallen on GUKPPiW employees.

At the same time the careful reader of the press and books published during the past few years could note rather substantial differences in the reliability of material included in various publications. This means that sometimes the state censor was more liberal than the censorship exercised by the heads of certain publishing houses. Many writers can find in their own experience examples of mishaps with those publishers who used censorship as an excuse for their unwillingness to allow their lack of reliability and courage to be made visible. The most convincing example of the hypothesis that GUKPPiW was not the only party responsible for the creation of such idyllic myths divorced from all reality was Dziennik Telewizyjny. There were few people who were not aware who it was who was the chief director and censor of this "hour of prosperity," and it was not the GUKPPiW people.

In order to weigh the assumptions for the censorship law, it will be essential to note that if censorship practice was based solely on the regulations in force from the 1946 decree, improper interference would be extremely infrequent.

Let us recall that in keeping with the decree on the creation of the GUKPPiW, dated 5 July 1946 (with later changes) censorship control has as its goal the prevention of a threat to the system of the Polish state, the waging of military propaganda, the revealing of state secrets, action detrimental to the international relations of the Polish state, violation of the law or morality, and leading public opinion astray by giving information inconsistent with reality.

And so the decree limited state censorship interference to the minimum necessary for the basic good of the state and the society. If despite this things reached the point of a basic blocking of reliable public information, then at any rate it was not the decree which thrust these restrictions on anyone.

The above statement gives rise to the conclusion that even the best legal solutions which precisely restrict the authority of censorship cannot insure the proper flow of information, if they boil down merely to listing the restrictions, without containing any guarantees or creating any mechanisms to insure against others or against very subjective decisions about what the society should know and what it should not know.

In this situation the main legislative effort concerning the censorship law should be focused mainly on the construction of proper safeguards and corrective mechanisms to prevent the distortions which, as experience shows, arise in the absence of open control.

Hence, the first general conclusion quite obviously comes to the fore. The new law should guarantee the society the right to full, reliable information, and exception to this principles can occur only on the basis of the law's regulations in effect which are publically announced.

Somebody can reply that any general regulation can be interpreted in various ways depending upon who is doing the interpreting and what he wants to read into it. That is true. Such a danger exists, but it can be minimized by properly locating the system of control in the state's organizational structure.

Where Should Censorship Be Put?

Past experience shows that making censorship subordinate to the top body of the administration, that is, the chairman of the Council of Ministers, has not produced socially beneficial effects. This is understandable, because the government is directly responsible for the state of the economy, the extent to which the principles of democracy are carried out, planning errors, administration, and so on.

But after all the right to reliable, objective information and a forthright assessment of reality is the basic right of every citizen and also one of the main conditions of democracy in a highly organized society. This right is of particular significance in a socialist society, in which joint governance of the state is an essential element of the system. Here it is worthwhile to note that only objective, reliable information gives the citizen the possibility of sharing in decisionmaking and a sense of responsibility for the affairs of the state, and hence can liberate that necessary initiative which provides the impetus for social development.

Finally, reliable information is a point of departure for accomplishing authentic control of the administration and prevents most social and economic distortions of the development of the society. Giving rise to a sense of national solidarity and faith in the leadership, it bolsters the real power of the state and all its bodies.

All this leads us to the conclusion that in order for the censorship office, which has the authority to intervene, not to be able to be exploited to limit civil rights, for example, and above all, in the realm of control of the administration, it must not be put under the supervision and jurisdiction of that body of the administration, not even at the highest level.

The body which in this situation could and should take over the supervision of the censorship office is the Council of State, as the supreme body of state leadership.

From the theoretical-legal viewpoint such placement would also be more proper, because let us weigh the fact that other major bodies of the state which guard socialist propriety and civil rights are under the very same Council of State.

Besides this, those arguments which have recently been raised for the removal of the Supreme Chamber of Control from the supervision of the chairman of the Council of Ministers also speak for locating the censorship office in the way mentioned above.

This is the result of the conviction that a properly functioning socialist democracy must be based on the principle that the government governs under authentic social control exerted mainly by the leadership bodies selected by the society and also directly by the right to public information and criticism.

Control of Censorship Decisions

The most recent new feature of the administrative procedure code has made permanent the principle of dual stages, which is one of the canons of procedure before the bodies of the democratic state. This two-stage system must also be assured in procedure brought about by a censorship decision, before the ultimate decision can be appealed to the Supreme Administrative Court.

Meanwhile, given the present shape of the GUKPPiW, this is not possible, because it has a uniform structure, because the local departments are delegated, and not separate units, of a lower order, subordinate only organizationally to their central office. In this situation it seems essential to return to the old structure in which the control body of the first stage would be district, intervoivodship, or voivodship control offices, with the Chief Office being the second stage.

There are other important considerations which speak on behalf of this solution. The first is the need to take into consideration the central office leadership's right to correct erroneous and improper decisions of subordinate officers, if it is supposed to be responsible for these decisions. The second, still more important, is the assurance of the possibility of making rapid corrections, which is so important in the case of information of short-term timeliness, which usually cannot be assured to an adequate extent by court proceedings.

Scope of Publication Restrictions

When we consider the entry on restrictions justifying censorship intervention, first of all there arises the question as to whether in the

new censorship law such an entry is necessary at all, inasmuch a whole number of publication restrictions are imposed by other laws, such as the penal code, the misdemeanor code, and the civil code.

Such a question must be answered in the affirmative, if only to show that the understanding between the government and the strikers was inculcated in this material too. Nonetheless, the legal note must not be casuistic and should not repeat regulations of the penal, civil, and similar codes, for example concerning the offenses against the sacred, dignity, and so on.

As a consequence I come to the conclusion that in the new censorship law there should be only those publication restrictions which are not implied in other legal regulations.

Censorship and Editorial Policy

The tremendous amount of information in the modern world requires that it be very carefully selected. This is the task of editors and publishers, and not state censorship, but sui generis selection is also censorship, because only some information is given wider currency, while other information is held up. Nevertheless, this selection should be or is made on a different basis, that is, the priority of the information which is more valuable or interesting to the whole society or those groups of it which are assumed to be consumers of the information.

The priority given to a certain type of information or work or artistic works is established by the publisher through the editor-in-chief or an editorial committee.

The above fact, which is after all banal, is worth remembering in the deliberations on the shape of the censorship law, which can only to a certain extent stimulate the proper flow of valuable social information, but cannot on the other hand insure its universality and quality.

These preliminary remarks on the construction of the model of the draft of the censorship law are being limited only to a few basic problems. Many meritorical, structural, and procedural questions fall outside its scope. Particularly difficult and doubtful can be the procedural regulations related to the fact that procedure which may be required of the censorship office has not been completely adapted to the specific details of censorship work.

It would also be worth considering whether work on the censorship law should not be related to work on the press law, inasmuch as it is generally and basically correctly assumed that the decree of the president of the Polish Republic dated 21 November 1938 (Press law) is practically not in force.

At any rate, it would seem that PRAWO I ZYCIE needs to publish a forthright exchange of ideas on the sort of legal regulation of the activity of the mass media which on the one hand can guarantee the society the right to reliable information and on the other hand can effectively protect the fundamental values and interests of the socialist state and all its citizens.

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RESPONSIBILITY FOR COMPENSATION FOR DAMAGES UNDER SOCIALIST LAW

Bucharest REVISTA ROMANA DE DREPT in Romanian Jul 80 pp 68-77

/Article by Lect Dr Renee Sanilevici: "Delictual Liability in the System of the Civil Codes of European Socialist Countries"/

/Text/ The present study is a continuation of the one published in REVISTA ROMANA DE DREPT, No 1, 1979, regarding the object and the system of the socialist civil codes, within the framework of the concern of studying the experience of socialist countries in drawing up the civil code, in order to point out the advantages of one or another of the solutions adopted.

I. Traditionally, delictual liability is considered a legal institution distinct from contractual liability.

In modern legal literature, the majority of the authors agree on the unity of the legal institution of liability, although there are some differences between delictual liability and contractual liability. In many works, the conditions and the effects of delictual civil liability are studied concurrently with those of contractual liability.[1]

The system and the place of the regulation of delictual civil liability in the civil codes of the European socialist countries differ, but, through one formula or another of legislative technique, their unity is established.

Thus, one solution is that of the single regulation.[2] This solution was adopted by the Czechoslovak Civil Code of 1964, which does not recognize the distinction between contractual liability and delictual liability and contains a single regulation in Part VI, titled "Liability for Damages and Enrichment Without Just Cause." The provisions on liability refer only to relations between citizens and between citizens and socialist organizations. In the Economic Code, too, which contains rules applicable to the socialist organizations, contractual liability and delictual liability are regulated by the same text.

In all the other codes--the Hungarian Civil Code of 1959, the Polish Civil Code of 1964, the RSFSR Civil Code of 1964 and the GDR Civil Code of 1976--delictual liability is regulated by a group of distinct rules. In some of these codes, the regulations on contractual matters contain texts of referral to the rules of delictual liability. In others, the rules of delictual liability are parallel to those of contractual liability.

The unity between the two forms of liability finds its expression, on the one hand, in the closeness of the rules that govern them,[3] such as, for example, the extension of the presumption of guilt to both forms of liability, and, on the other hand, in the adoption of common texts (or, respectively, texts of referral). Thus, we find texts of referral, which express the unity of the two forms of liability, in Article 318 of the Hungarian Civil Code, which stipulates that the provisions on delictual liability are also applicable to contractual liability, both as regards the conditions of liability and as regards the extent of the damages. Article 93 of the GDR Civil Code is to a similar effect.

The Polish Civil Code and the RSFSR Civil Code preserve the traditional solution of separate and parallel regulation.

Delictual liability is established as a source of obligations, while contractual liability is regulated in the chapter on the execution of obligations and the consequences of not executing them. Because of the common traits between the two types of liability, there are a number of common rules, such as those on the manner of establishing the damages, the influence of the victim's guilt and so on.[4] In the Polish Civil Code, the correlation between the two types of liability is also established by Article 443, which allows expressly the creditor's choice between the contractual and delictual basis of liability in the hypothesis in which the violation of contractual obligations also comprises the traits of a civil wrong.

The civil codes contain general rules of liability that are applied for any kind of damages caused by unlawful acts, as well as special rules: special rules depending on the subjects of the relation of obligation, such as the case of the commission of unlawful acts by minor children or by agents; special rules depending on the protected object, such as the rules on reparation of damages caused by injury [line missing in original] causing the damage, such as those on liability for damages caused by things.

II. 1. The rule of liability for guilt. In all the civil codes subjected to analysis, delictual liability is conceived as liability for guilt. Objective liability, without guilt, is allowed only under exceptional circumstances, expressly provided by law. The majority of these codes also establish a legal presumption of guilt in the matter of delictual liability: Article 339 of the Hungarian Civil Code, Article 444 of the RSFSR Civil Code, Article 420 of the Czechoslovak Civil Code and Article 333 of the GDR Civil Code. The presumption is relative and can be overturned by proof to the contrary. The criterion for judgment of guilt is an objective

criterion, that of the conduct of a diligent person. We find an express establishment of the objective criterion in Article 339 of the Hungarian Civil Code, which stipulates that the perpetrator can be exonerated from liability if he proves that "he acted as was expected under the given conditions."

In general, delictual liability is involved for any kind of guilt, regardless of its seriousness. In legal literature, it is proposed that, in judging the perpetrator's guilt, a distinction be made between guilt and error. There is guilt insofar as the perpetrator can choose his conduct. Guilt is conduct that a diligent person would not have, while error is an unfortunate reaction that also could have been the act of a diligent person. In this regard, there is cited the fact that a driver makes one-two errors in each 3-4 km and any physician makes errors of diagnosis. Liability for errors is not justified morally and it cannot prevent citizens from making errors.[5] The wording used in the Hungarian Civil Code--"as was expected under the given conditions"—permits the taking into consideration of circumstances that make error inevitable.

One's attention is arrested by the fact that the criterion for judgment of guilt differs in the case of physical persons and in that of socialist organizations. Thus, for physical persons, the GDR Civil Code, Article 333, establishes the criterion of "the general requirements," which also implies the observance of the general requirements for exercising certain professions or activities.[6] For socialist organizations, exoneration from liability can occur in conformity with the provisions of Article 334, only if the damage could not have been eliminated although the enterprise used all the possibilities created by socialist production relations.

The problem of discretion is also connected with the rule of liability for guilt. In the traditional solution, persons lacking in discretion were exonerated from liability. More recently, one notes a tendency to obligate persons lacking in discretion to repair the damages.[7]

The RSFSR Civil Code and the Czechoslovak Civil Code adopt the traditional solution of exonerating from liability persons lacking in discretion. For protecting the victim's interests, the liability of those who have persons lacking in discretion under their supervision is instituted.

The other codes establish the liability of persons lacking in discretion, but as subsidiary liability, which can arise only in the presence of certain conditions. Thus, according to Article 352 of the Hungarian Civil Code, persons lacking in discretion are liable subsidiarily, where there are no other persons who would be liable, depending on the circumstances of the case and on the financial situation of the parties. Article 428 of the Polish Civil Code and Article 350 of the GDR Civil Code are also to the same effect. The authors feel that it is not a question of a form of liability but of a right to a suit for damages on the basis of the general principles of socialist cohabitation, although the conditions of liability are not met.[8]

II. 2. Material harm and mental harm. In some systems of law, the obligation to repair the damages resulting from the commission of unlawful acts refers only to material damages. In other systems, mental damages are also subject to reparation, on the same plane as material damages. Finally, there are systems of law in which the reparation of mental damages is allowed only in certain cases and in the presence of certain conditions.

Although suffering cannot be evaluated in money, the systems of law that allow the reparation of mental damages start from the idea that monetary compensation is an imperfect manner of reparation of mental damage, but it is the only possible one and thus better than no reparation.

In legal literature, there is talk about the existence of damages that are on the borderline between material damages and mental damages, such as the loss of prospects of advancement, the hindering of the choice of profession and so on. They have both patrimonial aspects and nonpatrimonial aspects. They cannot be evaluated precisely and have to be established by judgment.

In general, the systems of bourgeois law establish or allow the obligation to repair mental damages. Among the socialist civil codes, the RSFSR Civil Code, Article 444, allows only the reparation of material damages.[10]

The GDR Civil Code, too, establishes expressly, by means of Article 336, only the obligation to repair material damages, but the text adds in Paragraph 3 that in cases of injury to health the damage caused by the hindering of participation in social life also enters into the calculation of the damages. It is also characteristic of these damages that the victim does not have to justify how he uses these sums. In legal literature, it is felt that the damages for the hindering of participation in social life are not mental damages (Schmerzensgeld) but put at the victim's disposal additional material resources for finding himself elements of compensation in the content of life.[11] At any rate, these damages, which are in fact on the borderline between material damages and mental damages, attenuate the rigid character of the rule of reparation only of material damages.

The reparation of mental damages is expressly established in the cases provided by law in the system of the Polish Civil Code, the Czechoslovak Civil Code and the Hungarian Civil Code, as a result of amendment in 1978. Article 445 of the Polish Civil Code establishes the awarding of a sum of money as monetary satisfaction in the case of injury to health, detriment caused to liberty, and seduction of a female by deception or by force. They are conceived as damages meant to repair mental harm, procuring for the victim the necessary resources for ameliorating or forgetting the suffering.[12]

The Czechoslovak Civil Code establishes, by means of Article 444, the possibility of the reparation of nonmaterial damage only in the case of injury to health. In legal literature, it is felt that it has the character of a sanction meant to give satisfaction to the victim (Genugtuungsaktion).[13]

The Hungarian Civil Code allowed only the reparation of material damages. Through the amendments made in the Civil Code in 1978, there was introduced into Article 354 a provision that establishes the reparation of nonpatrimonial damages, when, as a result of the unlawful act, the victim is prevented from participating in social life or his life is made harder.

Studying the provisions of the socialist civil codes that allow the reparation of mental damages, we observe that: a) the reparation of mental damages is allowed, not as a general rule, but in a limited manner, for the cases and under the conditions provided by law; b) only some of these provisions refer to mental damages proper and others refer, in reality, to damages that are concretized in disturbances in the victim's living conditions, ultimately, in material damages that are not susceptible of precise evaluation; c) only the victim has the right to mental damages. Damages cannot be awarded for suffering caused by the mutilation or death of a close person.

From the causing of material damage through the commission of an unlawful act there always results the obligation to repair it. Regarding the criteria for evaluation of material damages, there are, in principle, two systems: the establishment of the damages depending on the extent of the harm, in conformity with the rule of full reparation, and the system of establishing them depending on guilt. Each of these two systems has a wider or narrower sphere of exceptions.

Among the civil codes subjected to comparative research, the rule of full reparation of damage is established in Article 358 of the Hungarian Civil Code, Article 457 of the RSFSR Civil Code, Article 415 of the Polish Civil Code and articles 336-337 of the GDR Civil Code. Only the Czechoslovak Civil Code also adopts as a general criterion, besides the extent of the harm, the criterion of the seriousness of the perpetrator's guilt. Thus, according to Article 442, only the actual damage is subject to reparation. In the case of deliberately committed acts, the court must also take into account other harm, such as unrealized earnings.

The establishment of the judge's right, by way of exception, by departure from the rule of full reparation of damage, to reduce the amount of the damages is characteristic of the socialist civil codes. We mention that it is not a question of the situation in which the harm cannot be established precisely and the court has freedom of judgment but of the situation in which the extent of the harm is known and the court has the right to reduce the amount of the damages.

Jus moderandi is established only in the favor of physical persons. Jus moderandi is established either through a general formula "depending on the circumstances of the case" or with the indication of the circumstances that the judge must take into consideration, such as the financial situation of the perpetrator or of both parties, the guilt and so on.

A wide formulation--"under special circumstances"--is used in Article 339 of the Hungarian Civil Code, Article 458 of the RSFSR Civil Code and Article 340 of the GDR Civil Code, which permit the reduction of the damages depending on the perpetrator's financial situation, and Article 450 of the Czechoslovak Civil Code and Article 440 of the Polish Civil Code allow this depending on the financial situation of both parties.

In legal literature, the solution that permits the judge to reduce the amount of the damages depending on the circumstances of the case is viewed favorably.[14]

II. 3. The sharing of liability in the case of joint guilt. In the civil codes studied, express rules have been adopted with regard to the sharing of liability, that is, the reduction of the damages owed by the perpetrator in the case of the victim's joint guilt.

The rule of the sharing of liability is established in Article 340 of the Hungarian Civil Code, Article 441 of the Czechoslovak Civil Code and Article 341 of the GDR Civil Code. The RSFSR Civil Code makes some distinctions depending on the degree of the victim's guilt. Thus, Article 458 of the RSFSR Civil Code, as amended in 1974, stipulates that, in the situation in which the victim's serious imprudence helped to cause or increase the harm, the amount of the damages has to be reduced, if it is not provided otherwise, depending on the victim's guilt (and, in the case of the perpetrator's guilt, also depending on the degree of his guilt), or the victim's claims have to be rejected. From this text it follows that the victim's slight negligence is not taken into consideration. The victim's intent eliminates the perpetrator's liability, and serious imprudence can lead, as the case may be, either to the sharing of liability, that is, to the reduction of the damages owed by the perpetrator depending on the seriousness of the guilt of both parties, or to the elimination of liability, in the case in which the victim's guilt is extremely serious.[15]

One's attention is arrested by the fact that, although all the above-mentioned codes contain rules in the sense of taking into consideration the victim's guilt in establishing the damages caused by the perpetrator, the name of this institution differs. Thus, it is regulated in the Soviet Civil Code under the name of "the taking of the victim's guilt into consideration" and in the GDR Civil Code under the name of the victim's participation in liability.

We mention that the sharing of liability occurs both in the situation in which the victim helped to cause the harm and in the situation in which the victim's guilt consists of not taking steps to eliminate or reduce the harm.

II. 4. The joint or conjunct liability of accomplices. The above-mentioned civil codes establish different solutions for the hypothesis of the plurality of perpetrators. Thus, some codes adopt expressly the rule of

joint liability, either as a single applicable rule or as a rule from which exceptions are allowed.

The Polish Civil Code establishes the rule of the joint liability of accomplices, as well as the right of recourse of the one who indemnified the victim against the other codebtors (Article 441).

The rule of the joint liability "of the persons who caused the harm together" is established in the same sense in Article 445 of the RSFSR Civil Code. In legal literature, there are discussions about the applicable criterion for establishing the circumstance that the harmful act was committed "together." Some authors feel that the liability is joint only for those whose acts represent the cause of the harm, and the persons who created the conditions for the commission of the harmful act are liable only pro parte."[16]

It is felt that the principle of joint liability does not apply to parents in the case of the production of harm by many minor children, since such a person, that is, a parent, would thus be held liable for the acts of another's child.[17]

The Hungarian Civil Code adopts the rule of joint liability depending on the participation in causing the harm or if this participation cannot be established equally (Article 344). By way of exception, the involvement of the liability of the accomplices in relation to the victim depending on their participation in the harm is allowed in two cases: if there is not the danger that the damage would remain unrepaired or when the victim participated in causing the harm.

The GDR Civil Code, too, establishes the rule of joint liability with the possibility that, under exceptional circumstances, the accomplices may be obligated only pro parte (Article 342). It follows that the possibility of departure from the rule of joint liability is at the court's discretion. Thus, the courts can proceed to obligate one of the accomplices only pro parte when his participation in causing the harm is slight.[18]

A different solution is adopted by the Czechoslovak Civil Code, which establishes the rule of conjunct liability, with the court's possibility of obligating the accomplices, jointly, to repair the damage caused (Article 438).

III. 1. Liability for harm caused by persons under supervision. The socialist civil codes contain special provisions on the liability of parents or other persons for unlawful acts of minor children, based on a legal presumption of guilt.[19] These special provisions also refer to the liability of persons or institutions that have under supervision persons lacking in discretion (other than minors).

The liability of parents with that of minor children who have committed acts can be alternative or concurrent. In Article 427 of the Polish Civil

Code and Article 450 of the RSFSR Civil Code, the liability of parents (or other persons) and of minor children is alternative. Parents (or other persons) are liable only in the case of unlawful acts committed by minor children lacking in discretion. In the system of the RSFSR Civil Code, for minors between 15-18 years, parents are liable only subsidiarily, if the minor does not have assets or earnings from work.

In the system adopted by Article 352 of the Hungarian Civil Code, Article 422 of the Czechoslovak Civil Code and Article 351 of the GDR Civil Code, parents are liable jointly with minor children with discretion who have worked and instead of minor children without discretion who have worked. The age limit up to which the presumption of a lack of discretion operates differs: 6 years in the GDR, 12 years in Hungary, 13 years in Poland and 15 years in the USSR. One notes, in general, a tendency to reduce the age of minors for whom parents are held liable, brought about by the greater independence of the younger generation under the economic and social conditions of modern life.[20]

The same text that establishes the liability of parents for unlawful acts of minor children also establishes under the same conditions the indirect liability of persons who have under supervision mental incompetents lacking in discretion.

The circle of persons with regard to whom the presumption of guilt operates and the system for determining them differ in the regulations adopted by the socialist civil codes. One's attention is arrested by the fact that, in all the codes studied, the presumption of guilt for harm caused by minors is not limited to parents but it also extends to other persons obligated to supervise the minor. As in the French Civil Code of 1804 (and in the systems of law patterned after it), teachers and artisans are not listed among them.[21]

The RSFSR Civil Code establishes the liability of parents and guardians, with the specification that, if the minor is under the supervision of an educational or medical institution, the liability devolves upon them (Article 450). We observe that, in the system of the RSFSR Civil Code, there no longer is liability of the teacher as a physical person but of the educational institution. For persons lacking in discretion the guardian or the socialist organization that has the obligation to supervise them is liable.

In Article 427 of the Polish Civil Code, Article 352 of the Hungarian Civil Code, Article 422 of the Czechoslovak Civil Code and Article 351 of the GDR Civil Code we find a broad formulation, which includes all persons who have the legal or conventional obligation of supervision or who actually exercise supervision of the minor or a person lacking in discretion. The presumption of guilt has a relative character. It is based, for all the persons involved, on the obligation to supervise the minor, or, respectively, the persons lacking in discretion, and, for the parents, also on the obligation to give a suitable education to minors. Consequently, the liability

of parents can be involved cumulatively with that of other persons who have the obligation to supervise the minor on two different legal bases: that of the parent for the lack of education and that of other persons for the lack of supervision.[22]

III. 2. The liability of principals for harm caused by agents. The regulations on the liability of principals for unlawful acts of their agents are also special regulations depending on the subjects of liability. Studying the provisions of the above-mentioned civil codes, we observe that they adopt two different systems: a) the liability of the principal or, respectively, of the enterprise is considered direct liability; b) the principal's liability is considered indirect liability, along with which the agent's liability can also be involved.

Article 348 of the Hungarian Civil Code, Article 446 of the RSFSR Civil Code, Article 421 of the Czechoslovak Civil Code and Article 331 of the GDR Civil Code regulate as direct liability the liability of the socialist organizations as principals. In legal literature, this system is substantiated by the specific character of socialist production relations.[23] The activity of the working people in state and cooperative enterprises is considered the very activity of the enterprise. Each person acts not as a private individual but as a member of the staff. If he commits an unlawful act, it constitutes the socialist organization's act. A distinction is no longer made between the liability for the organ's acts and the liability for the agent's acts. The conduct of any working person in an enterprise or of any member of the cooperative is imputed to the staff. The victim can bring the suit for damages only against the socialist organization. The perpetrator's responsibility to the staff, to the cooperative or state socialist organization, is an internal matter. The enterprise's suit for recourse against the perpetrator of the unlawful act is governed by the rules of labor law, with the liability being, among other things, limited. It is stated that the advantage of such a system consists of the elimination of the difference between the liability of the employee as the unlawful act harmed the enterprise where he works or a third party.[24] We believe that to this advantage it is also possible to add that of the unity of the competent body of jurisdiction in the hypothesis in which the harm was caused to a socialist organization.

By way of exception to the rule according to which only the socialist organization is liable, the Hungarian Civil Code stipulates that the agent is liable jointly with the principal in the case of deliberate infractions, as well as when the principal is a physical person and the damage cannot be recovered from him.

Article 430 of the Polish Civil Code adopts the traditional solution of the French Civil Code, in whose system the principal's liability for the agent's acts is conceived as indirect liability. The liability of artificial persons for the acts of organs is established distinctly as a form of direct liability (Article 416).

One special condition common to the principal's liability for the agent's acts, regardless of whether it is conceived as direct or indirect liability, is that the act must be committed in the exercise of the activity entrusted by the principal. This condition is contained in similar formulations: "in the execution of official duties" (Article 445 of the RSFSR Civil Code), "in the execution of activity" (Article 430 of the Polish Civil Code), "in the performance of official duties or acting within the limits of his jurisdiction" (Article 348 of the Hungarian Civil Code), "in the fulfillment of official tasks" (Article 331 of the GDR Civil Code) and "within the framework of fulfilling the tasks" (Article 441 of the Czechoslovak Civil Code). In the practice of the application of this condition, there is a restrictive interpretation, which considers possible the involvement of the principal's liability only in the case of the commission of the act during the execution of official duties, in particular, in Poland and the USSR, and an extensive interpretation, which considers that the principal's liability can also be involved in the situation in which the agent's harmful act has a connection with his official duties, as in Hungary, Czechoslovakia and the GDR.[25]

The state's liability for illegal administrative acts can be conceived as an institution of public law or as an institution of civil law, subject to the general rules of delictual civil liability or to special rules.

In the law of the GDR, the state's liability for illegal administrative acts is regulated, by a special law of 1967, as an institution of administrative law.

The other codes studied contain special provisions (Article 349 of the Hungarian Civil Code, articles 446-447 of the RSFSR Civil Code, articles 417-420 of the Polish Civil Code and Article 426 of the Czechoslovak Civil Code) that establish the state's liability for illegal administrative acts as a variant of civil liability.

The Czechoslovak Civil Code establishes only the principle of the liability of state bodies for harm caused by illegal decisions under the conditions provided by special laws.

In the system of the RSFSR Civil Code, liability for unlawful acts committed in the sphere of state administration is involved under the conditions of the common law of delictual civil liability. The administrative act's unlawful character has to be established during the suit for the reparation of damages.

In order to avoid groundless suits, in the system of the Polish Civil Code, the decision's unlawful character and, in the system of the Hungarian Civil Code, the functionary's guilt have to result from a criminal judgment or, respectively, from a judgment of a disciplinary body or the higher body.

In the system of the Polish Civil Code and the Hungarian Civil Code, the provisions on liability for unlawful acts committed in the field of state

administration are also applicable to harm caused within the framework of the activity performed by organs of the magistracy and by courts.

In the RSFSR Civil Code, for harm caused by unlawful acts by persons who work in organs of criminal prosecution, the magistracy and the courts, liability can be involved only in the special cases provided by law.

III. 3. Reparation of damages in the case of injury to health or the death of the victim. One characteristic common to all the socialist civil codes is the establishment of special rules, depending on the protected object, for the case of injury to health and the death of the victim.

In the earlier regulations, in the absence of special provisions, there was formed, in legal practice, a system of solutions regarding the criteria for establishing the damages, the circle of persons entitled to reparation and the method of reparation, which are reflected in the provisions of the civil codes.

Thus, for the case of injury to health, the damages subject to reparation include the expenses for care and the unrealized income (Article 459 of the RSFSR Civil Code, articles 336 and 337 of the amended Hungarian Civil Code--such special provisions did not exist prior to amendment--articles 446 and 447 of the Czechoslovak Civil Code and Article 338 of the GDR Civil Code). The Polish Civil Code specifies that the expenses needed for learning a new profession must be included in the damages.

All the civil codes subjected to analysis establish the existence of a right to the reparation of damage caused by the provider's death. They establish the categories of persons and the conditions in which they have the right to the reparation of damage caused by the death of the victim in whose support they are found. The Hungarian Civil Code establishes a right to the reparation of damage only for persons who have a right to support.

Article 460 of the RSFSR Civil Code and Article 448 of the Czechoslovak Civil Code stipulate that persons who are actually in the victim's support or who have a right to support have a right to the reparation of damage. The RSFSR Civil Code specifies that only persons unable to work can claim the reparation of damage.

Article 446 of the Polish Civil Code establishes the right to the reparation of damage caused by the victim's death in the favor of the persons who have a right to support and of other relatives actually found in the victim's support, but only if from the circumstances of the case it follows that the rules of socialist cohabitation impose the payment of an annuity.

The GDR Civil Code establishes the right to the reparation of damage for persons who have a right to support in conformity with the provisions of family law. Other persons actually found in the victim's support have a right to the reparation of damage only if they do not have their own incomes. Their right is limited in time to a maximum of 2 years.

Regarding the method of reparation, the damages can be awarded in the form of a lump sum or in the form of a periodic payment. Some systems of law permit only one of the forms or the other. Others permit the alternative or simultaneous use of both forms.[26]

The rule of the awarding of damages in the form of periodic payments is characteristic of socialist law. This rule is established in all the codes studied: in Article 357 of the Hungarian Civil Code, Article 447 of the Polish Civil Code, Article 357 of the Czechoslovak Civil Code, Article 468 of the RSFSR Civil Code and Article 338 of tho GDR Civil Code. The Polish Civil Code establishes the possibility that, in thoroughly justified cases, such as, for example, the necessity of learning new professions, the court may establish the damages in the form of a lump sum. In the GDR Civil Code, the parties can agree in writing to the reparation of damage by means of the payment of a lump sum.

The solution according to which, in thoroughly justified cases, by way of exception to the rule of awarding monthly sums, the perpetrator can be obligated to pay a lump sum seems to us to be the wisest solution.

III. 4. Liability for things. Depending on the manner in which the damage is caused, the socialist civil codes contain special provisions on the harm caused by things.

The liability for things can be conceived as a form of general liability, to which the general conditions of delictual civil liability apply, or as a distinct form of liability. From the viewpoint of its sphere of application, it can be regulated as a general liability for things or as a special liability for certain things. In its turn, general liability can have a wider or narrower sphere, for all things or only for dangerous ones.

As for historical evolution, in the system of the French Civil Code and the codes patterned after it, the liability for things was able to be involved only in the presence of the general conditions of liability, with the exception of special cases in which, for certain expressly stiupulated things, such as animals or the wreckage of a building, the presumption of guilt operated. Along with the development of modern technology and the dangers that its use creates, which also imply an increase in the difficulties in the proving of guilt, toward the end of the 19th century and the start of the 20th century, the legal institution of the general liability for things appeared. Initially a creation of jurisprudence, the liability for things was then also established through the adoption of legislative provisions.[27]

The socialist civil codes subjected to analysis establish expressly the general liability for things, namely in the form of general liability for dangerous things: Article 345 of the Hungarian Civil Code, Article 454 of the RSFSR Civil Code, Article 428 of the Czechoslovak Civil Code and Article 344 of the GDR Civil Code. The formulations used to delimit the sphere

of this liability differ. In the Hungarian Civil Code, there is talk about the liability of persons who perform an activity connected with sources of increased danger, without other specifications. The Polish Civil Code provides the liability of enterprises that use in their activity forces of nature like steam, gas, electricity, liquid fuel and so on and the liability of physical persons who use mechanical means of displacement. The RSFSR Civil Code refers to the liability of enterprises whose activity is connected with increased dangers, such as industrial enterprises, construction, automobile owners and so on. The forms of manifestation of the sources of increased danger are varied and their enumeration in texts is exemplificative. The GDR Civil Code also contains, besides the general rule of liability for sources of increased danger, special rules for certain sources of danger.

Some differences in the regulations adopted by the civil codes studied also reflect differences with regard to the basis of the liability for things. Thus, in the Polish Civil Code, which establishes the liability for things in two groups of cases (Article 435 and Article 436), the liability is based on the danger created for the surrounding world by the enterprise or the person that uses the source of increased danger. A causal connection between the enterprise's functional activity and the damage is required, in contrast to Soviet law, where the causal connection has to be made with a source of increased danger.[28]

In the same regard, in the Czechoslovak Civil Code, it is felt that liability without guilt for harm caused by extremely dangerous things is the consequence of using such things.[29]

The liability for sources of increased danger is considered objective liability, that is, increased liability, which has the function of fostering care in the use of sources of increased danger.[30] Some authors feel that in fact it is not a question of liability but of an obligation to repair the damage.[31]

For harm caused by other things (other than dangerous ones), liability can be involved only for guilt, with the specification that, in four of these codes, delictual liability is based on the presumption of guilt, so that the difficulty in the proving of guilt is implicitly eliminated.

In some of these codes, namely Article 353 of the Hungarian Civil Code, Article 431 of the Polish Civil Code and Article 346 of the German Civil Code, the liability for animals is established through special provisions. It is conceived as liability for guilt in the Hungarian Civil Code and the Polish Civil Code and as increased liability in the GDR Civil Code. In the system of the Polish Civil Code, there is the possibility of the obligation to partial or full reparation of damage even in the absence of guilt, if from the circumstances of the case it follows that the principles of socialist cohabitation impose the reparation of damages. The Hungarian Civil Code makes a distinction between domestic animals and wild animals,

stipulating that persons who use wild animals are liable under the same conditions as those whose activity is connected with sources of increased danger.

In some of these codes, we also find special provisions for harm caused by the wreckage of a building: Article 354 of the Hungarian Civil Code, Article 434 of the Polish Civil Code and Article 347 of the GDR Civil Code. The Hungarian Civil Code and the Polish Civil Code also establish the liability for harm caused by objects fallen, thrown or dropped from buildings.

In conclusion, analyzing the provisions on delictual liability in the socialist civil codes, we observe that they have established legistatively a number of legal institutions springing from the practical needs of modern life. In comparison with the earlier regulations, they contain a more detailed treatment of delictual liability. On the other hand, they reflect the specific character of socialist production relations, within the framework of which the role of civil liability in preventing harm and in fostering careful conduct in work and everyday life acquires a special importance. In the present study we dwelled on those that seemed more significant to us.

FOOTNOTES

1. See: G. Marty, P. Raynaud, "Droit Civil," T II, Vol 1, Paris, 1962, pp 323-512; H. L. Mazeaud, A. Tunc, "Traite Theorique et Pratique de la Responsabilite Civile," Paris, 1960; O. S. Ioffe, "Raspunderea in Dreptul Civil Sovietic" [Liability in Soviet Civil Law], Stiintifica Publishing House, Bucharest, 1956; G. H. Matveev, "Osnovania Grajdanskoprovovoi Etvetsvennosti," Moscow, 1970; I. M. Anghel, Fr. Deak, M. F. Popa, "Raspunderea Civila" [Civil Liability], Stiintifica Publishing House, Bucharest, 1970.

2. See: A. Kanda, "La Nouvelle Reglementation de la Responsabilite en Droit Tschecoslovaque," REVUE INTERNATIONALE DE DROIT COMPARE, No 4, 1965, p 896.

3. See: G. Eorsy, "Die Zivilrechtliche Verantwortlichkeit im Ungarischen Zivilgesetzbuch," in "Das Ungarische Zivilgesetzbuch in Funf Studien," Budapest, 1963, pp 287 et seqq.

4. See: W. Czahorski, "Problemes Fondamentales de la Responsabilite Civile, Droit Civil Pononais, Problemes Choisis," Academie Polonaise des Sciences, 1975, p 138.

5. See: A. Tunc, "Introduction," in "International Encyclopaedia of Comparative Law," Tubingen, Vol XI, Ch 1, p 78.

6. See: M. Posch, "Die Zivilrechtliche Verantwortlichkeit fur Schadenszufugung und Ihre Voraussetzungen," NEUE JUSTIZ, No 1, 1977, p 14.

7. The German Civil Code of 1900 allows the so-called "equitable liability" (Billigkeitshaftung) of persons lacking in discretion, in the presence of certain conditions, namely the damages cannot be claimed from a third party and, regarding the financial situation of the parties, equity imposes the solution of repairing the damage.

   In France, a law of 1968 overturned the traditional principle of the lack of liability of the mental incompentent, establishing the civil liability of all the persons, even if they committed the act under the influence of a mental disorder.

8. See: S. Szer, "Uber das Neue Zivilgesetzbuch der Volksrepublik Polen," STAAT UN RECHT, No 12, 1964, p 21; J. Wasilevski, "La Methode de l'Elaboration et les Principes du Code Civile," DROIT POLONAIS CONTEMPORAIN, No 4, 1965, p 15.

9. In French law, in the absence of an express text, the provisions of Article 1,382 of the French Civil Code, which establishes the obligation to repair the damages, were interpreted in the sense that they refer both to material damages and to mental damages (see: H. L. Mazeaud, A. Tunc, op. cit., Vol 1, p 385; G. Marty, P. Raynaud, op. cit., Vol II, p 362).

   In German law, the Civil Code of 1900 enumerates the cases in which the obligation to repair mental damages exists. The authors point out legal practice's tendency to widen the possibility of awarding mental damages (see: K. Larenz, "Lehrbuch des Schuldrechts," Munich, 1976, 10th Ed, Vol 1, p 379).

   In English law, the courts include in the category of mental damages the physical and mental suffering of the injured persons, the loss of pastimes, the prospect of the shortening of life. Compensation for the mental suffering of the victim's relatives is not allowed (see: R. E. V. Heuston, "Solmond and the Law of Torts," London, 1973, p 590).

10. The RSFSR Civil Code takes the solution of the Civil Code of 1922, which was, moreover, the traditional solution of civil law prior to the revolution (also see: E. A. Fleisit, "Nauciosprakticeski Komentarii WGK," Moscow, 1966, p 518). We mention that, in Soviet literature, too, the opinion of the necessity of allowing the reparation of mental damages has been expressed. For details, see: M. I. Siminova, "Imuscestvennaia Otvetsvennosti za Moralinai Vred," SOVIETSKOE GOSUDARSTVO I PRAVO, No 1, 1970, pp 118 et seqq.

11. See: M. Posch, "Schutz von Schadenszufugung, Grundriss Zivilrecht," Vol 8, Berlin, 1977, p 65.

12. See: A. Spuznar, "La Responsabilite Dans le Projet du Nouveau Code Pononais," REVUE INTERNATIONALE DE DROIT COMPARE, No 1, 1963, p 25; idem, "L'Indemnisation des Victimes de Route en Droit Polonais," REVUE INTERNATIONALE DE DROIT COMPARE, No 1, 1976, p 71.

13. See: I. Klapac, "Die Verantwortlichkeitsanspruche mit Genugtuungscharakter in Tschecholowakischen Sozialistichen Zivilrecht," STAAT UND RECHT, No 11, 1977, pp 1,172 et seqq.

14. See: H. Stoll, "Consequences of Liability, Remedies," in "International Encyclopaedia of Comparative Law," Tubingen, Vol XI, Ch 8, p 147.

15. E. A. Fleisit, op. cit, p 529.

16. See: S. F. Dontov, "Solidarnaia i Dolevaia Otvetvennosti v Obiazatelistvak iz Pricinenia Vreda," SOVETSKOE GOSUDARSTVO I PRAVO, No 5, 1977, pp 123 et seqq.

17. See: Staff, "Grajdanskoe Pravo," Moscow, 1970, Vol II, p 421.

18. See: M. Posch, op. cit., p 60.

19. There are systems of law that do not adopt special regulations on this matter. Thus, in the common law countries, persons who have minors under supervision are liable only on the basis of proved guilt in the exercise of supervision.

20. See: J. P. Le Gall, "Liability for Persons Under Supervision," in "International Encyclopaedia of Comparative Law," Tubingen, Vol XI, Ch 3, p 29.

21. We mention that in France, in 1937, the civil code's provisions on the teacher's liability were amended, the presumption of his guilt being eliminated. Teachers are liable under the conditions of common law, that is, only for proved guilt. The solution was imposed as a result of the criticism raised in the sense that, under the conditions of public education in which the teacher does not choose his pupils, it is unjust to burden him with a presumption of guilt, which does not affect other categories of civil servants. The liability of teachers was replaced with the state's liability. Regarding the liability of artisans for the acts of apprentices, it is becoming less and less applicable in practice.

22. See: O. S. Ioffe et al, "Sovetskoe Grajdanskoe Pravo," 1971, p 376; M. Posch, op. cit., p 87.

23. See: M. Posch, op. cit., p 49; G. Matveev, op. cit., p 230.

24. See: G. Eorsy, op. cit., p 297.

25. See: G. Eorsy, "Private and Governmental Liability for the Torts of Employees and Organs," in "International Encyclopaedia of Comparative Law," Tubingen, Vol XI, Ch 4, p 78.

26. In the practice of the bourgeois courts, the solution of awarding a lump sum is the most frequent one. There is raised in favor of this solution the argument that it resolves the litigation for good and saves the victim the trouble of chasing after the periodic payments. For the hypothesis of the alteration of the extent of the harm, the possibility of revision is proposed (see: M. Gregor, "Personal Injury and Death," in "Encyclopaedia of Comparative Law," Tubingen, Vol XI, Ch IX, p 25).

27. In France (and the countries that adopted codes like the French code), through the interpretation of Article 1,389 of the Civil Code, it was felt that there is a general liability for any sort of things. In the same regard, the solution of the objective liability (strict liability) for anything on a person's land and out of control, such as water, gas, noxious smoke, vibrations and so on, appeared in the practice of the English courts (see: A. Roger, "Winfield and Jalowiez on Tort," London, pp 360-362). In Germany, there are texts in the Civil Code of 1900 that establish objective liability (Gefahrderungshaftung), and many special provisions that widen the liability for things--railroads, highways, aircraft, power stations, radioactive substances--have appeared (see: K. Larenz, op. cit., p 534).

28. See: W. Czahorski, op. cit., pp 157-158.

29. See: N. Ghimpa, T. Munteanu, "Contributions to a Future Regulation of Liability for Harm Caused by Things," REVISTA ROMANA DE DREPT, No 9, 1967, p 113.

30. See: Staff, "Sovetskoe Grajdanskoe Pravo," Moscow, 1969, T 11, p 339; M. Posch, op. cit., p 68.

31. See: G. K. Matveev, op. cit., p 7; F. Espig, "Probleme Zivilrechtlicher Verantwortlichkeit," STAAT UND RECHT, No 3, 1979, p 228.

12105
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SUSPENSION OF SELF-MANAGEMENT PROCEDURES ON UPSWING

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1551, 21 Sep 80 pp 12-13

[Article by Stevan Niksic: "Who Is the Government Working For?"]

> [Text] On the initiative of the second program of Radio Belgrade and NIN a discussion was organized in the Central Council of the Federation of Yugoslav Trade Unions with Miran Potrc, chairman of the trade unions council, and Dr Najdan Pasic, professor and president of the Constitutional Court of Serbia. The decision to suspend self-management in one OOUR [basic organization of associated labor] of Sloboda in Cacak provided the occasion for the discussion.

Letter to BORBA From Workers in Sloboda

Six years ago, in 1974, the work organization of that time, which was called Sloboda, showed losses of 17 billion dinars. The then director of the organization hastily convened the workers' council and said that the organization was showing neither a profit nor a loss, and he then immediately resigned a few days later, received a gift and left the work organization forever. Immediately after his departure it was learned that the situation had been falsely portrayed and that we had a large loss, which for us workers was like a bolt from the blue, something we could not believe because we had at that time been showing the best results. Since then and up until this day we have been in a very difficult financial situation. We can freely say that we are without self-management, nor can we call ourselves self-managers, since we haven't felt what our constitution guarantees and grants us.... The facts state that human relations have been very troubled in this OOUR and that this has had an effect on the production process and thereby on personal incomes, precisely because in those years we have had four directors, just as many deputy directors, administrators and supervisors. These same people have promised this OOUR a sound and glittering existence, while they held on to their high positions and the personal incomes that go with them, and this OOUR has sunk into still

larger losses from one day to the next. A situation like this can be expected to result in worker dissatisfaction and even work stoppage by workers who have had very low personal incomes, from 260,000 to 350,000 old dinars, by contrast with their supervisors. We can conclude from all this that there has been no self-management, nor does it exist today in this OOUR....

[Discussion With Pasic and Potrc]

The letter to BORBA from three workers in the OOUR Garant of the Cacak work organization Sloboda has already served as a pretext for many varied comments. It was written because of a decision by the public defender of self-management law in that town, who, at the initiative of so-called social factors in the opstina and with the consent of the self-management bodies in the collective, ordered on 30 June of this year that temporary measures be instituted in the OOUR Garant. The temporary measures which the law foresees are aimed above all at protecting the self-management rights of the workers consisting of suspending self-management and of turning power over to a temporary professional management body, which was expected to "rescue the collective," as was stated in a conversation a few days ago.

The three workers who wrote to BORBA--Sreten Grujovic, Stojan Kaplarevic and Milorad Terzic--have in the meantime been pronounced rebels since they thought differently on this issue from their officially elected representatives and supervisors. A punishment probably awaits them for that reason: it has been proposed that they be transferred to other jobs in Sloboda "for lack of discipline and disorder."

By all appearances the Cacak "case" is not an isolated one. Similar decisions instituting interventionary measures to protect disrupted self-management relations in many collectives have become more frequent in recent months, at least according to the news carried by the press.

The Reason for the Temporary Measures

NIN and the second program of Radio Belgrade (which has already devoted two successive broadcasts of "Open Radio"--on Tuesday at 1300 hours--to the events in the OOUR Garant in Cacak) arranged a discussion on this topic in the Central Council of the Federation of Yugoslav Trade Unions with Miran Potrc, chairman of the Central Council, and Dr Najdan Pasic, professor at the School of Political Science in Belgrade and president of the Constitutional Court of Serbia. Pasic and Potrc first listened to a tape of a conversation with workers and supervisors of this work organization and with officials of Cacak Opstina. The topic of the discussion which was conducted thereafter went beyond the dimensions of that event, however.

Do you know the exact figures on the number of exceptional measures throughout the country? went the first question.

"Reading the newspapers I have myself noted that there are more of these reports than there were previously, and I therefore conclude that there are also more exceptional measures. However, there are no data whatsoever on this. But I am certain that it is a token number," said the trade union chairman.

In the present situation many organizations are in great difficulties because of disrupted economic relations. It is our impression that they are seeking a way out of these difficulties through such measures, that is, through a suspension of self-management. We called upon Potrc and Pasic to comment on this. Is it not dangerous if we continue to reinforce the notion that the government or the party or someone else outside of self-management can solve the problems more effectively? we asked.

"That is true," Potrc said. "At this point we must ensure that our self-management becomes stronger even in a quite difficult economic situation. Self-management must be confirmed even in quite difficult situations, when there is a need to reassess development and business policy, to analyze all mutual relations and the position of organizations on the market, to make the workers' real status evident.... It seems to me that we are in a transitional period. We have the constitution and the Law on Associated Labor, but we know that a goodly portion of the possibilities they envisage have not been realized. The reason is probably that as a society we are not able to achieve everything in 3 or 4 years. There are also efforts to keep that law from being implemented altogether."

Certain Old Errors

"Will we strengthen self-management in this period or will we give in to the demands to seek a way out other than through self-management? That is now a very, very serious question. Precisely for that reason it is good to talk about these specific and individual cases where intervention perhaps may be justified, but it is also worth talking about this and indicating the danger of this becoming general practice," Potrc said.

"The danger is all the greater in that such measures could yield results that appear to be good, isn't that right?"

"They might," Potrc said, "but not because the self-management rights have been taken away from the workers, but because entire teams make an authentic commitment at such times. It is also at this point that the workers become fed up, they know that there is no longer any possibility but to make a real effort to resolve the difficult situation."

A question for Professor Pasic: Self-management is most underdeveloped in government agencies. How can we believe, then, that they will effectively protect self-management through decisions to intervene?

"Self-management is certainly less developed in government agencies than in the self-management base, but at the same time we should not glorify the self-management base. Government agencies must for that reason have certain powers that are in the interest of the entire working class. Otherwise that would mean that we are quickly and easily removing the government from the scene just because self-management is less developed in government agencies. It is worth recalling, then, certain of our errors from previous periods, those, say, which had to do with what was referred to as the 15th amendment, which was adopted in 1968. I am not saying that these errors were dominant, but they were very much present.

"The worker, as Comrade Kardelj put it, must be organized politically and not just through self-management, and at times must also rely on his government agencies and act through political organizations. The worker must take advantage of the entire set of instruments of the delegate system. In a delegate assembly certain social problems can also be examined in a broader context. We cannot assume that consciousness of self-interest and the broader interests of society and of the need to align the one with the other will always be sufficiently developed in every organization of associated labor. I think it would not be good for us to regard as self-management only what happens in individual work collectives, and to suppose that what comes from the broader social community, as a decision of delegate assemblies or broader social forums, signifies in advance elements of technocracy and bureaucratic positions. There may be that as well, but it is very dangerous to have a black-and-white technique for framing conclusions in such situations.

"So, bearing in mind the occasion for this discussion of ours I would like to emphasize that temporary measures need not always be directed against the self-management rights of the workers."

How is one to interpret the fact that the number of interventionary measures by government agencies, especially in the economic sphere, has increased simultaneously with the deterioration of the economic situation in our society? Doesn't this contain a kind of latent distrust of self-management and of the system built on it?

The Old and the New

"Well, you know that even in the past it has been our judgment that the lag in development of self-management relations is one of the essential reasons for the worsened economic situation. I have already said that we still have not managed to institute associated labor in the true sense of the word.... I think the worst thing is that we have allowed ourselves to be satisfied with certain external forms so as to assure ourselves that we have accomplished a great deal of this. We have been satisfied, say, when some self-management accord is signed, though often we have not gone into the essence of its content. These forms which pertain to self-management only in their title usually contain many of the old relationships.

"Today we can no longer resolve the problems in the economic structure, the problems of export and import, problems in excessive spending--through government intervention. First, because we refuse to do so. But even if we wanted, we no longer have an administration that would be capable of doing this, that would today be able, say, to do the kind of planning we had in 1950.

"I think that here we have touched on a key problem," Professor Pasic continued. "On the one hand the market is still uncontrolled and fragmented, while on the other we have a system of ad hoc measures of government intervention. Perhaps we have not had enough to say about that on this occasion, but it seems to me that neither the problem of Garant in Cacak, which is what we have been discussing, nor the problems of other organizations of associated labor which have fallen into difficulties can be resolved solely by changing the situation within the collective--by increasing work discipline or by any sort of better organizational measures."

What Is It That Nurtures This Love?

Potrc: We have been speaking about the excessively great influence of the government on the one hand and of underdeveloped self-management on the other. I think that in this situation, which I have referred to as a transition, it would be bad if we hesitated about what we are going to do.

Nor is it possible to place the entire society in an incubator for a time, a year say, so that we can wait for better times and continue to make advances with self-management. Self-managed associated labor must offer a way out even in the present difficult conditions, at least slowly, if only step by step.

Where does such great love and unlimited trust in the measures of the government and government intervention come from? What is it that nourishes this love in us?

Pasic: Because we have not found self-management solutions to many problems. From the theoretical standpoint our economists still owe us certain answers. We note, say, that the pace of integration and self-management linkage is unsatisfactory, that there are cases of self-enclosure within local, regional and republic limits. But have we made a precise and accurate analysis with which we would be able to ascertain all the causes which have led to this? I say that there are many, many obstacles even in the normative solutions that are now in effect. And then certain collectives are gathering the fruits of the momentary situation on the market, and understandably are very reluctant to enter into the processes of integration. They simply want to preserve their privileged position at all costs. That is why all the problems cannot be resolved by merely expanding the autonomy of collectives. We need an organized effort of the social community, whether it is called the state, the delegate system or anything else, but it is obviously indispensable.

We will not ensure that the state withers away and that self-management becomes broader solely by taking certain powers and functions away from the state. After all, later, in difficult situations, it is clear that we must rely even on them. And then we discover, too late unfortunately, that agencies which should intervene no longer have the powers or are no longer equipped to do it.

7045
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SLOVENIAN SURVEY ON REASONS FOR CHANGING JOBS

Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian SEDAM DANA supplement 27 Sep 80 p 9

[Article by Boris Petrovic: "Why People Are Quitting"]

[Text] The decision to change one's workplace and perhaps even his type of work is rarely taken "overnight." It is difficult for the great majority of people to leave their accustomed group of acquaintances, colleagues or friends and to set off into an unknown environment. Nevertheless, the statistics show that more and more workers are deciding on such a step and that very often the departure from the collective without the customary "I am sorry to be leaving."

In recent years sociologists in numerous economically advanced countries have been ever more seriously concerned with personnel turnover, and they take a simple calculation as their point of departure. According to certain estimates, in West Germany it cost the economy about 275,000 marks for one supervisor to go to another job, and a large loss occurs when even "ordinary workers" do this by moving from one job to another. In the period when the decision to leave has already been made, the worker or supervisor usually no longer makes an effort to do good work, and when he enters the other workplace, it takes him a certain time to become accustomed to the new working conditions, and his output is below what it ordinarily was.

On the average the search for a new, more attractive and if possible better paid job lasts about 6 months, and in that time, it is estimated, output in terms of work done not infrequently drops as much as 50 percent. An output cut in half is also normal during the first months of performing new work duties. It thus follows that a change in personnel means half the output in a job of what it would ordinarily be for almost an entire year. Yet the entire personal income is certainly paid!

The Critical Point

"No one has yet attempted to compute how much is lost by the Yugoslav economy because of personnel turnover, nor are there true indicators on how widespread this phenomenon is and on its causes," says Dr Janez Jerovsek,

senior staff scientist in the Ljubljana School of Sociology, Political Science and Journalism, the author of a survey which has aroused quite a bit of interest in Slovenia.

In short, too little is known about personnel turnover, and it is particularly disturbing that there is no computation of the "critical point," the percentage of turnover which in every industry would mark the threshold that cannot be crossed without quite serious losses. The same certainly applies to the percentage of absences from work. But while there is a lot of talk about sick leave and other reasons for the drop in productivity, usually nothing is said about turnover, which obviously causes large losses.

"It even makes some people feel rather embarrassed, and a number of Slovenian work organizations refuse to have the causes of turnover studied in their plants. This is probably because the questionnaire used in the survey included quite a few questions about human relations and the way they are resolved," reflected Dr Janez Jerovsek, who feels that the move from one job to another has already taken on such dimensions that "if it continues this way, it could become a serious brake on economic development." The costs of turnover are lowest where work is done on the assembly line, and highest where workers are expected to show greater independence, creativity or a high degree of practice in performing very complicated work duties. Since only about 15 percent of the workers in Slovenia work on the assembly line, and personnel turnover is increasing, the Slovenian Economic Chamber has shown great interest in studying it."

Earnings in Only Third Place

"After the statistical processing of the percentage of responses to the various questions I concluded that people are usually driven to change jobs by dissatisfaction with the possibility of utilizing their knowledge and ability in their work. One respondent told me how his boss often left him without anything to do. This means that he really does not need me, this young specialist concluded, and he went off to another collective. Run-ins, tension and other conflicts are frequent in cases when the supervisor has less education than some of his coworkers. Among the reasons for quitting second place is confidently taken by various conflicts between supervisors themselves, between supervisors and workers or between "subordinates" and "superiors" in the same work unit. Conflicts among the workers themselves, as can be seen from the table, are considerably rarer and are not a reason for quitting," Dr Jerovsek said.

The manner of remuneration comes only in third place, which was rather unexpected. However, it is not a question of the absolute level of personal incomes, but of excessive differences in remuneration of particular forms of work. According to statements by numerous workers engaged directly in production, the ratio between their earnings and the personal earnings of supervisors should not be greater than 1:3. Often it is also

dissatisfaction with the difference in the personal incomes of people employed in the same work unit.

By and large, on the basis of this survey, it turned out that little influence is had on better work and "loyalty" to some work organization by money alone, and the workers do not compare their own income so much with the directors as with that of their colleagues on the job. Among the 16 proposed reasons for fleeing the production shop of factories, the great majority of the respondents said that employment in nonproductive activities is easier and the personal incomes higher both in general and also in their own collective. They also say that a job outside the production department also offers faster promotion. It is interesting as well that they feel that responsibility is considerably less in administrative and economic jobs--or "mistakes made in the office are less obvious than mistakes made on a machine."

Connections and Influence

Though each of the tables requires quite a bit of comment, we will explain in conclusion only those which speak about job promotion and the method of resolving conflicts.

Though all of 43 percent of the respondents make charges against connections and influence, they did say that this would not help without education and some sort of achievement in work performance.

Resolving conflicts by declaring the "winner"--and very often it is the supervisor--has driven many from a collective where they have spent a number of years. But, as shown by the answers to the other questions, they did not for that reason lose confidence that they could win the struggle for their rights through greater persistence.

Though all the results of the survey have not been processed, and the entire project of studying personnel turnover will last all of 3 years, even these figures sufficiently indicate the direction the social effort should take and why it is obviously necessary.

[Box] 318 Respondents

In a survey financed by the Slovenian Republic Research Community and the Slovenian Economic Chamber the respondents were 318 students of the Maribor Junior Postsecondary Economics School and the Ljubljana Management School. All the respondents are employed full time and decided to go to school mainly because they wanted to change jobs and frequently their workplace. It is particularly interesting that 21 percent of the respondents already hold supervisory jobs, which offers additional information for understanding the degree of relevance of the figures in the table to the answers to questions about possibility of promotion, the frequency of conflicts between supervisors, the ratios between personal incomes and opinions on the

extent to which a higher personal income would tend to improve the quality of work.

All of 42 percent of the respondents have been employed for more than 5 years, 66 percent work in production proper, and 45 percent are members of the League of Communists. About 85 percent are under age 35, at the height of their strength and have a strong desire to make better use of the knowledge they have acquired in their job or in school. About 42 percent of the respondents have graduated from a secondary technical school, 25 percent a school for worker occupations, and only 3 percent an academic high school. Less than half have already changed their workplace once, 24 percent have done so twice, 18 percent have moved to another collective three times, and the same proportion have done it four times. In short, respondents were chosen who have spent their work life up to this point just like the majority of other employees, and chronic "migratory birds" or people who are never satisfied were avoided. Nevertheless, the principal characteristic of this group of respondents is still the datum that in undertaking to study the economic and legal sciences they wanted to leave production departments and to go to jobs outside production proper or--among supervisory personnel.

It is not out of place to mention that nearly every respondent is employed in a different work organization, so that to some extent this survey also offers a cross section of opinions which apply (under certain conditions) to all of Slovenia. We have given only some of the figures from the survey, which in all covered 50 questions, and the negligible number of questionnaires not altogether filled out indicates that the topic aroused great interest among the respondents.

At the same time we want to thank Dr Janez Jerovsek, the Slovenian Economic Chamber and the Slovenian Republic Research Community for having made the material available and for having allowed us to use their questionnaire, which we will be using this fall in a similar survey in Croatia.

The Questions That Were Asked and the Answers That Were Given

Do you feel that the job you perform is sufficiently esteemed and respected in your collective?

a) My work is highly esteemed	3
b) My work is given satisfactory credit	58
c) My work is not particularly esteemed	35
d) My work is not esteemed at all	4

Do you think of changing your workplace?

a) Yes, very often	23
b) Yes, sometimes	45
c) Very rarely	23
d) Never	9

What sort of opportunities are there for promotion in your work organization?

a) Satisfactory or even very good	32
b) Little opportunity for promotion	50
c) No opportunities for promotion at all	14
d) I am not interested in promotion	4

What in your opinion is the principal condition for promotion in your workplace?

a) Education and work performance	57
b) Connections, who you know, and the like	43

Would it be hard for you to go off to another workplace?

a) Yes, that would be hard on me	62
b) It makes no difference	18
c) I would gladly go	20

What sort of influence do you have on decisionmaking and other events in the work organization?

a) Very great	1
b) Great	8
c) Moderate	40
d) Small	29
e) Very small	20
f) Don't know	2

Occasional tension or conflicts are one of the general and lasting phenomena in all workplaces. How often do they occur in your collective and who are the principals?

	Very Often	Often	Rarely	Very Rarely
a) Between supervisors	8	32	42	18
b) Between supervisors and workers	13	38	39	10
c) Between subordinates and superiors in the work unit	12	39	36	13
d) Among the workers themselves	4	16	40	40

How in your opinion are disputes, conflicts, tensions and other conflict situations usually resolved?

a) By avoiding or concealing the conflict	21
b) By reconciling opposed interests (compromise)	45
c) By honoring only one opinion so that one party "wins" and the other is "defeated"	34

If you feel that workers with higher education would rather take supervisory positions than to go into production proper, why in your opinion is this the case?

a) Personal incomes are considerably higher in supervisory jobs than in production proper	41
b) The work in a supervisory position is more interesting	8
c) The work in a supervisory job brings greater social status and more power	44
d) For other reasons	3
e) Don't know	4

Are the ratios between personal incomes for performance of supervisory work duties and work duties in production justified?

a) The ratio between the personal incomes of the workers and supervisors is too large	74
b) This ratio is fully justified	23
c) The personal incomes of supervisors are too low in proportional terms	3

We will enumerate several frequently encountered opinions pertaining to remuneration. Do you agree with them?

	Yes	No	Don't Know
a) A majority of the persons employed in the collective are remunerated precisely according to the results of their own work. If they work more, they will earn more	65	29	6
b) The employees would have an incentive to work better if ratios were fairer between personal incomes, but not if they were increased	74	13	13
c) The range is too small between the lowest and highest personal incomes	21	65	14
d) If the personal incomes of supervisory personnel were increased, they would work more	2	82	16
e) If the personal incomes of unskilled workers, semi-skilled workers and skilled workers were increased, they would work more	52	33	15

How much of work time do you spend actually working?

a) 50 to 60 percent	11
b) 60 to 80 percent	52
c) 80 to 90 percent	27
d) 90 to 100 percent	10

7045
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SITUATION OF CHURCHES, RELATIONS WITH STATE REVIEWED

Emphasis on Good Relations

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1549, 7 Sep 80 pp 16-19

[Article by Milan Milosevic: "The Churches in Yugoslavia"]

[Text] It is perhaps a paradox of the eighties that the church has begun to take on a political role once again in some places. The adaptation of the Catholic Church to the working class movement today, for example, is quite reminiscent of the papal bulls in 1848 when the socialists were equated with Satan. In Latin America the church is playing an important and frequently progressive role; we have before us the Islamic Revolution in Iran, which has been spectacular for a long time, and in the events in Poland the church has been very much a presence. As if it is coming down to earth more and more frequently and assuming the risk of politics.

Perhaps it is no wonder that foreign analysts of conditions in our country have been concerned with the church--at times even in calculations concerning a "possible destabilization." There has been writing about Stepinac, about the "influence of the religious imam Khomeini...."

All those familiar with this problem we have talked to judge that these calculations are groundless--problems between the church and state are today on a lower rung than they were.

It is a fact, however, that in our public politics there has been talk recently about the "subversive activity of certain clerical circles." Hamdija Pozderac warned some 10 months ago that there had been attempts "to take over the sponsorship and 'concern' for the stability of the nationality through religion and by equating it with the identity of the nationality." Last November Stane Dolanc reacted with the following sentence to what had been written in the newspaper DRUZINA: "We will never allow religious freedom in our society to be abused in order to exert pressure on religious people and on their commitment as self-managers."

There have also been reactions of a different kind: Franc Setinc announced this June that "we cannot allow a conflict to be waged in the news media between views of the world that would willy-nilly result in a political division into atheists and believers." Branko Mikulic reproached narrow-minded and doctrinaire members of the League of Communists who have been criticizing their comrades for not adopting atheistic rights when they bury their religious parents with the words: "Who does that serve, and why?"

What all these statements indicate is not a crisis, but on the contrary an endeavor to protect the present atmosphere in this domain, which by and large is favorable, against possible exaggerations and abuses.

When we decided to publish this little sketch of religions in Yugoslavia, we were guided by precisely that motive--even the most superficial glimpse of this complicated mosaic indicates that mutual tolerance is a condition in this society for the coexistence of such great differences.

The Religious Pattern

What does Yugoslavia's present "religious pattern" look like? Atheization and secularization are characteristic of many advanced societies, yet we are witnesses of ebbs and floods of religion in the world. What actually is the situation in our country?

Dr Esad Djimic, a sociologist who studies religion and to whom we talked about the drama of atheization a few days ago, says that we can observe the inertia of consciousness today as in a kind of retort.

The government does not interfere with religion, and it is so consistent in this that it even does not ask people what faith they belong to. The last time such a question was put was in the 1953 census, and at that time 41.4 percent were orthodox, 31.8 percent Catholic, 12.3 percent Moslem and 12.5 percent nonbelievers. Subsequent sociological research has shown that the number of believers is dropping. For instance, in Slovenia in 1975 a survey showed that about 60 percent of the population there is religious, and the rest atheist. Esad Djimic says that the empirical data should be taken with caution; 30 years is too short a time for the changes to be evident.

The Social Sciences Institute in Belgrade, however, ascertained in a survey on social strata in Serbia conducted sometime in 1974 and published in 1978 that all of 88 percent were not religious, 5 percent were religious, and 7 percent belonged in the mixed category. This is the lowest religious representation recorded in any survey in our country, and even if we take it with a certain reserve--the tendency toward atheization is clearly outlined.

It is obvious that religion is being displaced more by the spirit of the time than by the efforts of atheists. Here is a little detail that can illustrate that truth. The conference of bishops of the Catholic Church,

it was reported in POVJESTI KATOLICKE CRKVE, once included "combating nudism on coastal beaches" among its undertakings along with topics having to do with the church and charity.

Something paradoxical has occurred. Since 1945 we have been witnesses of an obvious atheization of society on the one hand, while on the other religious activity has been developing without hindrance. Before the war, for example, only six religions were allowed. In Yugoslavia today there are 35 different religious communities, and some specialists say even 40.

The Drama of Atheization

Radovan Samardzic, who has an M.A. in theology and is secretary of the Commission for Relations With Religious Communities of the Federal Executive Council, a man who aside from his official position is also concerned with this problem area as a scientist, is attempting to reconstruct a kind of geography of religions in Yugoslavia. The layman has no idea of the kind of interlacing that is involved. Some areas are completely atheistic, in some paganism predominates, and there are places where there are as many as 10 different churches.

This drama of atheization is not a simple one: baptism, marriage and bu burial--we would have to be deaf not to see those subtle dramas concealed behind family walls. Sons with what Huxley would call their atheistic "behaving as though death were an unverified rumor" and elderly parents who in their old age make more remarks than they did to their sons about the deceptive paradise which death could open up. It would seem that the family social environment passes on religious views along with its behavior patterns and customs.

Yet we still should not forget what are called institutional channels. In Yugoslavia there are about 20,000 professional religious officers doing "the work of the Lord" in about 20,000 churches, monasteries, mosques and church homes. The impressiveness of this mosaic pattern of churches is indicative of society's openness, but also of all the possible material and spiritual influences which struck down roots here.

The religious communities are not hampered in disseminating their doctrine. According to data of the Catholic Church and the Islamic community, which are the only ones who keep records on this, half a million children receive Catholic religious instruction in a thousand lecture rooms, and there are about 100,000 students in a slightly smaller number of Islamic religious schools.

The State and the Church

Religious communities in Yugoslavia carry on elaborate information activities. GLAS KONCILA is a semimonthly with a circulation of about 100,000. PRAVOSLAVLE has a circulation of 30,000, and the herald of the Islamic community PROPOBED has a circulation of about 30,000.

What is the relationship between the government and these religious communities? Dr Aleksandar Fira, chairman of the Commission for Relations With Religious Communities of the Federal Executive Council, says that they are conducted in conformity with the constitution, and we regulated the relationship between the government and religious communities on the same principles in the 1946 constitution and in the present constitution. This in itself is indication that the achievement of the revolution has effectively withstood the test of time. A system in which the church is separate from the state and the school is an achievement of progressive bourgeois thought taken up by our socialist revolution and consistently implemented.

What is the present situation?

Dr Fira says that relations between the government and the religious communities are good, which has been reiterated several times, "but," Fira says, "our assessments also point up the fact that in certain religious communities there are abuses of religion for political purposes. We encounter even attempts to merge religion with nationalism, which are very dangerous for our society. One might also note cases of narrow-mindedness and doctrinaire positions on the part of public officeholders concerning demands which religious communities make on the basis of law to exercise their rights. The greatest problems, for example, are with sites for building religious structures. But that is a part of the general situation. Even in general terms we have a disorderly situation in urban planning, and the religious communities are, of course, suffering their part of that fate."

According to the assessments of Moma Radosavljevic and Ljubisa Stokic, whom we talked to in the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia, a great deal of attention has to be paid in this sensitive area so as to avoid sectarianism on the one hand and on the other to avert clericalism. By sectarianism is probably meant a dogmatic and adverse attitude toward the demands of the church and toward the right of a man who believes in God to be involved in politics as a citizen.

By clericalism is probably meant the attempt of church circles to continue to play a political role. Asked to comment on this phenomenon, Dr Aleksandar Fira said that "no demands have been articulated on the part of the religious communities to impose themselves as political partners, though a more subtle political analysis would confirm an endeavor of this kind on the part of individuals in religious communities."

To what extent is the behavior of religious institutions affected by current international events? Dr Fira's answer is this: "It cannot be said that there is no such influence." He did tell NIN, however, that "official church representatives of the most numerous religious communities are constantly giving assurances that they harbor no tendencies toward any kind of international linkup that would not be in accordance with their constitutional status or with their organization, though there have been individual cases that indicate that such influences are spreading. The government

does not stand in the way of the international contacts of religious communities," Dr Fira says, "but they must be brought into conformity with our fundamental principles of foreign policy, which is an obligation of every citizen foreseen by the constitution."

The churches in Yugoslavia are financially independent aside from the aid of the government, they are supported by the offerings of their congregations, and they perform religious services. To what extent does the fact that money sometimes comes from abroad as well determine their role?

"The churches," Dr Fira says, "are not prohibited from receiving aid. We do not keep a record of this in government agencies. I know of cases in which religious communities in this country have been receiving that kind of aid, but I would not be able to say to what extent that aid determines their behavior."

One person we talked to, one who is knowledgeable in this field, judges that "today the church has more problems with itself than with the government."

A "Lower Order" Problem

It is obvious that these haggles over construction of particular churches do not leave deep traces, just as deep traces are not left by this kind of tale: one clergyman, an official in his professional association, which, unlike the church, is affiliated with the Socialist Alliance, says to an official in the SAWP with whom he must maintain a working relationship: "Better for us to meet in my office, you know my 'hierarchy won't like it if I'm constantly paying visits to the government.'"

It is obvious that today the problems are of a "lower order" than yesterday. The same can be said of institutions.

As for relations between religious people and atheists, here again certain dilemmas have been resolved, certain prejudices overcome, and on the whole the dialog is more tolerant.

This is obviously our formula. Nevertheless, it seems as though the effort not to injure religious sentiments and the domain of religion have been unnecessarily wrapped in a veil of silence. In preparing ourselves for life, in school, for example, we hardly get even the most basic concepts. Yet a more subtle analysis of doctrines and myths of the churches which are active in our country might help to break down certain prejudices.

At a time when there is so much information about religion coming in from elsewhere in the world, perhaps we are not as good readers of the world in which we live for the lack of a deeper knowledge of these "subtle matters of the soul."

Church Holdings

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian, No 1549, 7 Sep 80 pp 16-17

[Text] The confusing mosaic of faiths, places of worship and theological views, differences which do not originate merely with the schism in 1054:

The Catholic Church, according to statistics from a few years back, has about 2,700 parishes, 182 monasteries and 415 convents. In the language of numbers, this represents about 3,100 diocesan priests, 1,768 monks, 8,600 nuns, 120 postulants and 280 novices in monasteries and more than 800 postulants and novices in convents.

About 760 divinity students and 560 seminarists are studying in the 2 theological schools for service in the Catholic Church. In 1969 the Catholic Church began to celebrate the mass in the language of the people.

The Serbian Orthodox Church, which is autocephalic, has 28 dioceses (21 in Yugoslavia and 7 abroad), about 2,400 parishes, about 180 convents and monasteries and about 2,200 priests, monks and nuns.

Last year there were 70 full-time students attending the theological school, and there were about 380 seminarists.

The Macedonian Orthodox Church, which proclaimed its autocephalic status in 1967, has about 225 parishes, 120 monasteries, 239 priests and some dozen monks. It has a seminary at the secondary level with 80 students.

The Islamic Community has about 1,600 religious officers in its 4 synods (in Sarajevo for Bosnia-Hercegovina, in Pristina for Serbia, in Skopje for Macedonia and in Titograd for Montenegro) and recently has built a large number of mosques.

Religious schools at the secondary level (medresas are Moslem theological schools at the secondary and junior postsecondary level) in Sarajevo and Pristina have about 500 students, and in Sarajevo there is also the Moslem School of Theology.

The Evangelical Church (established in Germany in 1817 and taking the Gospels as the basis of its faith, conducts its service in the language of the people, and is characterized by decentralization of the church organization) has 18 churches in Croatia, Bosnia-Hercegovina and Vojvodina, 13 church districts, 5 affiliates, 12 ministers and 23 lay ministers.

The Evangelical Christian Church of the Augsburg Confession, with headquarters in Murska Sobota, has 16 churches, 15 ministers and 20 lay ministers, and the Slovak Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession (the Augsburg Confession is the first official foundation of Protestantism), with its

headquarters in Novi Sad, has 27 districts. Its ministers are trained in Bratislava and Erlangen, Germany.

The Christian Reformed Church--Calvanist, with headquarters in Pacir, which is in Backa, has 43 ministers in 43 church districts and 9 affiliates, about 60 churches and seminaries in Baranja, Slavonia, Medjumurje and Vojvodina. In the Calvinist churches there is no altar, icon or statues (it condemns idolatry). This movement came into our country through Hungary. It perhaps is worth recalling that this religious movement dates from the 16th century in the vicinity of Geneva and spread from there into France (the Huguenots) and England (the Puritans).

The Baptists in Yugoslavia have 54 church districts and about 20 ministers and lay ministers. The Baptist and Evangelical churches have established a divinity school in Zagreb. The Baptists are a Protestant religious sect established in England in 1633, they are advocates of baptism of adults, since they teach that only a man who has a thoroughly conscious attitude toward faith can participate in the right of baptism.

The Methodist Church has about 40 ministers; the bishop's seat is in Skopje, and the headquarters of the secretariat in Novi Sad. The Methodists are a sect of the Anglican Church, and the latter, if we resort to the aid of an encyclopedia, came into being in 1534 in England when Henry VIII broke with Pope Clement VII. Some will remember the film on this subject.

The Christian Adventist Church has in its 4 regions (Zagreb, Novi Sad, Nis and Sarajevo), which comprise the union, which has its seat in Belgrade, has 300 local churches with more than 120 professional ministers. They have a junior postsecondary and secondary school attended by about 150 young men and women, and there is also a bible correspondence school. This is a religious sect which celebrates the Sabbath on Saturday; this sect believes "in the second coming of Christ and the Day of Judgment."

The Christian Community of Jehovah's Witnesses has 104 districts governed by appointed representatives (servants). The Christian Pentecost Church has 72 church districts and about 70 ministers making up synods or regions of Serbia, Slavonia, Croatia, Bosnia-Hercegovina, and Macedonia. There is also a Romanian synod in Banat and one Hungarian one in Subotica which are officially called Christ's Spiritual Church.

The Jewish Community has 36 Jewish communes, and each of them has a religious section among others. There are no professional religious officers, but the rabbi's functions are performed by individual laymen. Their liturgy consists of prayers and readings of various canonical books.

An alliance of Old Catholic churches was established in 1954 (11 parishes, 10 priests and 7 churches) which was joined by the Old Catholic churches of Croatia, Serbia, Slovenia and Bosnia-Hercegovina.

There are also many smaller churches active in Yugoslavia: for example, the Romanian Orthodox Church (Vrsac), Christ's Church of Brethren (Backi Petrovac), the Christian Nazarene Community (Novi Sad). It is characteristic of the Nazarenes that they reject the church hierarchy, the clergy and church services, they refuse to take oaths and to serve in the army. They are also referred to as New Believers.

The very list of churches in and of itself indicates the traces left in this region by various material and spiritual influences. This interwoven pattern is most obvious in the north of our country: the Spiritual Church of Christ of Those Whose Feet Are Washed (Vrdnik), the Spiritual Church of Christ of the Partially Immersed (Subotica), the Spiritual Church of Christ of the Evangelical Brethren (Belgrade), the Jesus Christ God's Church of Saints (Zagreb), the Reform Movement of Seventh Day Adventists (Belgrade), the Esoterian University Religious Community (Zagreb), the Seventh Day Church of God (Novi Sad), the Church of God (Vinkovci), the Church of Last Judgment (Osijek), the Free Catholic Church (Zagreb), the Mormons (Zadar), and so on.

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END

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17 November 1980

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1825

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17 November 1980

EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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CONTENTS

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Briefs
Albanian Gymnasts to Kosovo 1
Folklore Group to Kosovo 1

ALBANIA

'ATA' Reviews New Hoxha Book 'The Khrushchevites'
(ATA, 7 Oct 80)..... 2

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Foreign Policy Journal Attacks China's Disarmament Policy
(IWE-TAGESDIENST, 11 Aug 80; DEUTSCHE AUSSENPOLITIK, Aug 80)..... 5

West German Commentary
PRC's 'Hegemonistic' Goals, by Bernd Kaufmann, Guenter Raube

HUNGARY

Trade Unions Prepare for XXIV Congress
(Gyorgy Fejti; PARTELET, Oct 80)..... 23

Nemeth Addresses Graduates of Political College
(PARTELET, Oct 80)..... 31

POLAND

Journal Comments on Work Stoppages
(Bohdan Rolinski; ZYCIE WARSZAWY, 15 Aug 80)..... 39

Katowice Prosecutor Discusses Problems Affecting Law Enforcement
(Zdzislaw Kupiec Interview; TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA, 27-28 Sep 80)..... 43

Book on NATO Arms Market Reviewed
(Stanislaw Reperowicz; TRYBUNA LUDU, 6 Aug 80)..... 46

ROMANIA

Current Trends in Aviation Medicine Discussed
(Florin Uleu; REVISTA SANITARA MILITARA, Apr-Jun 80)..... 48

Armed Forces' Blood Donations in War, Peace Viewed
(Tiberiu Georgescu; REVISTA SANITARA MILITARA, Apr-Jun 80).... 53

Briefs
Death of Catholic Bishop 59
Presidential Appointment 59

YUGOSLAVIA

Milovan Djilas Comments on Soviet System
(Milovan Djilas; DIE WELT, 9 Oct 80)..... 60

Law on Movement, Sojorn of Foreigners
(SLUZBENI LIST SFRJ, 3 Oct 80)..... 64

BRIEFS

ALBANIAN GYMNASTS TO KOSOVO--The national gymnastic team left for Kosovo where it will give performances in Pristina and other cities. The team is led by the director of professional sports high school of Durres District. [AU062125 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 6 Oct 80]

FOLKLORE GROUP TO KOSOVO--The folk group of Radio Shkoder, headed by the general vice-director of the Radio-Television, Marash Hajati, left for a tour of performances of Kosovo. Yesterday, the group was seen off by the general director of Radio-Television, Cajup Rusmali, and other working people of this institution. [Tirana ATA in English 0913 GMT 6 Sep 80] The folk group of Radio-Shkodra, headed by the general vice-director of Radio-Television Marash Hajati, returned from Kosovo yesterday. Present to welcome the group was the head of the section of education and culture in the executive committee of the Shkodra District people's council Bahri Dervishi and working people of art and culture. [Tirana ATA in English 0900 GMT 28 Sep 80]

CSO: 2020

'ATA' REVIEWS NEW HOXHA BOOK 'THE KHRUSHCHEVITES'

AU071423 Tirana ATA in English 7 Oct 80

[ATA headline: "Comrade Enver Hoxha's New Work 'The Khrushchevites'--Another Testimony to the Principled Struggle of the Party of Labor of Albania, PLA, Against Modern Revisionism"]

[Text] Tirana, 7 Oct (ATA)--Comrade Enver Hoxha's book "The Khrushchevites"-memoirs, another work in the series of the memoirs by the author, after that "With Stalin," which was published in December 1979, came off the press these days.

The book "The Khrushchevites," through the impressions and reminiscences of the author from the contacts with the leaders of the CPSU and other communist and workers' parties, provides a vivid and concrete tableau about the development of the relations between the PLA and those parties over the period 1953-1961, since the death of Stalin till the final break off with the Khrushchevites.

> -Book which analyses the activity of the Soviet leaders who came to power after Stalin's death and discovers and portrays their character as unscrupulous and undignified politicians-

Speaking about the Soviet leaders who came to power after Stalin's death, apart from the political and ideological analysis of their activity, which has been made also elsewhere, in this book, Comrade Enver Hoxha, on the basis of his personal recognition, discovers and portrays also the character of these unscrupulous and undignified politicians, who did not hesitate to alter the flatteries, promises for aid with the skirmishing of the teeth of the super-state, with the false statement about internationalism with the blockade of starvation.

> -The factors that brought about the great tragedy of the Soviet Union-

What characterizes the book "The Khrushchevites" is the organic interlacing of the reminiscences for a period of time with the analytical reflections, either for that period of time, or about the later development. Thus, through the vivid presentation of facts, the author writes down the opinions about the factors that brought about the great tragedy in the Soviet Union, opinions which have played a role of theoretical and practical importance in the struggle of the Party of Labour of Albania to know and expose the modern revisionists in time and which have served, in particular, not to allow such a revisionist retrogression in our country, as

the one that occurred in many former socialist countries. Bureaucracy and technocratism, the loss of the revolutionary vigilance, the domination of the apparatchiki on the party and the state, the creation of the megalomanic caste, sick euphoria, the running after posts and privileges and, above all, the abandonment of the Marxist-Leninist guiding compass, are some of the roots of the evil the book underlines.

> -The road of the Khrushchevites towards the usurpation of power was the road of intrigues, putsches, liquidation of the opponents, slanders, mysterious murders.

Stressing that J.V. Stalin's line was correct, Marxist-Leninist, Comrade Enver Hoxha brings to the fore the counter-revolutionary role of Khrushchev, Mikoyan and others, who, for their own ends, created a situation of euphoria in the party, built up the cult of Stalin, but, in fact they were distorting his directives and were preparing their counter-revolutionary plot in the darkness. Their road towards the usurpation of the power was the road of intrigues, putsches, liquidation of the opponents, slanders, mysterious murders. The success of their plot was also favoured by the stand of the old guard of the Soviet leaders, who were considered as co-fighters of Stalin, but who had lost their revolutionary spirit, who had become politically sclerotic and had been turned into corpses of Bolshevism.

The conflict between the Party of Labour of Albania and the Soviet leadership was a conflict which was matured gradually through numerous clashes on an ideological and political basis. It had to do with major problems of the theory and practice of the revolution, with the strategy and tactics of the communist movement, with the stand towards the enemies of the revolution, the peoples as well as towards the distorters of Marxism-Leninism.

> -The book shows the ways and methods employed by the Khrushchev's group in power to break this principled and firm stand of the PLA, but which yielded no result-

Through the pages of this new work, Comrade Enver Hoxha shows in a convincing way how our party withstood the sick spirit that the Soviet Khrushchevites spread in the international communist movement. Its principled and unwavering stand was manifested openly at 1957 and 1960 Moscow meetings, at the talks and meetings with the Soviet leaders, at the Bucharest meeting, etc.

The autbor brings to the fore all the ways and methods employed by the Khrushchev's group in power to break this stand. The official talks, the invitations for "holidays," the "occasional" meetings, receptions, the deceitful generosity, hypocrisy, bugging devices, the KGB agents, the open provocations and blackmail, constituted the preferred arsenal of the machiavellian policy of the Khrushchevites. But these means which had yielded their fruits in other countries, where the sound elements were liquidated and Khrushchev's men were brought to power, in Albania did not yield the results he wanted to achieve to.

> -In his new book Comrade Enver Hoxha analyses the efforts of the Soviet revisionist leadership to transform the socialist countries into Gouberna [Vassal states] depending on the Soviet metropolis-

The efforts of the Soviet revisionist leadership to subdue our country were a continuation of their policy to transform the socialist countries into Gouberna depending on Soviet metropolis. To achieve these aims, the Khrushchev's group carried out a feverish activity to eliminate the revolutionary leaders, instigated the anti-Marxist elements in the other parties and put them in the leadership. The unprincipled policy incited it to rely on Nagy, Gomulka and other punished enemies and strike bargainings with them and their supports to the detriment of the peoples and socialism. The events in Poland, especially the counter-revolution in Hungary in 1956, as the book shows, strengthened the doubts of our party about the policy of the Soviet leadership.

> -In the book "The Khrushchevites" a prominent place is held by the events of 1960, the Bucharest meeting and that of Moscow, in which the Party of Labour of Albania openly launched its attack against Khrushchevite revisionism.

A prominent place is held in the book by the important events of 1960, the Bucharest meeting and that of Moscow, in which the Party of Labour of Albania openly launched its attack against Khrushchevite revisionism. Speaking about the [word indistinct] Comrade Enver said that the principled stand adopted by the Party of Labour of Albania, as time proved it, was conditioned by no pragmatic, economic, financial or military interest. The Marxist-Leninist position of our party, courageously and faithfully expressed by Comrade Hysni Kapo, was dictated only by the lofty aim to defend the Marxist-Leninist norms, to oppose the Khrushchevite dictate. This resolute opposition was transformed at the Moscow meeting into a sting blow against modern revisionism which had seized the power in the CPSU and in many other communist and workers' parties.

The relations of our party and country with the other parties and socialist countries find also their reflection in the book through the visits, meetings, contacts the author has had with a number of leaders of these countries, as well as through the impressions and characterization he makes them. The book speaks with great affection and warmth for such leaders as Dimitrov, Gottwalt, Kolarov, Pieck, Bierut and others, who were internationalists and genuine friends of the Albanian people. While with regard to those who came to power later on, the book underlines their indifferent, under-rating, unfriendly and later on the hostile stand, even the pursuance by them towards our country of a policy according to the revisionist conductor's baton. With the line they pursued, they not only caused damage to the international communist movement, but also gravely hit the fundamental interests of their countries. It was this policy which put these countries under the domination of the Khrushchev's group and later on under that of Brezhnev, whereas the resolute stand of our party was decisive for the safeguard of the independence of our socialist homeland.

CSO: 2020

FOREIGN POLICY JOURNAL ATTACKS CHINA'S DISARMAMENT POLICY

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 120, 11 Aug 80 pp 1-2

[Report from Berlin: "East Berlin Attacks Beijing's Position on Disarmament Question." A translation of the East Berlin DEUTSCHE AUSSENPOLITIK article cited below follows this commentary]

[Text] East Berlin has sharply attacked Beijing's attitude in the disarmament issue. The semiofficial East Berlin journal DEUTSCHE AUSSENPOLITIK, No 8/1980, stated that China was pursuing a dangerous conception of conventional and nuclear rearmament. By establishing a worldwide "united anti-Soviet front" China wished to block the initiatives for disarmament and arms limitation issuing from the socialist countries. Beijing's "destructive attitude" to this key issue of international politics had "become an obstacle threatening further progress on disarmament and arms limitation." China thereby was reinforcing the "most reactionary circles of imperialism," which, for their part, sought to prevent any step toward arms reduction. Consequently China's "disarmament demagogy" had to be "constantly unmasked and resolutely rejected."

PRC's 'Hegemonistic' Goals

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[Article by Dr Bernd Kaufmann, Humboldt University, East Berlin; and Dr Guenter Raube, Institute for International Relations, GDR Academy for Political Science and Jurisprudence, Potsdam-Babelsberg: "The Policy of the Chinese Leaders in Questions of Disarmament"]

[Text] Emphatically reiterated at the Twelfth SED Central Committee Meeting were Erich Honecker's words, spoken at the meeting of the Central Committee Secretariat with the first secretaries of kreis leadership organizations of 25 January 1980 in Berlin: "That which matters most of all at this time and upon which everything ultimately depends is the resolute defense of peace."[1] At the important meeting of the Political Advisory Committee of the Warsaw Pact countries on 14 and 15 May last in Warsaw it was unanimously agreed that, following the U.S.Government's shift from detente to confrontation, the international situation has seriously worsened and the threat to peace

and detente risen considerably. Consequently the Warsaw Pact countries, inspired by the goal of securing peace, adopted significant initiatives to give new impetus to detente, provide a new push in the struggle for an end to the arms race and achieve effective measures for disarmament, thereby lessening the danger of the outbreak of a nuclear world war. In his address to the Twelfth Central Committee Plenum concerning the convocation of the Tenth SED Congress, Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, rightly noted:

"When thinking of the future, mankind at the beginning of the 1980's thinks primarily of securing peace. All those on the international scene, who hold governmental responsibility will be judged by their contribution to the settlement of this the main issue of our time."[2]

The same fully applies to the policy of the Chinese leaders, especially as regards detente and disarmament. The People's Republic of China is a major power and, as a permanent member of the UN Security Council together with the Soviet Union, the United States, Britain and France, holds a very particular responsibility for the maintenance and consolidation of world peace.

However, the current Chinese leaders not only do not meet this responsibility, since Mao Zedong's death in 1976 they have increasingly emphasized a foreign policy hostile to peace, detente and progress. Efforts to achieve domination in international relations have evidently come to the fore. China's brutal military attack on socialist Vietnam in the spring of 1979 demonstrates that the responsible Chinese leaders are ready and able to switch from cold to hot war in the interest of implementing their policy directed to regional and global hegemony. At the same time, and as shown by their military defeat in Vietnam, they overestimate their potential and scope.

The Chinese leaders have chosen collaboration with imperialism, especially U.S.imperialism. As a consequence of its unprecedented "opening" to the West China intends to become a world power of the first rank with the aid and at the side of imperialism, doing so by accelerated economic, scientific-technological and military "modernization." To gain the aid of the developed capitalist countries, above all the United States, anti-Sovietism was escalated, the aggressive policy of the Carter Administration stimulated and supported, and imperialism offered a joint global "containment strategy" directed against world socialism, in particular its major power, the Soviet Union. The Chinese leaders are intent, if possible, to incite the Soviet Union and the United States to a military conflict in order at least to weaken them and thus more quickly transform China into a power dominating the world.

As the initiation of military links demonstrates, relations between China and the United States are oriented to the emergence of an ad hoc alliance. At the same time the two sides confront one another not only as allies but

also as rivals with their own hegemonistic goals. While increasingly those laws and motive forces become active between China and imperialism, which are typical for inner-imperialist proportions of forces, and while China is becoming dependent on the economically far superior imperialist countries, discussions and disputes are increasing in China about the manner and goals of the country's "modernization." Exacerbated thereby is the contradiction between the great power chauvinist policy of the Chinese leaders on the one hand and the objective requirements of the economic construction in China as well as its international relations on the other.

Against this background the foreign policy of the Chinese leaders on the threshold of the 1980's has become a main spring for international tension; it now represents a factor complicating the international situation, even destabilizing it in some regions and, above all, seriously prejudicing the struggle for peace, security, disarmament and arms limitation.[3]

The Evolution of the PRC's Attitude to the Security of Peace, Detente and Disarmament

In the wake of the shift, begun in the late 1950's, of the PRC's foreign policy from anti-imperialism to antisocialism, its attitude to the issues of war or peace, political and military detente, disarmament and arms limitation also was subject to a fundamental revision. To the degree that the effort to achieve hegemony became the ruling concern of Chinese foreign policy, hostility to detente and disarmament increased, conventional and nuclear armament was emphasized in order to enable the PRC to carry on a policy of strength, a policy of dictate, blackmail and military threats toward the Soviet Union, the Asian neighbor countries and world socialism.

In the 1950's PRC policy regarding military detente and disarmament, just as its overall foreign policy, was part and parcel of the total strategy of the countries of socialism. On the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution Mao Zedong stated in Moscow on 6 November 1957:

"The Soviet Union, China and the other socialist countries have long made every effort to lessen international tension. The proposal repeated submitted by the Soviet Union on the issue of disarmament and the ban on the production, testing and use of weapons of mass annihilation reflects the common attitude of all socialist countries and, at the same time, responds to the interest of the peoples of the world."[4]

The first constitution of 18 September 1954 postulated the struggle for world peace as China's "unalterable policy" and thus elevated it to a constitutional principle. The Eighth CCP Congress (1956) specially honored the socialist countries active and united advocacy of peaceful coexistence and disarmament.

In those years the Government of the People's Republic of China developed its own measures. The main emphasis of its actions was logically directed to the assurance of peace in the Asian-Pacific region, coupled with the reduction of the tensions caused there by the United States. The PRC concentrated on defusing such conflicts as directly threatened the security of the Chinese state. Preeminent was the dispatch of volunteers to Korea (1950) and the struggle--conducted jointly with the USSR and the other socialist countries--for an end to the Korean War. In the treaties of friendship and assistance concluded in 1950-1960 as well as in communiques and joint declarations with other socialist states the PRC obligated itself actively to participate in securing peace and champion definite steps toward disarmament.

The Permanent Committee of the National People's Congress adopted a resolution enthusiastically endorsing the important appeal on disarmament addressed by the USSR Supreme Soviet on 10 May 1955 to the parliaments of all other countries. China strongly condemned the conclusion of a separate peace treaty between the United States and Japan as well as the remilitarization of Japan and the FRG. The treaty on trade and communications between the Chinese region of Tibet and India of 29 April 1954 first contractually formulated the five principles of peaceful coexistence. The PRC offered a considerable contribution to the implementation of detente and peaceful coexistence at the Bandung Conference of Afro-Asian countries in April 1955. On 30 July 1955 the Chinese Government submitted to the countries of Asia, the Pacific region and the United States a proposal to replace military blocs by a collective peace pact. In April 1957 it suggested the establishment of an Asian security system involving the United States, the USSR, Japan, the PRC, Burma, Indonesia and India. Finally, in March 1958, the Chinese Government advocated the creation of a peace zone in Asia, free of nuclear weapons. Repeated initiatives were launched to improve relations with Japan and (from 1955 in Chinese-American talks at ambassadorial level) to normalize relations with the United States.

The Chinese leaders constructive peace policy met with the complete approbation of the overwhelming majority of the people. Witness are the hundreds of millions of signatures collected in China for the first Stockholm Appeal and the Berlin Peace Appeal of the Peace Council which was prominent in the 1950's international movement against nuclear arms. This policy, directed to the stabilization of the situation and the security of peace in the Asian-Pacific region considerably contributed to the rise of the VRC to an acknowledged anti-imperialist force which gained steadily in international influence. The USSR and the other socialist countries proved to be its natural allies. The United States carried on a policy of open hostility toward China. Its occupation of Taiwan and especially the threatened U.S. intervention in the People's Republic of China, which was involved in the aggression against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea left even the most nationalist forces in Beijing no choice but to consider U.S. imperialism its arch foe. In the first years of the People's Republic of China, therefore, the country's alliance, security and disarmament policy was

mainly directed against the far superior military power of the United States threatening to blockade and contain the PRC.

At the end of the 1950's Mao Zedong gradually and at first secretly, though later more and more openly, subjected this tried and tested policy to a fundamental correction which, in subsequent years, degenerated into a "special line" and, since the late 1960's, has been dominated by anti-Sovietism and great power chauvinism. The nationalist forces in particular, grouped around Mao Zedong, made every effort to adopt a dominating attitude initially within the framework of the socialist world system and the international communist movement, and later vis-a-vis the national liberation movement and the developing countries. This had the result that the PRC began to hold an increasingly militant and adventurist attitude on the issue of war or peace, the policy of peaceful coexistence and, therefore, especially the role of the military factor in politics. The most obvious reflection of this attitude was the growing assertion that a world war was "inevitable," that the overthrow of the capitalist system could thus be made to happen worldwide and far more quickly, and that the nuclear bomb should merely be considered a "paper tiger." This conception opposed to the peace and security policy of the socialist states initially involved the doctrine of militant "anti-Americanism" designed to incite a military conflict between the USSR and the United States. This doctrine came to the fore in the 1958 Taiwan crisis and the provocation of military border clashes with India (1959 and 1962). At the same time military cooperation with the Soviet Union was revoked and nuclear armament pushed.

Consequently the actions of the Chinese leaders in matters of disarmament and especially nuclear disarmament diverged further and further from the policy of the socialist countries and finally postulated their hostility to the security of peace and disarmament. In June 1960, on the occasion of a conference in Beijing of the World Trade Union Federation, the PRC first displayed its open rejection of general and complete disarmament as the achievable goal of socialist disarmament policy by describing this goal as an "illusion" as long as imperialism persisted.[5] The real reason for this attitude was the fact that, in the interest of their own rearmament designed to carry out its plans for domination, the Maoists no longer wished for disarmament and tried to hide this by the doctrine of the necessity of a "decisive military struggle against imperialism." To recruit the national liberation movement as allies for this attitude, the Chinese leaders hypocritically claimed that disarmament was not in the interest of the peoples fighting for national independence, because they would thus be unarmed against imperialism.

The fundamental change in the PRC's attitude to disarmament in general and to nuclear disarmament in particular occurred in the early 1960's. It was coupled at the same time with the effort to develop an independent Chinese disarmament conception. The CCP's Maoist "proposal on the general line of the international communist movement" of 14 June 1963 basically marked the end of the process of China's abandonment of joint proceedings with the

USSR and the other socialist countries on the disarmament issue. The USSR's proposals for achieving general and complete disarmament were denigrated as "aiding and abetting imperialist aggression and war policies."[6]

Efforts at Domination and Hostility to Disarmament

On 16 October 1964 the PRC exploded a uranium-235 nuclear device in the region of Lop Nor in the Uighur Autonomous Region of Xinjiang. Consequently the PRC joined the United States, the USSR, Britain and France as the fifth country with nuclear weapons capability.

The Chinese leaders believed that they now held a decisive power instrument to buttress their hegemonistic aspirations. Their turning away from the alliance with the USSR more and more obviously shifted to open hostility. It was thus no accident that Mao Zedong in the very same year questioned the territorial status quo in Europe and Asia, which was the result of World War II, put forward territorial demands vis-a-vis the USSR and reiterated the claim to incorporate the sovereign Mongolian People's Republic.[7] Mao Zedong and his followers believed to act from a position of equality with regard to the main imperialist countries, especially the United States, and to be able on this basis to come to an understanding with them.[8]

The first Chinese nuclear bomb test demonstratively underlined the Chinese leaders' claim to establish China as a major power, "independent" of both social systems, as well as their intention as much as possible to profit from the worldwide clash of the socialist and imperialist systems in the interest of pressing ahead with their selfish goals. China's possession of nuclear weapons accelerated the further evolution of its foreign policy in the direction of antisocialism and the establishment of blocs with imperialism. It lent a qualitatively new dimension to the policy of the Chinese leaders with regard to the disarmament issue.

The ownership of nuclear weapons and the development of modern delivery systems is designed to multiply the effectiveness of the Chinese leaders' hegemonistic policy and increase China's influence in world politics. The basic strategic goal of the PRC leaders foreign policy and therefore their attitude to the issue of disarmament and arms limitation is that of making China a power which will, in the long run, dominate the world. They visualize a system of international relations in which China is the superpower. Their efforts to convert this into practical politics meant that nationalism was fueled with an increasing lack of inhibitions, that it degenerated into great power chauvinism and, by tremendous rearmament efforts, imposed unspeakable burdens on the Chinese people.

Whatever the shifts of PRC foreign policy since the end of the 1950's, it always maintained one leitmotif: To sabotage detente in East-West relations, obstruct effective steps in direction disarmament and arms limitation, incite and exploit conflicts and disputes at all foci of world policy--whether in Europe, the Near and Middle East, Africa, Central America and,

especially, in Southeast Asia and the Far East--all in order to drive the Soviet Union and the United States into a permanent political and, if at all possible, military confrontation.

The Chinese leaders therefore acted and continue to act as resolute foes of political and military detente. As it is the nationalist approach to make China the preeminent world power, it follows that the Soviet Union, the strongest power of socialism, is bound to appear the main obstacle to this ambition. Consequently the USSR has for years been slandered as the "arch enemy" of China and the peoples of the world, the "main source" of tensions and war; the peace and security policy of the Soviet Union has been fanatically maligned, the constructive proposals of the socialist fraternal countries on disarmament and arms limitation denigrated and imperialism courted.

For years Chinese politicians have diligently tried to make the world believe that China does not strive for global domination and actually advocates general and complete disarmament. Basically this corresponds to a tenet of the old Chinese "art of government," which advises that real political goals should never be revealed before the time is ripe. To deceive world public opinion Deng Xiaoping went so far as to say at the April 1974 special meeting of the United Nations General Assembly:

"Should China one of these days change its political visage and become a superpower, should it also act the tyrant and on this earth and everywhere subject others to its tyranny, aggression and exploitation, the peoples of this earth should call matters by their proper name..."[9]

Let us take up Deng's challenge and seek truth in the facts!

The Striving for Military Power--The Basis of the Chinese Leaders Attitude to Disarmament

According to Soviet sources the average arms expenditure of the PRC amounts to some 40 percent of the total state budget.[10] The costly missile-nuclear bomb potential continues to be the focal point of Chinese armament. China has available and ready for use nuclear fission and fusion weapons with an explosive range of 20 kiloton to 4 megaton TNT. Since 1964 the People's Republic of China has carried out more than 25 nuclear tests and since 1970 launched 8 satellites as well as undertaken successful test series with respect to guided missiles. It is possible that the Chinese are able to handle the complex recovery technology for satellite payloads.

On 18 and 21 May last China successfully launched toward the South Pacific the first two intercontinental ballistic missiles type CSS-X-4 with a range of about 10,000-14,000 km. According to reports these ICBM's are to be equipped with 3 independent guided nuclear warheads (MIRV's). China also has nearly 100 bombers capable of carrying nuclear weapons. The construction of nuclear fueled submarines serves the purpose of advancing

Chinese naval equipment in the direction of strategic tasks. On the whole. however, the PRC's strategic capacities are by no means sufficient to carry out intercontinental missions. The PRC's ballistic missiles so far represent a danger mainly to the USSR, the Mongolian People's Republic, India, the Southeast Asian countries and Japan. Nevertheless we must assume that a new strategic situation will dawn in the earl 1980's in Sino-United States relations: Chinese intercontinental ballistic missiles will then be able for the first time to reach the U.S.mainland.

At the moment about 4 million men are serving in the Chinese armed forces. The army has available some 10,000 tanks (light and heavy), about 3,000 armored personnel carriers, 5,500 heavy grenade launchers and 15,000 artillery pieces. The navy boasts some 200 floating units. They include 50 submarines and some obsolete destroyers. Also included are 4 naval air divisions. The air force has more than 5,000 obsolescent Soviet aircraft or Chinese copies. Some 60 million members of paramilitary formations represent the so-called nuclear militia.

In contrast to the Chinese leaders public assertions China's armed aggression against socialist Vietnam in the spring of 1979 clearly showed that the army is being prepared for attack. The Chinese concluded from their military defeat in Vietnam that they must more strongly emphasize the equipment of their army with modern conventional weapons and modern communications, and that they must also substantially improve their mobility. For this they expect the assistance of imperialist countries, especially the United States. Last January's visit to China by U.S.Defense Secretary Brown and last May's return visit to the United States by General Secretary of the CPC Central Committee's Military Commission Geng Biao represented a definite "leap forward" with respect to the development of military links between China and the United States. It was agreed, for example, that China should obtain the most modern "gray zone" technology such as a land satellite station and equipment for military purposes such as early warning radar, telecommunication devices, trucks, transport aircraft and computers.

In view of the great importance assigned by the Chinese leaders to their own military strength for the implementation of their hegemonistic aims, the PRC's attitude to disarmament primarily features the firm intention not to allow any obstacles to the speeded-up development and expansion of the country's armed forces and arms arsenal. The Chinese attitude to disarmament is largely motivated as follows:

-- The leaders of the People's Republic of China intend to prevent any international agreements which they consider restrictive to their rearmament, especially in the field of nuclear missiles.

-- On the one hand they endeavor to avoid international isolation for the PRC in matters arms limitation, on the other they are interested in stimulating the most reactionary forces of imperialism to prevent effective steps toward disarmament and arms limitation.

-- By saddling the "superpowers" (meaning the USSR and the United States but mainly, and increasingly, the USSR alone) with the sole responsibility for the continuing arms race, the PRC attempts to isolate the USSR, deflect attention from its own rearmament and indeed justify it.

-- More and more the Chinese submit their own proposals and suggestions which call on the "superpowers," especially the USSR, to make unilateral sacrifices in the matter of disarmament. These obviously amount to a shift in the prevailing military proportion of forces worldwide to benefit the People's Republic of China. By the disarmament of the "rivals," the relative weight of the PRC's military factor is to be increased in the long term. The attempt is made to justify this with the efforts of peoples and countries to achieve "equality" and abolish the "supremacy of the superpowers."

-- The Chinese disarmament concept distinguishes between "genuine" and "false" disarmament.[12] All current arms limitation and disarmament treaties based on the internationally acknowledged principle of the equality of obligations and equal security are discounted as "false" measures. Only those steps are proclaimed "genuine" disarmament, which violate this principle and provide unilateral military benefits for the People's Republic of China.

The leaders of the People's Republic of China constantly refer to the "superpowers competition for world domination" and assert that the alleged Soviet expansionism may cause another world war. The Chinese leaders attempt by this demagogy to justify their demand for the implementation of the "principle of disarmament," by which the USSR and the United States "would have to be the first"[13] drastically to reduce their nuclear strategic arms. Only then should other "important military countries join in" disarmament.[14] By putting the question in such unrealistic terms the PRC actually aims to prevent any advance toward disarmament, evade its own disarmament responsibilities as a nuclear power, and shift the entire responsibility onto others.

To disguise its basically negative attitude in regard to nuclear disarmament the PRC began in the early 1960's to advance the demand for a ban on a first nuclear strike. According to a government statement of 16 October 1964, on the occasion of the first Chinese nuclear tests, China would "at no time and in no circumstances" be the first to use nuclear weapons. Ever since the restoration of the PRC's legitimate rights in the United Nations (1971) it has challenged the United States and the USSR to make a similar declaration. Complementing the unilateral obligation accepted by the USSR and the United States in several statements, the USSR has additionally proposed that all nuclear powers should enter into binding international obligations to the effect that they would not use or threaten to use nuclear weapons against countries which do not possess nuclear weapons nor have such weapons emplaced on their territories. The PRC, however, rejected this proposal.

The People's Republic of China's call for the non-use of nuclear weapons, especially against nuclear free zones, must therefore be considered no more than empty rhetoric, especially because it rejects any internationally binding agreement on a general nuclear weapons ban and, in contrast to the USSR, is not willing to enter into firm contractual agreements on the conditions for foregoing the first nuclear strike. In these circumstances the countries bordering on the People's Republic of China can never be secure from a potential Chinese nuclear attack.

So far the PRC has not acceded to any of the major international treaties and agreements on arms limitation and disarmament, though accession to many is open. Other than membership in the 1925 Geneva Protocol, inherited from its predecessor government, the People's Republic of China has been willing only to accept the supplementary protocol No 2 to the treaty on the ban of nuclear weapons in Latin America. By doing so it obligated itself not to use or threaten to use nuclear weapons against the signatories of that treaty. This, though, does not imply any restriction to Chinese nuclear armament The PRC has not signed any of the current and important international agreements in the field of arms limitation and disarmament, which would involve genuine restrictions on the rearmament of the People's Republic of China: Not the Moscow Treaty concerning the ban on nuclear weapons tests in the atmosphere, in space and underseas (1963), not the treaty on the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons (1968), not the treaty on the bottom of the seas (1971), not the B weapons convention (1972), nor yet the environmental convention (1977).

The People's Republic of China and the Ban on Nuclear Weapons Tests

By their efforts to obtain the international acceptance of a comprehensive ban on nuclear weapons tests and a ban of such tests in all media and for all countries, the socialist countries aim to make impossible or at least difficult the further development of existing types and the creation of new generations of such weapons by precluding any tests. At the same time they intend to prevent the further uncontrolled proliferation of nuclear weapons in countries which do not yet have them. The first and so far most important if partial success recorded is represented by the Moscow Treaty, concluded on 5 August 1963 and relating to a partial ban on nuclear weapons tests. The Beijing leaders fought this treaty tooth and nail, even in the preparatory stage. As they assign a central role in their hegemonistic ambitions to their own possession and rapid development of nuclear weapons, they roundly objected to any international agreement which could represent an obstacle. Nor is the PRC willing so far to stop nuclear weapons tests in the atmosphere and restrict itself to underground tests only. China's continuing violation of the treaty provisions (to which no less than 120 countries have now acceded) is designed to prove that the treaty is incapable of preventing nuclear weapons tests in the atmosphere. By this means the effectiveness of the treaty is to be brought into disrepute and its universality gainsayed. The People's Republic of China sharply rejected the complaints about its atmospheric tests, which were expressed by

other countries, in particular Japan, Australia and New Zealand. The PRC tried to give the impression that the tests were an internal concern of China alone, in other words China's sovereign right, and that there was no way of preventing China from proceeding as it wished. Moreover the PRC construes an allegedly valid right of all countries, but especially of countries "with few nuclear weapons and those with insufficient defense capacity," not only to develop nuclear weapons but also to produce and test them.[15] It advises such countries against participation in the Moscow Treaty because this allegedly prejudices their security.

By taking the field against even a partial ban on nuclear weapons the Chinese leaders aim to obstruct the process designed to result in a comprehensive ban on nuclear weapons tests. The generally destructive attitude of the PRC is nowhere so pronounced as on this issue. Ever since it has been a member of the United Nations it has voted against all relevant resolutions by the UN General Assembly.[16] The PRC rejects the USSR's proposal for a conference of the five nuclear powers to discuss issues involved in a total test ban. Since 1977 at least trilateral negotiations on that issue have been carried on by the USSR, the United States and Britain. The PRC's negative attitude has so far served the United States and Britain as a pretext for refusing to submit a draft treaty jointly with the USSR. The lack of progress has made it easier for the PRC to explain and maintain its rejection of the nuclear weapons test ban and continue its nonparticipation in the relevant agreements and negotiations.

The People's Republic of China and the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty

This treaty obligated the nuclear powers "not to deliver nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices " to anybody at all, "either directly or indirectly, nor to aid, encourage or cause a country not possessing nuclear weapons to produce or otherwise obtain nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices."[17] The non-nuclear countries which were signatories consequently renounced the acquisition of nuclear weapons and incurred guarantee obligations within the scope of agreements with the International Atomic Energy Organization (IAEA) in Vienna. The treaty secures the "inalienable right of all treaty partners" freely to pursue the possibilities of the peaceful use of nuclear energy.[18] Since the treaty took effect on 5 March 1970 the circle of nuclear powers has in fact not grown, thereby confirming its general efficacy.

The PRC opposed the treaty from the outset, did not accede to it and, to this day, rejects its universality. The PRC's rejection of the Nonproliferation Treaty results less from immediate military considerations (because China was already a nuclear power at the time the treaty was concluded). It is motivated by the PRC's view of the treaty as an important element in the trend to arms limitation, which it rejects because it cannot be made to serve its goal: That is unilaterally to restrict the great powers armaments while allowing the PRC a free hand in speeding up its own.

The People's Republic of China considers the Nonproliferation Treaty the result of a certain coincidence of interests between the USSR and the United States in the prevention of the further spread of nuclear weapons and describes it as "discovered" jointly by the United States and the Soviet Union for the express purpose of perpetuating their "nuclear monopoly" and dominating other countries.[19] Actually the Chinese leaders hegemonistic concept is based on driving the United States and China toward a conflict. Anti-Sovietism and the endeavor to achieve domination are thus the political mainsprings of Chinese rejection of the Nonproliferation Treaty. By its rejection of the treaty the PRC hopes to gain allies among the countries not possessing a nuclear potential, stressing the alleged disparity in the obligations of the nuclear powers on the one hand and those of the non-nuclear nations on the other. The same purpose is served by the PRC's argument that the Nonproliferation Treaty obstructs the development of nuclear technology and its peaceful use by many countries, thereby perpetuating the "superpowers" monopoly in this field.

By rejecting the Nonproliferation Treaty and other measures designed to stop the spread of nuclear weapons the PRC represents one of the main obstacles to nuclear disarmament at this time. Whether and in how far the PRC will modify its attitude in the future cannot be foreseen, but some change may be expected because, in the pursuit of their hegemonistic goals, the Chinese leaders cannot objectively welcome the possibility of China's neighbors obtaining nuclear weapons.

The People's Republic of China and Nuclear Free Zones

The USSR and the other socialist countries have made long and strong efforts to promote the concept of the establishment of nuclear free zones. It has been part and parcel of their wish for military detente, arms limitation and disarmament. Let us in this connection recall the plan for setting up such a zone in Central Europe, submitted on 2 October 1957 by then Polish Foreign Minister Rapacki in an address to the UN General Assembly. Since that time several such projects have been launched. They include plans for the establishment of nuclear free zones in Europe, Latin America, Africa, the Near East, South Asia, the South Pacific, the Balkans, and the concept of a peace zone in the Indian Ocean. The establishment of nuclear free zones is the only issue in the current international discussion of disarmament not rejected outright by the PRC. The PRC adopted a positive attitude at votes on relevant resolutions in the UN General Assembly.[20] It backed the setting up of a peace zone in the Indian Ocean, the establishment of nuclear free zones in Latin America, Africa, the Near East and South Asia. On 12 June 1974 the PRC acceded to supplementary protocol No 2 to the treaty on the nuclear free zone in Latin America. What is the background to that attitude?

The PRC considers the establishment of nuclear free zones and peace zones an alternative, not a supplement to the existing multilateral nuclear test

ban and nonproliferation treaties. As many countries approve the plans for nuclear free zones, the PRC hopes that they will back its rejection of the Moscow Treaty and the Nonproliferation Treaty. Even if all the nuclear free zones now under discussion were actually to be set up, this would not involve any restriction on China's nuclear armament and nuclear weapons tests, or at least would not represent an obstacle. The PRC leaders consider this issue to offer greater scope to their interpretation of the PRC's "positive basic attitude" to the disarmament issue and for demonstrating China's "support" of the interests of "small and medium" countries and non-nuclear countries. The PRC calls on the nuclear powers to forego the use and the threat to use nuclear weapons in these zones. By these means it endeavors to link up with the special security interests of these countries with regard to a nuclear threat and thus recruit them for itself. So far, however, the PRC has failed by its use of this issue to obtain firm alliances with a majority of countries.

The People's Republic of China and SALT

The Chinese leaders have always denigrated the beneficial effects of the SALT agreements on Soviet-American relations and described them as "useless" for nuclear disarmament. In their opinion, though SALT I and SALT II involved certain quantitative limitations on some types of nuclear weapons and delivery systems on the USSR and the United States, the treaties generally served only to maintain and perpetuate the "nuclear monopoly of the superpowers" for "blackmailing" the non-nuclear countries. Moreover, in concluding the SALT agreements the USSR and the USA merely pursued the design of redefining the "rules for their speeded-up strategic arms race" and therefore failed to meet their obligation to "genuine" disarmament, that is immediate drastic reductions.[21] The USSR-United States treaty, unlimited in terms of time, about restrictions on antiballistic missile systems and the supplementary protocol by which both countries renounced the construction of expensive systems (which would have served also to defend them against Chinese strategic weapons) does not appear to PRC propaganda a suitable object of their criticism of SALT. The Chinese leaders therefore largely aim at the denigration of USSR-United States agreements on the limitation of their offensive strategic weapons.

The motives of this defamation of the SALT negotiations by the PRC are as follows: The "superpowers," in particular the USSR, are to be depicted as the main obstacle to the first "genuine" steps to nuclear disarmament. The USSR is accused by means of "qualitative rearmament" to strive for an alleged military superiority.[22] The indication that "genuine" contributions to nuclear disarmament by SALT are so far lacking is meant to help prevent the extension of the bilateral framework of negotiations to all nuclear countries and especially to stifle at the source any potential pressure on the PRC to participate in nuclear disarmament.

Bound to be disappointed is the PRC leaders hope for a shift in the international balance of power in its favor as a consequence of the Soviet-

American agreements. Even the utmost rearmament efforts of the PRC could not possibly achieve the aim of some day matching USSR and United States nuclear potential. That is why their negative attitude to SALT will not change. It well reflects Beijing's endeavor--borrowed from the old "art of diplomacy"--to encourage other countries to wear each other out in order then to be able to dominate them. In this spirit the second session of the Fifth National People's Congress (1979) called on the most reactionary forces of U.S. imperialism to "combat"--on the occasion of the signature of SALT II--the realism of bourgeois politicians in their relations with the USSR by dubbing it "appeasement."[23]

The PRC and the International Disarmament Mechanism

Lately the PRC has been compelled to modify its former objections to various bodies involved in international disarmament negotiations. Its cooperation in such bodies, especially the UN system, has in fact been characterized by growing activism and the extension of its involvement. To cite an example: For the first time a Chinese delegation attended the spring session of the Geneva Disarmament Commission, now expanded to 40 countries. Its performance there served to actually obstruct the operations of this body. The PRC's attendance at various disarmament negotiations is distinguished by its aggressive efforts to compel the international community to adopt the Chinese concept of disarmament. A prime example was the PRC's involvement in the disarmament committee of the UN General Assembly and the submission of its draft of a comprehensive disarmament program to the committee on 15 May 1979.[24]

The PRC was compelled to employ various stratagems regarding the issue of the world disarmament conference proposed by the USSR as early as 1971. Disregarding its own 1964 proposal for the convocation of a summit conference of heads of state and government from all countries, the PRC persisted in rejecting the 1971 Soviet initiative. China believes to be able for some time to come to avoid its likely isolation on this issue by backing special UN General Assembly sessions on disarmament. To begin with it had rejected the convocation of the special disarmament session and failed to participate in the work of the preparatory commission. Later, when such a session could no longer be prevented, the PRC was mainly interested in not allowing it to become a stage in the preparation of a world disarmament conference.

The PRC quite suddenly sent a delegation to the UN special session on disarmament, held in May/June 1978, and even decided to submit its own proposals for the concluding document.[25] However, for technical reasons these were not dealt with. Finally the PRC joined the consensus on the concluding document. The relevant statements by the PRC emphasize that the session had allegedly taken place exclusively on the urging of "small and medium countries," that this had had a beneficial effect on the "spirit" of the resolutions regarding the concluding document, and that it was imperative further to advance in this direction.[26]

New Tactical Maneuvers To Make Old Strategic Goals Prevail

In recent years, in the course of the further emergence of the Chinese leaders hegemonistic policies, we were bound to note a generally deepening evolution of independent Chinese interests in the field of disarmament. This process is characterized by the fact that, as a consequence of the changed conditions of the international class conflict noticeable since the mid-1970's, the PRC leadership has experienced a growing need to adjust to new facts in the international disarmament discussion.

That is why the PRC leaders have occasionally somewhat trimmed their doctrine of the "inevitability" of war, which was not even acceptable to the imperialist countries. However, basically all they have done is to provide a slightly more "palatable" formula, linking it to the assertion that China needs an "environment of lasting peace" for its own "modernization." In the course of his trip to Europe in 1979 Hua Guofeng, Central Committee chairman and premier, State Council, even claimed that China would not permit a new world war to erupt. At the end of 1979 China approved a draft resolution, submitted by Cuba, Yugoslavia and developing countries, regarding the inadmissibility of the pursuit of hegemony in international relations. This incorporated crucial conceptions of the relevant Soviet proposal. The PRC did so in order to avoid isolation and the revelation of its hypocritical opposition to hegemonistic aspirations. We mentioned earlier the PRC's attendance at the UN special session on disarmament (1978). the submission of a Chinese disarmament proposal at the eleventh conference of the UN disarmament commission on 15 May 1979 and its attendance at the Geneva disarmament commission in 1980. The PRC voted for the resolutions on denuclearizing Africa and the Near East (resolutions 34/76A and 34/77), the establishment of a peace zone in the Indian Ocean (resolution 34/80, among others), and against Israel's access to nuclear weapons (resolution 34/89).

No doubt all progressive forces would be only too glad if the PRC were to join the socialist countries to make common cause against the imperialists striving for domination and their insane rearmament plans, if it were to contribute to detente and the security of peace and, most of all champion genuine arms limitation and disarmament--if only in the interest of elevating the standard of living of the Chinese people.

Unfortunately the facts point in exactly the opposite direction. According to Chinese Defense Minister Xu Xiangquian, writing in the October 1979 issue of the theoretical party journal HONGQI, China must be "combat ready at every moment. Xu continues: "We must assume that a war will break out. That is why we must prepare for that war which will soon begin, assume large dimensions and even become a nuclear war." That is why Xu thinks that the "modernization of national defense," China's conventional and nuclear rearmament, represents a task of "great strategic importance." This dangerous conception determines the foreign political strategy of the Chinese leaders and, therefore, the bases of their conception regarding the

issues of disarmament and arms limitation. By establishing a worldwide anti-Soviet "united front" and in the course of the changes in the current system of international relations socialism is to be "contained" globally and the socialist initiatives on detente and arms limitation frustrated. The Chinese leaders consequently describe U.S. imperialism as the "victim" of Soviet hegemonistic ambitions in order on this basis to cooperate with it in policy and defense matters and, together with imperialism, confront Soviet peace and detente policies. As is its wont, the PRC proceeds in three main directions: First it adapts to the new general organizational-practical conditions of its performance in the disarmament debates. Second it stresses the alleged failure of the struggle for disarmament in the past and, third, more and more aggressively champions its own alternatives. Here it not only seeks to recruit individual countries for its unprincipled attitudes and conceptions; it also strives by parallel and coordinated actions with the representatives of imperialist countries--primarily the United States--to thwart any constructive approach to the discussion of the relevant issues.

No doubt the plans and designs of the Chinese leaders---to change the international disarmament discussion into an instrument to advance its hegemonistic goals--are doomed to failure. Nevertheless we must remember that their destructive attitude to this key issue of international politics has become an obstacle which threatens further progress in disarmament and arms limitation. It strengthens the most reactionary circles of imperialism, who for their part seek to prevent any step toward arms reduction and disarmament. It is therefore imperative constantly to unmask and resolutely reject the disarmament demagogy of the PRC leaders. Nobody may dispense the PRC from its responsibilities, especially for nuclear disarmament.

FOOTNOTES

1. "12. Tagung des ZK der SED. Aus dem Bericht des Politburos an das Zentralkomite der SED" / Twelfth SED Central Committee Plenum. From the Politburo Report to the SED Central Committee/ Berlin 1980, p 23.

2. Ibid, p 12.

3. See B. Kaufmann, "Beijing's Hegemonistic Great Power Politics," EINHEIT, Berlin 1980, No 2, pp 200 ff.

4. "Aussenpolitik und Internationale Beziehungen der Volksrepublik China" /Foreign Policy and International Relations of the People's Republic of China/, Berlin 1976, p 28.

5. See U. Vesa, "The Development of Chinese Thinking on Disarmament," in "Instant Research on Peace and Violence," 1974, No 2, p 59.

6. See "A Proposal on the General Line of the International Communist Movement," (14 June 1963), Beijing 1963, p 33.

7. See conversation at the reception for Sasaki Kozo, Kuroda Hisao, Hoosako Kanemitsu and other members of the Socialist Party of Japan (10 July 1964), in H. Martin, "Mao Intern, Unveroeffentliche Schriften, Reden und Gespraeche Mao Tse-Tungs 1949-1971" /Mao At Home, Unpublished Writings, Speeches and Conversations of Mao Zedong, 1949-1971/, Munich 1974, pp 40 ff.

8. See O.R. Young, "China and the Spread of Nuclear Weapons," in M.H. Halperin, "Sino-Soviet Relations and Arms Control," Cambridge/Massachusetts-London 1967, pp 32 ff.

9. RENMIN RIBAO, Beijing, 11 April 1974.

10. See I. Alekseev/G. Apalin, "Beijing: Balancing on the Brink of a Dangerous Abyss," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, Berlin, 27/28 August 1977.

11. See M. Nass, "The Nuclear Potential of the People's Republic of China," INTERNATIONALES ASIENFORUM, Munich 1979, Nos 1-2, pp 103 ff.

12. See UN Document A/C 1/32/PV. 47, 30 November 1977, p 13.

13. See UN Document A/S-10/PV, 27 June 1978, pp 1083 ff.

14. See speech by Chinese representative Chen Chu at the conclusion of the special session on 30 June 1978, in ibid, p 111.

15. See PEKING REVIEW 1977, No 50, p 26.

16. See "The United Nations and Disarmament 1970-1975," New York 1976, pp 57 ff, and "World Armaments and Disarmaments,"SIPRI-Yearbook 1978, p 319.

17. "Dokumente zur Abruestung 1917-1976" /Documents on Disarmament 1917-1976/, Berlin 1978, p 339.

18. Ibid, pp 320 f.

19. See "People of the World, Unite and Struggle for the Complete Prohibition and Thorough Destruction of Nuclear Weapons!," Beijing 1971, pp 14 f.

20. See "The United Nations and Disarmament...," as before, pp 364 ff.

21. See speech by Huang Hua, chairman of the PRC delegation, at the Tenth Special Session of the UN General Assembly, 29 May 1978," PRC Mission to the UN Press Release, p 11.

22. See BEIJING REVIEW 1979, No 22, p 21.

23. See Hua Guofeng, "Report on the Actions of the Government," BEIJING REVIEW 1979, No 27, p 32.

24. See RENMIN RIBAO, Beijing, 17 May 1979.

25. See UN Documents A/S-10/AC. 1/L.2, A/S-10/AC.1/L.3, A/S-10/AC.1/L.4, A/S-10/AC.1/L.7 and A/S-10/AC.1/L.8.

26. See speech by Lai Yali, head of the PRC delegation, to the disarmament commission of the UN General Assembly on 9 June 1979, in A/CN.10/PV.21, 9 June 1979, pp 24 f.

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TRADE UNIONS PREPARE FOR XXIV CONGRESS

Budapest PARTELET in Hungarian No 10, Oct 80 pp 11-17

[Article by Gyorgy Fejti, deputy department head of the KB (Central Committee); "The Trade Union Movement Is Preparing For a Congress]

[Text] Barely 2 months before the 24th congress of the Hungarian trade union movement the work of political analysis is being carried on with great responsibility at the branch and industrial branch conventions as well as in the leadership bodies and working committees of the National Council of Trade Unions [SZOT]. This work summarizes the conclusions of the movement's work in the last 5 years based on the opinions and suggestions of hundreds of thousands of the trade union members, shop stewards and delegates, and determines the future tasks. The job of those who participate in this work is no less than based on objective and self-criticial situation analysis, designating that road--which does not exactly promise to be an easy one--which the trade union movement will have to travel in order to fulfill its calling even under today's more complicated socioeconomic circumstances. This is the only way the movement can live up to the expectations of its membership and at the same time also to the requirements defined in the 12th party congress's resolution, according to which: "Our party continues to count on the independent, initiative and responsible work of the trade unions in solving the tasks before us. It expects them, with their political influence and with the tools of their movement, to also help in the future to build socialism, and help satisfy the materials, social and cultural needs of the workers."

Past events in the trade union elections have been characterized by a good political atmosphere, much interest and activity by the organized workers and their delegates. The reports, and mainly the debates, which often passionately discussed the movement's future tasks, have provided a number of interesting lessons, thorough evaluation of which is the job of the trade union congress. But analysis of the experience is also the duty of the party organizations everywhere since the trade union movement is the link between the party and the working class. With their cooperation the party not only leads, organizes and educates the workers but also learns from them. In this sense the trade union elections also provide a good opportunity for the party organizations to evaluate and familiarize themselves with the opinion of the workers about the party's policies, to make use of their observations and suggestions to determine what is to be done.

The main lesson learned from the dialogue conducted with the trade union membership is that the workers agree with the party's policies, with the resolutions of the 12th congress; they identify themselves with our goals and are ready to carry out organized,

better disciplined work than before. Nationally as well as locally, the trade union membership today is occupied with the question of how, at what rate and in which order can we implement the resolutions of the party's congress.

Many questions come up today--some theoretical and some practical in nature, some with general and some with local effect. To find the correct answers there is a need for creative debates, for the leadership and subordinates to think together, and for independent initiatives by the mass organizations and mass movements. We must also expect that exactly because of the complicated nature of the tasks we will not have ready answers for all questions and situations--just as we did not have in the past either. We have to distinguish between ideas proven by practice, questions which are ripe for decision and ones which still require study and analysis. We must pay attention to the future as well as to the tasks immediately before us. But we must direct our main attention to determining the central points of specific action, to making the necessary decisions and to consistently carry these out.

Solving the new tasks before us, defending the results we have already achieved, solidifying chese, laying down the foundations for future growth, demand active, creative behavior, courageous thinking, quick and flexible decisions, accepting reasonable risks which accompany the taking of initiatives, more organized and better disciplined work. Together with the party organizations, the trade union movement can do much that the workers not only should recognize and accept these demands created by the times, but also implement them in their work and require that others, such as [for example] their leadership, be responsible for them also.

The events of trade union elections thus far reflect that--in harmony with the demands specified by the party--the organized workers also expect the role of the trade union movement to increase in solving the tasks and problems before us. They want the trade unions to, on the one hand to implement more widely and more on the merits that the workers be involved in economic and social planning and to carry out the tasks of production and economic operation, and on the other hand to assure more consistently that their interests will be represented and defended, to serve a better coordinated harmony between individual, group and social interests. Thus in the present stage of the trade union movement's growth the main question more and more is: how, at what rate and in what forms can it interest and activate the workers in opening up the reserves in our society's strength?

Good conditions are created for performing the trade union's tasks related to more successfully organizing the production and economic operations, on one hand by the fact that the interest of the workers in economic issues has significantly increased, and on the other hand their knowledge about the situation of the country's and of their more immediate surrounding's economic operation has greatly increased. The open, sincere evaluation based on facts, with which the party analyzed our national economy's situation and revealed our difficulties and problems, is met by broad approval of the workers. Also verbalized at the trade union forums was that the workers understand and accept the program worked out to improve our equilibrium situation and our efforts aimed at solidifying the standard of living we have achieved. But many people have also mentioned that they would also like to achieve further improvement of their living standards and finanical situation by means of improving the quality and efficiency of their work. To this end they expect specific and quick definition of the local tasks, and that the necessary programs will be worked out. This willingness to act, which in many places also manifests itself in proposals

and initiatives, is a very important precondition for our continued progress. The party organizations should build on this readiness to act. Cooperating with the trade unions, they should demand and support that the economic management at each place of work should define the requirements for improving efficiency and quality in a way which can be understood by the individual workers. They should not tolerate the workers being placed into a financially disadvantageous situation because of lack of the necessary professional knowledge or enterprising dispostion, lack of planning, disorganization or other reason which can be eliminated. They should urge creative debates at the place of work and supervise the implementation of reasonable suggestions and opinions.

Better development of the workers' creative ability and activity is conditioned on further developing the trade union activity which aids in the economic operation and production. In the interest of this, efforts must be made to bring the goals, incentives and methods of evaluation of the work formats now employed--primarily the socialist labor movements, work competition, the brigade movement and the innovation movement--into better harmony with the present efforts of our economic policy. In addition to the results of these work movements which can be demonstrated in numbers--for example just the value of innovations and inventions alone which can be expressed in terms of money, exceeds 32 billion forints in the Fifth Five-Year Plan--they significantly contribute to achieving our economic goals, to strengthening the socialist consciousness and behavior, to raising the levels of public mindedness and the workers' knowledge. For this reason also it is important to preserve and further develop the original values of these movements, to increase the role of worker collectives in organizing and evaluating the pledges.

The economic tasks make it mandate us to better manage manpower, our most important resource, in every area of life. Full employment is a great achievement of our system which we will not give up in the future either. However, we must become more conscious of the fact that on the one hand the right to work is accompanied by the obligation of decent, well disciplined performance of that work, and on the other hand it is not the same as the right to work at one specific place of work. Reshaping the production structure, cutting back uneconomical production, better work organization--if the rate of implementing it speeds up--may cause surplus manpower at one place and manpower shortage at another. Today this process has not yet developed to the necessary extent due primarily to the lack of a wage management system which provides incentives to the enterprises and employees alike. Manpower regrouping to areas where it would produce more value for the society is slower than would be desirable. Because of this, the party as well as the trade union organizations will have to pay more attention in the future to opening up the manpower reserves and insuring more efficient employment by means of planned regrouping--within the enterprise if possible, and if not, then between enterprises. The trade union movement also has an important role in participating in the political preparation of manpower regroupings which become necessary, in organized implementation of the retraining and advanced training of the workers, and in supervising the humane implementation of what needs to be done.

Amid the more difficult economic circumstances, the requirement is emphasized even more that the trade unions consistently represent and defend the workers' rights provided by our laws even more, the already achieved results of standard-of-living policies, and--in harmony with our economic opportunities and achievements--take a stand with an even greater sense of responsibility in every issue related to improving the living standards and working conditions of the workers.

In order to successfully perform this task it is necessary for the trade union movement to have reliable information about the living and working conditions of society's various strata and groups, their social situation, unique interests and aspirations. The party organizations should provide the conditions for the trade unions to learn the facts necessary to make these analyses, and at the same time they should require them to work our proposals for shaping the standard-of-living policy and social policy, having learned and expressing [sic] the realistic ambitions of the workers. The trade union movement must pay particular attention to assuring that the place the working class occupies in society, especially the workers of major enterprises, develops according to their position and performance in production.

Among the trade union movement's multifaceted, complex tasks of protecting and representing [certain] interests, particular attention must be paid to the development of wages, the housing situation and the system of public assistance benefits.

The foundation for developing a wage policy and wage system more perspicuous than what we have today and one which would better serve our economic policy goals can only be the more consistent implementation of the principle of distribution according to the work done; that is, in the future the wages and earnings should be shaped more proportionately with performance, with the degree of the work's quality and difficulty. Even though an overwhelming majority of the workers agreed with and accepted the principle of distribution according to the work done, its practicial implementation does not promise to be an easy thing to do at all--precisely because of its consequence, the differentiation of wages. We have to also accept that there will be arguments and conflicts, and we must break with the practice of "playing [a game of]"egalitarianism" which today is still played in many places and which is interpreted incorrectly. The trade union movement can do much to help the workers understand and accept the principle and mainly the practice of paying wages according to performance. Besides wages, more attention must be given also to social control over prices and quality. Every worker is a producer and also a consumer in the same person. Therefore by doing good quality work in his own plant, by meeting the delivery deadlines or by providing good quality services, in the final analysis also on he contributes to good quality a social scale, to a balanced supply of goods, and to developing a good general consumer atmosphere. Furthermore, the trade unions, first of all in their own plants, should participate in organizing social price and quality control and should take a stand against unjustified price increases.

In spite of the very significant efforts by our society, improvement of the housing situation is one of today's most urgent problems awaiting solution. In accordance with the trade union membership's needs the movement will in the future have to accept a larger role to improve the conditions of housing construction and housing distribution, and also distribute housing funds by consistent implementation of the social viewpoints and its social control. It should also collaborate to make the burdens on the state and on the population more proportionate in bearing the expenses of housing construction and maintenance, in helping the number of reasonable apartment trades increase, and also improve the conditions for workers, families with more [than one] children and young married couples to obtain housing.

Since the material goods available to us for distribution are limited, it is necessary to pay more attention than before to rating the needs according to importance. Therefore in the future the trade union movement will have a larger job in helping to see to it that the central and local means available for social aid are used in better harmony with our social policy goals and in better conformance with realistic needs.

In the interest of this more initiatives by the trade unions will be needed to determine which types of aid will need to be further developed within the limits of what is possible, which homes can be maintained at the present level, and where we will be forced to decrease, for example, either the number of those receiving aid, or the extent of such aid.

Our goal is to continue our progress along the road on which we have set out in the interest of developing socialist democracy and the democracy of the place of work, which today is a particularly important component element of this. In recent years we have adequately developed the direct and representative forums of work place democracy, significantly expanding their spheres of authority. But we still cannot be satisfied. We will have to do much more to help these forums be more suitable for their functions: to more consistently insure the workers' participation in exercising power, in developing the decisions, in determining the tasks related to production and distribution, to improving the living standards and working conditions of the workers. We must make available more space for the various interests to appear, clash and become coordinated; for the individual and collective initiatives. Today, satisfying these needs, further developing the work place democracy, requires primarily not an expansion of spheres of authority nor the creation of new forums, but rather that we use the existing opportunities, free of formalisms and duplications, that is, better than before.

Among the complex tasks of better implementing the work place democracy it is necessary to emphasize those tasks which are in connection with identifying and coordinating the [various] interests. Besides the basic interests being the same, the multicolored nature of individual and group interests--as is well known--is a natural feature of our socialist society. The interests appear strongest as individual and group interests, and directions of action, decisions acceptable to all interested parties, can be worked out only with the knowledge of these. In spite of this being public knowledge, today the need for identifying the differences of interest and conflicts has not yet sufficiently sunk into the public consciousness; therefore, the different interests often appear in false forms of expression. On the one hand we see occasions when group, or at times even individual interests seek to prevail clothed as society's interests. But the reverse of this also occurs at times, when justified individual or group interests are refused implementation by referring to some mystified social interests. It is not an easy job to find our way in the complicated and changing system of interests. However, in order for us to be able to politically influence the conflicts of interests, and be able to more consciously use it as one of the driving forces of our growth, we will have to be more receptive towards interests. This requires that the party organizations also give more consideration to the interest identifying and coordinating function of the trade unions.

The working relationship of trade union and state organs plays an important role in the further development of work place democracy. In our country the cooperation of trade union and state organs is built on the principle of the interests of the working masses and of the people's state being one and the same. The working forms of cooperation--also spelled out in high level statutes--were developed in recent decades and are functioning well. Thus the opportunities do exist for the trade union movement to make its voice heard and make its positions prevail on all important questions, from planning through distribution, all the way to evaluation and control. But the situation is not free of contradictions and arguments in this respect either.

As the spheres of authority and independence of enterprise management and of the trade union organs are simultaneously increasing, it is possible theoretically as well as in practice for arguments and disagreements to develop between the economic and trade union organs. The party organizations have a very great responsibility to view these arguments not as necessary evil but as a natural part of life, and also to see to it that the coordination of opinions be done at the right time and with good preparation and that the necessary decisions be arrived at on time. That is, the one-man managing authority and responsiblity of economic managers, and the increasing participation of workers' collectives in the handling of matters, must be asserted simultaneously and in harmony.

The trade union movement can successfully carry out its existing and growing tasks in identifying the reserves in society's strength, in developing the activities of workers in production and in public life only by rendering its relationship with its membership more active and closer, with the millions of workers. For this it is necessary that the movement be able to realistically recognize the social processes, to continuously renew and modernize its organizational system, working style and working methods. Only this way can it put its strength even better than in the past, to serve the cause of the working class, the workers. This is how it can be achieved that the membership feel individually and also collectively that the trade union movement is theirs, their particular goals, ambitions and interests are implemented in its programs, and through its movement it has direct and indirect say in working out the production goals, shaping the living and working conditions, overseeing the implementation of decisions.

During the course of elections held before the congress the structure of the trade union organs in the plants and institutions was significantly rationalized by generally accepting the shop steward and chief shop steward system, and developing the shop steward staff. Of course modification of the trade union organ structure does not by itself solve any kind of social or economic problems. At the same time, by combining [the functions of] management, decisionmaking, implementation and control, and by eliminating the unnecessary duplications, a better opportunity has been opened up to create unity in the work place and trade union democracy, and to prevail more effectively.

In the new organizational and management system the trade union stewards will have the main role because the continuous contact established with the membership will take shape through their persons and by their activities. Their roles in making decisions will increase as well as in organizing and controlling their implementation. The increased role of shop stewards and the significant exparsion of their spheres of authority was justified first of all by their unique position, in addition to the valuable traditions of the Hungarian trade union movement which are worthy of being preserved. They are the ones who can best learn, and thus also represent the needs, interests and aspirations of the trade union members in direct daily contact with the group's members, during the course of cooperative work. They can best evaluate the possibilities of implementing individual decisions and the expected reaction of these, and at the same time. Since in addition to being part of the decisionmaking they are also participants of organizing the implementation, they can evaluate the decision's consequences, and thus they can make suggestions for corrections which may become necessary. Naturally the shop steward can represent his group's interests well only if they become defined within the group. And this is preconditioned on a good effective functioning of relationship the trade union group with the membersand the shop steward and on the group's internal readiness and unity to cooperate. If this is missing then the danger may occur that the steward represents

only his own opinion and not that of the workers. That is, the decisive condition for expanding trade union democratism [sic], for the successful operation of the shop steward bodies is the actual operation of the trade union groups and their continuous control over the shop steward's work.

In order for the shop stewards to be able to handle their increased tasks it is necessary that they receive more help and support from the party organizations for their difficult work which often also involves conflicts. They should be encouraged and defended if, in the interest of the workers, they make well founded demands on the economic management. But they [the party organizations] should also require that [the shop stewards] take a position backed by convincing reason against unfounded demands which exceed our economic potential.

The shop steward bodies combine the functions of the plant democracy's highest forums at the enterprise with the functions of the trade union's highest organ at the place of work. The sphere of their authority is extremely broad: in addition to directing and controlling the basic organization's work they also make decisions about negotiating the collective [labor] contract, accepting the annual report which analyzes its implementation, about the necessary changes, approving the enterprise's social policy and safety program plan, as well as about the use of the enterprise's social, cultural, sport, aid and vacation funds. They take a stand on the main principles and size of the annual wage increases, distribution of the profit sharing, welfare and cultural funds and on accepting the annual report which deals with the implementation of the enterprise's social plan. They render opinions on the enterprise's medium-range and annual plans and, in connection with this, about the yearly activities of the enterprise's economic managers. In addition to these, the body of shop stewards may place any issue on its agenda it considers important from the viewpoint of the workers.

The conditions are constantly improving for implementing these very broad rights. The definite requirement spelled out by the party, the workers' increasing interest and activity in politics and in public life, the large number of suggestions heard at the trade union elections which are worthy of implementation, the favorable development in the composition of trade union bodies are all circumstances which indicate that the conditions do exist for the efficient operation of these bodies.

Whether these bodies will fulfill the hopes attached to them depends not only on them. The local party organizations [also] have a very large role and responsibility in this: their job is to follow with attention the main trends of the sociopolitical processes taking place at the enterprises, and--building on the distribution of work between the trade unions and other social organs on the one hand, and economic management on the other, by analyzing their suggestions and debates--recognize the contradictions which occur, allow them to develop and resolve them.

The Hungarian trade union movement can prepare for its congress with self-confidence. The workers' confidence, the sincerely conducted successful work, and also the movement's valuable traditions on the basis of which the trade union today is a recognized factor here in this country as well as in the international movement, provide a good foundation for this. In the future the party will want to rely even more on the trade unions, and requires that with great responsibility, by taking maximum advantage of the broad spectrum of rights it enjoys, the movement more courageously and with more initiative should participate in forming the national and local political and economic decisions, in organizing and controlling the implementation of these. That is, the

conditions are good for the independence, strength, social weight and prestige of the trade unions to further increase, and for the trade union movement to participate even more successfully in shaping the policies as well as in carrying them out as an indispensible element of our political system.

In the future in accord with our well proven practice, the party organizations should also guide the work of the trade unions with theoretical and political tools by means of the party members who work in the movement. It is therefore necessary for them to familiarize themselves with the decisions of the trade union congresses, and to assign the communists working in the trade unions to help in the consistent implementation of these, by work based on convincing and demonstrative personal examples. They should perform their tasks with the knowledge that for our party it is indespensibly important to win the workers in the trade unions, to achieve their understanding of its policies, accepting them and carrying them out in practice.

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NEMETH ADDRESSES GRADUATES OF POLITICAL COLLEGE

Budapest PARTELET in Hungarian No 10, Oct 80 pp 3-10

[Article: "Our Politics Is Built On Mutual Confidence Between the Party and the Working Masses"--speech by Karoly Nemeth, secretary of the MSZMP's Politburo, chairman of the Party Construction Working Collective, at the Political College's diploma awarding ceremony (abbreviated speech).]

[Text] With all my heart I congratulate the comrades who are now receiving their diplomas. This act expresses that you have earned our confidence. At the same time it also represents an acknowledgement of the successful work you and the teaching staff have conducted so diligently, and with all certainty it also represents an important station along the life's path of the comrades affected. I wish to express our hope that in your practical work you will make good use of the theoretical and political knowledge you have acquired in the Political College; that you will honorably fulfill your obligations; that you will work in the communist way; that you will invest the knowledge you gained here by becoming active practitioners and propagators of our scientific ideology. With all my heart I wish all of you all success in this.

We also ask the school's present students, and the comrades now beginning their studies to fulfill conscientiously their present main party assignment: by taking advantage of the opportunities, to learn as well as possible the science of Marxism-Leninism. You should be demanding of yourselves, strengthen community spirit and help each other study! You should follow with attention the development of our social and political circumstances, and not become isolated from the reality of our society. My wish for you is that you succeed in carrying out your task. I will add to this our hope and encouragement that the college's faculty and the appropriate organs of the Central Committee will do everything to help you honorably fulfill your party assignment here at the college.

In the rest of my speech I wish to talk about a few timely issues, in the context that the year 1980 is of outstanding significance from many viewpoints in the country's, society's and the party's growth. The MSZMP held its 12th congress in March. Following this [4 April] we celebrate the 35th anniversary of our country's liberation. Then the congressional and council elections took place. We are in the last half year of our Fifth Five-Year Plan, working for as successful a conclusion as possible of the plan period; at the same time the Sixth Five-Year Plan is also being worked out. These domestic political events are in the closest interrelationship with each other and with the daily and long-range tasks of socialist constructive work.

The 12th congress--the party membership, in agreement with the people's desires--reaffirmed and further developed the MSZMP's present political line. Starting out from our actual situation it has specified the next tasks to be accomplished in building socialism, and by doing so it has provided the entire nation with a program.

During the extraordinarily broad spectrum of debate over guidelines then during the acceptance of the congress's resolutions and in the election campaign the manifestations made by the working masses urged us to consistently continue our present political line because this is the most important condition to successfully build socialism. The congress did fulfill this expectation of the masses; it reinforced and carried on further the party's politics. We are resolved to progress further along this path. But this must not mean that we stiffen up, because circumstances do change, requirements do increase, and we will have to conform to these.

Thus continuation of the present political line means harmony between the permanent and changing elements of politics and the party's working style. We want to, and we will consistently progress further along the Leninist way. We will stand fast by our political line, and will not deviate from it either to the right or to the left!

The MSZMP's politics is built firmly on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, on mutual trust between the party and the masses. This politics is internationalist and nationalist, it applies the universally valid laws for building socialism in a creative manner, takes into consideration the experience gathered by the fraternal parties [of other countries], considers the country's given natural conditions and characteristics with independent responsibility and great care. It both expresses and serves the interests of our working people and the international communist and workers' movements, and the universal interests of progress. The lessons learned in the more than six decades of the party's revolutionary battles and our people's historical experiences are expressed in our politics.

These policies which the party has worked out under the leadership of comrade Janos Kadar and defended in a two-front battle and developed further, have produced great results. I will emphasize here only that these policies and the working style coupled with it have given back to the masses their faith placed in socialism and the confidence towards the party. These policies have made it possible for us to implement the historic task of agriculture's socialist reorganization by following the Leninist principles for cooperatives, and to do so successfully in such a way that production has not decreased during reorganization. These policies made possible the reformation of our economic management system and the implementation of the principles decided upon with increasing consistency.

The Party's Leading Role Is Based On Correct Policies and On Convincing

This policy made it possible that today our people form a close socialist national unity and that for the first time during our history we have become a unified socialist nation. I am emphasizing this also because today the socialist national concentration of forces has particular significance since successful solution of the problem ahead of us requires us to close our ranks even more tightly. That is, consistent implementation of the principle that the party's leadership role is based on correct policies and on convincing people; it assumes good relationship between the party and the masses, providing honest information and exchange of opinions, and broad-based active participation in shaping and implementing the policies.

Therefore--following the direction shown by the 12th congress--we must consistently go on along the way of strengthening socialist democracy. The congressional campaign and election period have repeatedly provided convincing proof that this is the proper and successful path. During this period we were able to witness high levels of manifestation of party democracy as well as democracy in public life. The debates took place in an open, sincere and creative atmosphere. The results and mistakes received realistic evaluation; criticism, proposals and observations were voiced to promote socialist efforts. Thus, communists and people not in the party shaped policies together. The conclusion from this is obvious that we must do everything in the interest of getting the creative debating spirit, the willingness to act to realize the practical implementation of the congress's resolutions, and to do so every day and in every field.

No proof is needed that thinking together and acting together are indispensible conditions and resources which cannot be replaced by anything else in building socialism. Only by broadening the sphere of socialist democracy's effectiveness, by meaningfully operating the existing forums and suppressing the formalities in their characters can we promote that the socialist democracy which is the unity of rights and obligations, should become an even greater driving force of the socialist constructive work.

We have to start out from the point that good solution of the tasks before the party, the country and the people is unimaginable without broad involvement of the workers in public matters, and--the stand also taken by the 12th congress--in the decisions also, in all areas where this is possible. Neither true socialist discipline nor successful action can exist without this. Socialist democracy must be implemented in every day practice.

The interrelationship must also be pointed out which exists between party democracy and social democracy interpreted in the broader sense. The level of the former determined the latter to a decisive extent. That is, when we work to improve party democracy--this at the same time also represents work to improve the essential characteristic of socialism and the socialist democracy.

The Economic Issues Continue to Be In the Focus

An indispensible condition of implementing the economic policy adopted at the 12th congress, of the successful solution of the economic tasks is that the party and the people, the communists and those not in the party should cooperate and work together even better than before. It is no accident that the economic issues were and are in the focal point of attention at the congress and in the everydays of our lives. This is fundamentally justified by the fact that there is not one single area of our lives the development of which does not depend on the economy's achievements. Of course, the work being done in the other areas is also effected by the rate, quality, and momentum of economic growth. This is because society's overall performance is joined by the economic results--and of course one must here consider not only those working in direct production. Public education, the training of specialists, the levels of cultural and scientific activities, administration, the quality of services, consistent implementation of the socialist law, public order, the environment's condition--that is: the totality of socio-political environment--all have effects on the economic achievements.

It is necessary to emphasize this because when we speak about conforming to the changed and more difficult conditions and higher requirements, this is valid for all areas of society's activity.

The changed and more difficult conditions can be summarized as follows: First, in recent years the price and marketing conditions developed in a way commonly known to be unfavorable to us; the details of which I do not wish to go into at this time. I will only mention that currently we have to produce about 20 percent more exports for the same amount of imports as in 1973.

Secondly, moreover, the extensive resources of economic growth have been exhausted in this country. The economy has entered a stage of growth requiring more investments and equipment.

Of course we cannot blame or place the responsibility on the unfavorable foreign trade circumstances for all of our difficulties. Errors in our work here at home, in management and in implementation also form sources of the difficulties. That is, we cannot blame the external circumstances for the growth rate of economic efficiency being slower than would be possible, than what the economy's present technical, technological level would be capable of producing. And intensive development of the economy is a task to be emphasized at any rate, even independently of the foreign trade conditions. However, the situation makes the economy's intensive development even more urgent, increasing the level of technology, faster practical application of scientific results, more vigorous modernization of the production and product structures, rational and frugal economic operation--in other words: more efficient and good quality work, increasing production's international competitiveness and better utilization of our natural resources.

All these also require more rational utilization of our material and intellectual resources. In other words, it calls for higher quality of management, better organization, higher demands, more consistent and better disciplined execution. These are the requirements set by the 12th congress. We must support those [people] who take the initiative, who keep in mind not only the daily interests but also the long-range ones, and who courageously dare to take risks and act in the interest of this. Ability must be definitely supported in all areas. We must not be lenient with those managers who do not want to or who cannot work at the level of these higher requirements.

The [12th] congress also emphasized that it is the party's obligation and responsibility towards the people to solve the question of cadres on time and in a way which improves the situation. In this area also, we must act in the majority's interest. The fair thing to do--and this is what society will accept, this is what it demands--is that the person because of whom the collective as well as the cause suffer should not be allowed to be manager.

How will the higher requirements prevail in the economy? Even though the picture is a mixed one, still over-all it shows a tendency of improvement. In the first half of the year the economic processes in general corresponded to the plan's main economic policy guidelines. The main result is that improvement of the foreign trade balance which began last year has continued. Exports have expanded vigorously, imports are decreasing, the capitalist foreign trade balance deficit, that is, excess imports in the first half year were barely one-fifth of last year's first half. This was accompanied by a certain decrease in economic performance: industrial production, particularly that of the construction industry fell somewhat short not only of the plan but also of last year's first half. Prime contributors to this were the smaller

domestic demand and the cutback in investments. It is favorable that mainly those enterprises increased their production which can economically sell their products on the foreign market. It is also favorable that demand for imported materials and energy has decreased. Improvement can be seen in inventory management and some progress is also seen in the area of investments.

The number of people employed decreased in the first half year by about 46,000, approximately 3 percent compared to the first half of the last year. A new element in the decrease is that the number of people employed in nonphysical jobs is less. This is not a universal phenomenon yet, but it can be seen in many areas.

As far as agriculture is concerned: it can be said according to the present situation that if the corn ripens, the planned 5 percent increase in agricultural production may materialize--in spite of the fact that the flood and inland waters have caused damage, a loss of about 5 billion foreints. In addition to the significant loss of production, about 5,000 houses were damaged, 2,000 of these completely ruined; new ones will have to be built to replace them. The necessary steps have already been taken.

Our grain crop was good, and if the corn which promises a good harvest will actually turn out well, the foundations will have been created for--similarly to recent years--providing a good supply of food, including particularly of meat, and also for getting ahead in improving our foreign trade balance. The foundations for this are assured also in the area of livestock raising. We are confident that the agricultural workers and those people supporting them will do everything in the interest of successfully solving the tasks of the huge autumnal work load, the likes of which have never been seen in recent years, and thus will lay down good foundations for next year.

As far as the population's supply with goods is concerned, it must be said that after the deterioration seen in the year's first few months, which could be felt in many areas, the situation is basically balanced as a result of measures taken. The import and other measures and also coordination of the domestic production make it probable that in the second half year we can also count on satisfactory and balanced supply of merchandise.

Let's Create As Good Foundations As Possible For the State of the Sixth Five-Year Plan

Undoubtedly new efforts will be needed to fulfill the annual plan, and also to allow the favorable tendencies to develop and to solidify even better. This is indispensible for creating as good foundations as possible for the start of the Sixth Five-Year Plan.

As the congress also said, it appears realistic and in harmony with our opportunities in the Sixth Five-Year Plan for us to plan a moderate growth rate coupled with significantly differentiated development and growth of production. The main goal now is that the qualitative characteristics of development should become stronger, modernization of the product structure should speed up, the technological level should increase, efficiency improve and competitiveness increase. Of course the more moderate growth cannot be a long-range goal! Therefore we must do everything in the interest of developing the above mentioned qualitative characteristics as soon as possible, so that they will exert their positive influence for growth to accelerate and the standard of living to improve.

The question arises: can such an economic policy be the motivating force which subordinates the rate of economic growth, the use of national income to reestablishing the national economy's equilibrium, and which considers protecting, solidification of the results already achieved, to be the most important task of the coming years? I think that the answer to this can and must be yes because at the present time only this endeavor is realistic. But I must add that we have to work hard even for this. I think it is hardly necessary to explore in more detail what we have to protect and what we must solidify. In short, what is involved here is our people during the course of their history have never stood at such a high level of affluence, of social progress as the one we have achieved--and we must solidify and protect this.

I would like to add that when we speak of moderate development, this--naturally--does not mean stagnation in one place with respect to the standard of living either. We wish to and we will proceed in the area of improving the standard of living! Especially in solving the housing problem which is society's most urgent concern. In the interest of this we wish to continue housing construction in harmony with the second 15-year housing construction program.

The efforts to be taken to solve the problems of young people embarking on their careers and establishing their families, improving the lot of those retired people with low retirement benefits, easing the living conditions of people with large families must not be removed from our agenda. We are making efforts in the interest of vigorous development of the network of child care institutions, health care and the school network. We also count balanced supply of goods as one of our central tasks. Of course we also must not lose from sight that first we have to produce before we can distribute anything. A situation must not be created where harmony between purchasing power and the merchandise basis is upset, because this could cause very serious political consequences.

Finally I wish to emphasize the following as far as the economic issues are concerned: we have no other realistic choice than adjusting our work to the higher demands caused by the changed foreign and domestic circumstances, and with steadfast efforts lay down the foundations for vigorous growth later. We do have the appropriate conditions for this. One such condition is the planned socialist economy based on social ownership. Further improving the economic management is another important positive factor for us. Our active participation in socialist economic integration is also a large resource of strength for us. We can build on human will power, knowledge and devotion, and do so even better than we have done in the past.

Strengthening Society's Socialist Characteristics

Perhaps one of the most important thoughts of the 12th congress is the one which refers to the increased role of the human factor. I speak about this in the correlation that ideological work, propaganda and agitation--but we can also list cultural activity here--must close their ranks more tightly to the tasks before us, to the requirements of socialist constructive work. In other words: the more moderate growth rate of economic development must not be accompanied by a slower rate of strengthening socialism's essential characteristics.

Production's qualitative factors can really develop only when society's socialist characteristics significantly increase in strength. We must help with joint efforts in the spreading of socialist consciousness and morale, and socialist behavior. The thinking and actions of a steadily increasing circle of people should be permeated

with respect and service of the public interest! For each and every person this should increasingly become an internal, moral obligation. We saw a beautiful example of this recently at the time of floods in the Koros valley. But similar steadfastness is needed in the everyday work also!

We must achieve that in our society, which is a society of work, work should be the sole foundation for evaluation, appreciation and success. Following the congress's guidance, it is necessary to prevent the formation of such incomes behind which there is no work or performance. We must suppress such negative phenomena as bureaucracy and corruption. This requires political work as well as definite measures taken by the state. The warning and criticism by those who work honestly, the overwhelming majority, that at times there is excessive patience shown against the antisocial phenomena, is true and is to be heeded. We must take more determined steps in the interest of increasing human responsibility, and against irresponsibility.

The Nation's Fate Will Be Solved Together by the Party And the People

We must also do more to spread and defend our ideology. There still exist hostile views in our society which arise at times gain and exert their effects, but which are alien to our ideology. There are of course efforts beyond our borders to fuel these and use them against us. One of the most serious among these is nationalism.

Nationalism is completely foreign to true patriotism. Naturally the love of the socialist homeland includes national consciousness, which means the same as responsibility felt for the country's fate, devoted service of our people's national interests, appreciation of our achievements and sincere pointing out and correcting of our errors: but at the same time it also assumes internationalist behavior, solidarity with the powers of socialism and progress and an unceasing fostering of the friendship between peoples. National self-respect cannot mean disrespect of other peoples! It also must not be interpreted on the nationalistic basis--this was also discussed at the congress--, that the situation of Hungarians living beyond our borders is not immaterial to us. What is involved here is that we guarantee the fundamental rights of nationalities living in our country, and in practice implement the Leninist nationality policy; we also expect the same from all other countries where there is a Hungarian minority.

We must also do more to urge the preservation of our people's great value nourished also by our historic past and enriched during the course of our socialist development; to cultivate its traditions. We hold it to be a basic principle that just like in the past, the questions of the nation's fate will also in the future be solved by the party together with the people within the framework of socialism. What is needed is not empty words--even it they sound so beautiful by themselves--, but deeds. The test of true patriotism is the deed which wants to improve the people's destiny. Of course the imperialists consider nationalism to be their ally, and will do everything to take advantage of it in their anticommunist, anti-Soviet, antisocialist propaganda and undermining work.

Agreement on Principles Should in All Areas Be Followed by Unified Action

A few thoughts about the party and about communists. There is order in the party and healthy growth; the Leninist standards prevail. Unity extending over all main areas of politics characterizes it. Defending and strengthening this, and doing so while conforming to the new tasks, is a task which is the obligation of every one of us

from the Central Committee to the smallest basic organization. Now the emphasis must be placed on having uniform implementation follow the agreement on principles and tasks which have been worked out together at all levels and in every area.

Party unity is not some kind of passive agreement but concrete action and also such personal behavior which must take shape in the work of communists, in their political steadfastness and in setting a good example. The overwhelming majority of communists are characterized by manifesting the correct party attitude, carry out their responsibilities and properly use their rights. But there are also those among the party members, even if not in large numbers, who do not increase but wear away the party's moral stock. The large significance of it cannot be sufficiently emphasized that the party and its members must be free of those negative traits against which mainly they are the ones who must consistently carry on the struggle, the fight. Communists should protect each other from mistakes, and by doing so they are also protecting the party. They should aid and respect each other--this is also one of the important components of our unity and of our unified action.

The moral requirements are the same for each and every party member, yet it is right and just for the community to expect more in this area from those whom confidence has placed into positions of leadership. For some people words and deeds do not always coincide, or they violate our moral standards. The party's universal interests demand that in such cases we must not be tolerant. I would also like to point out that modesty, partyline behavior and discipline are mandatory on the job as well as in one's private life. Our party serves the cause of the working class and the people with devotion, and it justly expects from each one of its members, particularly from the leadership, to do the same according to the best of their abilities.

This approach must also permeate the work being done in the party's political college. The yardstick of requirements must be raised higher here also--in harmony with the directions given by the 12th congress. This is necessary in order for the party's political college just as in the past so also in the future to be able to fill a positive role in the training of cadres and in spreading [the doctrine of] Marxism-Leninism and in scientifically cultivating it. Learning well and absorbing the resolution of the 12th congress, helping the spirit of the congress prevail are central tasks of teacher and student alike.

The conditions of constructive work are more difficult than in past years, there are more difficulties in the way of progress, but comrade Janos Kadar is right when he says "show me one year since our liberation which was easy." And really: each year behind us gave us many, many tasks and demanded efforts from us. Of course those years were not all alike, but efforts were always needed. And I will add this that at the present time not only are our tasks bigger, but we also have more strength and experience. And if we make better use of our opportunities, we will get ahead. First of all, because there is a readiness to act in the working masses, and what is most important, the masses have confidence in the party which--as in the last 24 years--serves the benefit of the working people and our country with unchanged devotion. The party and every one of the party's members have a great responsibility to see to it that our people are not disappointed in this legitimate expectation, that is, that we must consistantly implement the resolutions of the 12th congress, stand our ground for our party, our people, and for the communist political line based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

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JOURNAL COMMENTS ON WORK STOPPAGES

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 15 Aug 80 pp 1-2

[PAP article by: Bohdan Rolinski "Important Problems and the Most Important One"]

[Text] Work Rhythm Disturbances

Work interruptions are occurring at some plants and enterprises. Demands concerning wages as well as work rules, organization and equipment are being advanced during these breaks.

Recently there were partial interruptions in Warsaw's municipal transport. On Wednesday and Thursday there were work interruptions which interfered with the normal rate of production at the Sandra stocking plant in Ludz Aleksandrow, the Teofilow Textile-Clothing Manufacture Plants, and at sections of the Gdansk Shipyards. (PAP)

The PAP report indicates a disturbing phenomenon which has again emerged in certain work places. It is that after a series of work stoppages last month at plants in several provinces, there have been work stoppages again in recent days, this time in our city as well.

On the surface this matter is simple: What emerges is a demand for higher pay. It is often supported by the concern that the current pay is being "eaten up" by an increase in the cost of living, sometimes by concern about the market and price consequences of a disastrous summer, and sometimes by concern over certain disproportions in the management of the wage fund, often within the plant itself. Nevertheless, in some instances the wage demand is made to the management of the plant after a work stoppage or some other interference. So what is to be done? Raise the wage...and back to work? That only appears simple.

Naturally, it is good to earn more than one is earning. But such an increase in today's pay only seems to be possible, with impunity, from the economic and social point of view and from the point of view of the best interests of citizens individually and as a group. Many sensible people who understand the merciless economic trap hidden in this method of wage increases understand its threat to the economy and to the workers themselves. This threat is also grasped by those who, interrupting work, understand that it is not possible for all to get the

increase, but who themselves want to get more. They understand the danger of the chase for zlotys, but give in to the attitude--already a psychosis of sorts--that as it occurs they will get it. Fine--but what next? And what about others?

Increasing numbers of people grasp the fact that the demand for more money is in the final analysis dangerous also to those who want to "obtain" for it. That is due to the fact that instead of guarding the value of the zloty, we may by this means decrease its actual worth.

The zloty's value is determined by the work we put into it, as measured by production. If we do not produce merchandise, if we do not give service, if we do not do work whose result is seen first of all in the stores and in efficient service to the citizen, then a wage increase will satisfy no one. We will run around in a circle and find ourselves back where we started.

I say this because that is how the workers' representatives are conducting the talks with management: together they bargain and bargain, revise, present agreed-upon proposals, then someone resubmits something--sometimes a single problem--and as time goes by the problem becomes more trivial, and once again the talks, bargaining and proposals ensue. Often this happens several times over, in a circle.

But during this time no work is being done, production stops, the bus does not pick up passengers. While talks are going on, while important arguments are being exchanged, the work time of employees not participating in the talks with managers and directors is being lost. The losses are suffered by all workers, including those, for example, who cannot get to their jobs. This reduces our combined national production, the goods to be shared--to be shared also with those who have already put in their working years--the retirees, pensioners, adults with children, persons benefiting from social welfare, from funds jointly earned and shared by society.

It is probably unnecessary to add that the atmosphere accompanying work stoppages also creates the previously-described mood in neighboring plants and at home. That mood promotes rumors and gossip of various sorts and from various sources. It does not promote the very much needed climate of reason and calm at work or, despite this year's weather, quiet and deserved rest for workers.

It is also true that work stoppage by all or some of the employees gathering for the purpose of adjusting wages may put off solving other important production problems and socio-economic conditions, since production stoppages gives rise to successive problems.

But the greatest danger lies in the fact that in a tense atmosphere of a naturally-increasing wave of demands and correct and important--as well as incorrect and less important, or even at present unrealistic--conclusions, there may arise demagoguery or a stance or position which is contrary to the interests of working people, the plants or the society and nation. Can we take this road? Can we be certain that a bit of demagoguery or ill-will might not prevail? Will the reason of those who want the best for the workers, who are certainly bringing up important matters, overcome? Yes--these are important problems, but there is also the most important one.

The most important problem is to guard the already-attained standard of living and to create conditions for its gradual, systematic rise which, in the immediate future, will most certainly be slower than in past years. This most important problem may be dealt with only through production, work, creation of goods and assuring for others efficiently-working services, including transport. It may be dealt with by improving work organization, creating favorable work conditions, improving administration, strengthening worker self-government, and eliminating management errors.

This most important problem may be dealt with only in a work atmosphere.

Today, our common problem does not lie in the area of money, but rather in the area of goods. True, the work stoppages to date have not yet had any crucial effect on market and industry supplies, although they surely have brought about sizeable losses. But duplication of such means of stopping production, or stopping such essential services as municipal transportation, for example, could cause enormous damage in other enterprises and in services to society. Considerable thought must be given to this.

The majority of working people understand this problem, although they too would like to bring home more than they do. Everyone wants to earn more than he does, but can this be accomplished by forcing hasty increases?

Many people realize that more problems are the result of the state of market supplies than of today's wage levels. Many difficult problems occurred this year in our nation--and it is small comfort that they occurred in others as well. We are discussing them and considering and seeking ways to eliminate unfavorable occurrences. This is not the place for a list of problems with which we are struggling every day and which we are overcoming, some with better and some with worse results. We are overcoming them, because we must win in the interest of all. What is relevant, however, is to realize that this year's scarcity is being felt in market supplies, and not only where meat is concerned. We know that this problem can be solved in the long run by implementation of a two-stage move planned by the government and carried out by agriculture. On the other hand, shortages of flour, grain and sugar which are appearing in certain areas should be offset as quickly as possible by the new harvests which, despite catastrophies in certain agricultural regions, promise to be quite good. Of course, supplies are also affected by the organization of purchasing center and marketing activities, and by the increased efforts of workers engaged in this important area. And, needless to say, they are often affected by the proprietor's attention to the store and customers. The vast majority of workers in commerce work hard and honestly, and for that deserve respect. When new supplies arrive, this effort will doubtless be doubled.

One more problem is worth noticing. It has to do with industrial enterprises, where shortages of raw materials and other materials which are cooperative components are nothing new. Today the principal task of industrial organizers is to assure continuing utilization of production strength. It is precisely to thwart difficulties that we must work better. Proper steps are being taken in this area. On the other hand, the job of the plants--of administration as well as workers--is to take the best advantage possible of that which best serves

production. We must take advantage of all opportunities to produce for stores and for export in order to strengthen our economy and also create conditions for increasing real earnings.

After reading the PAP report, I have shared only a few thoughts with my readers. There are more matters, problems, proposals and considerations. These are daily subjects for society, working people, all aware citizens, and those who are responsible for production, as well as those responsible for management.

Important talks are taking place at the plants. They deal with many matters essential to working people, who are properly indicating what must and what should change for the better. There is no lack of bitterness and tough reproaches in these talks, but in the majority--the great majority--of plants these discussions are leading to a search for means of eliminating unfavorable occurrences. They are aiming to reach the proper conclusions, both those resulting from the government program and th e from the discussions in progress, for applying daily production and social practices, for ensuring proper and honest supervision of implementation of decisions, and for seeking causes fo the problems and improving work for all.

Exactly--work. Whatever gains one wants to obtain, however just the demands to be fulfilled, they can be accomplished only in an atmosphere of work, reason, order and calm. Nerves, hot-headedness and giving in to such an atmosphere will accomplish no good. More and more the population feels the need for calm, for working without disturbances. The greater the difficulties the greater the need for calm and reason.

There are no problems in any plant or any work cooperative which cannot be discussed. There are no problems which cannot be critically and self-critically evaluated. There are no subjects which cannot be considered. However, there is one fundamental principle which should be the basis of social coexistence: it is work and fulfillment by everyone of obligations undertaken.

It is today's most important requirement. It is the citizen's obligation. It is society's need.

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KATOWICE PROSECUTOR DISCUSSES PROBLEMS AFFECTING LAW ENFORCEMENT

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 27-28 Sep 80 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Zdzislaw Kupiec, Katowice Voivodship Prosecutor, by Maria Kujawa-Szymonowicz: "Legally Means With Justice"]

> [Text] Such phenomena as a dangerous growth of economic crime, bribery, corruption, numerous recently-revealed cases of criminal disregard of duties of one's office and misuse of position to obtain improper financial advantage, as well as larcenous attitudes and various actions aimed at circumventing the law have lately become a subject of universal discussion and the object of justified criticism.

[Question] What is the office of the public prosecutor doing to strengthen law and order?

[Answer] As the Prosecutor General of the Polish People's Republic, Comrade Lucjan Czubinski, stated in an interview with the Polish Press Agency, the prosecutor's office always, within the limits of its functions, has endeavored to respond to irregularities known to it. Those problems which the public is discussing in such a lively manner at the present time have long been addressed by the office of the public prosecutor. We are presently doing this with even greater consistency. Our most important tasks, in general terms, include protection of the interests of the state and its citizens, as well as public property. Dominant among actions undertaken recently have been those aimed at protecting public property and protecting the marketplace, and especially ensuring proper distribution of goods, quality of performed services as well as prices, plus maintaining law and order. We are devoting particular attention to verification of the legality of administrative decisions, since many irregularities are occurring in this area. As an example I shall state that we have arrested several persons who issued decisions on the basis of receiving material gain.

[Question] What specific cases has the Voivodship Prosecutor's Office in Katowice dealt with recently?

[Answer] I shall speak rather of certain groups of cases than of specific criminals and crimes. I should like to comment that the prosecutor's office deals not only with prosecution of discovered crimes but also monitors the state of observance of the law and crime-prevention activities.

[Question] Could you comment on crime prevention?

[Answer] Yes. That is of great importance for strengthening law and order. For example, in the course of examining correctness of safeguarding and management of public property, on three occasions in the last two years we have conducted, jointly with the Citizens' Militia and State Inspection officials, inspection of construction sites. A number of irregularities were noted at construction sites, especially in the area of management and care of property, labor discipline, and law and order in general. As a result of these actions, a total of 180 workers were punished for infractions, and 100 enterprises were inspected for labor discipline. A price inspection was conducted at more than 20 enterprises. We also analyzed the correctness of operation of transportation, liquid fuel consumption and management, product quality, and utilization of funds earmarked for financial assistance to the aged and infirm.

[Question] Falsification of economic statistics has become a serious problem. Is this also confirmed in the cases handled by the prosecutor's office?

[Answer] We have examined 112 enterprises in this regard. Acts of statistical dishonesty of various kinds were found in 80 units, involving overstatement of capital investment results, production or services performed for the public. In some instances these overstatements affected "fulfillment" of production targets and thus served as a "basis" for paying undeserved rewards and bonuses. Criminal action was instituted in seven such cases. Administrative action was taken in 67 cases, and 18 cases were turned over to Party Audit Commissions. As regards overstating production target fulfillment and work performance, criminal proceedings were brought against the Kosbud Labor Cooperative in Chorzow, the Bacutil Feed Industry Enterprise in Katowice, and the Municipal Engineering Establishment in Zory. Department officials from the Labor Cooperative in Bytom and Bedzin were made criminally liable for overstatement of the magnitude of services performed for the public. Criminal proceedings were brought against a group of officials at the Transbud Transport Equipment Construction Enterprise in Sosnowiec and the Delam Disabled Veterans Cooperative in Dabrowa Gornicza for overstatement of transport services targets and sales targets.

[Question] The operation of agency stores arouses many questions....

[Answer] We have also dealt with this matter. Trade continues to be incorrectly organized. An attempt to streamline trade and make it more efficient by means of an agency system has not succeeded up to the present time. Preliminary investigations conducted by the prosecutor's office revealed a number of irregularities in this area, especially connected with transfer of public property to agents, establishment of incorrect prearranged remuneration rates, and selection of agents. As a result of these actions the Katowice Governor, executing our demands, issued an order restricting opportunities to conclude new agency contracts until correction of abuses, and socialized trade departments were correspondingly ordered to verify current contractual arrangements. In addition, and this would seem to be very significant, the chairman of the Food Administration Bank issued an order abolishing the system of settling accounts with agents, introducing in place of the previously-employed savings-settlement accounts, the requirement that current accounts be maintained. The varying interpretation of regulations, caused by their lack of clarity, offers considerable opportunity for abuses, not only in the case of agency trade.

[Question] I would not call any of the instances mentioned up to this point, however, a major economic scandal. Do not such cases occur in this country?

[Answer] What you have in mind are crimes involving losses running into the millions, right? One such affair is the case of the officials at Polgaz in Pszczyna, a typical example of poor management engendering criminal actions. As a result of simply incredible organizational confusion reigning at that enterprise, losses occurred amounting to several tens of millions of zlotys; also on the court calendar, to be heard in the very near future, is the case of the "half-timers" at the PW Energomontaz Enterprise in Chorzow. Thirty-five percent of administrative personnel and approximately 27 percent of the laborers employed by that enterprise held part-time jobs at various enterprises, frequently quite distant from their main workplace, such as the Sokolow Podlaski Sugar Mill. Obviously these half-salary positions were not obtained without cost. It has been proven that several department chiefs have accepted approximately 1 million zlotys in bribes. Several million zlotys in losses also occurred from theft of auto parts at the Polmozbyt store in Katowice. The investigation of the "scrap metal affair" is still in progress. A case was recently adjudicated which involved two officials at the Raciborz Polmos Alcohol Industry Enterprise, who "forgot" to shut a valve, as a result of which 7,300 liters of alcohol drained out, causing a loss valued at several million zlotys.

[Question] Is crime increasing?

[Answer] In Katowice Voivodship, on the whole crime is not showing an upward trend. On the other hand, at the present time there are definitely being disclosed more cases of various irregularities in the functioning and operation of certain economic units. We are also receiving more reports than at any time in the past on cases of abuse of position and violation of principles of discipline. Our observations indicate that there are also occurring at the present time more cases of destruction of enterprise property which is inadequately protected and safeguarded. Also disturbing -- we noted this specifically in September -- is a lessening of apparent supervision of children and young people. They are encountered in the streets and in places where they should not be, even late at night. The number of offenses committed by young people is increasing. In conclusion I should like to emphasize that we greatly appreciate cooperation with the public and we count heavily on the sensitivity of public opinion and assistance in disclosing all manifestations of violation of law and order, abuse of authority, and deliberate evasion of regulations. It is precisely thanks to assistance by the public that prosecutor's office officials have brought many cases to light and have eliminated many negative phenomena, bringing the guilty parties to justice. In recent weeks have received a particularly large number of various reports from private citizens and spokesmen for work forces. All these reports are thoroughly investigated and will be conscientiously followed through. We are primarily interested, however, in receiving truthful information dictated by a sense of civic responsibility, not based on rumors and gossip based on personal animosity. The law directs the prosecutor's office to concern itself with defending the good name of every upright citizen. It is the task of the prosecutor's office as guarantor of law and order to protect the interests of both parties, both persons providing information and those persons with whom such reports deal. There must be a high standard of decency and mutual respect. We believe that cooperation with the public will continue to grow and develop. This will enable us to respond more swiftly to irregularities and enable us more effectively to combat all instances of lack of respect for the law.

[Question] Thank you for the interview.

3024
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BOOK ON NATO ARMS MARKET REVIEWED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 6 Aug 80 p 5

[Article by Stanislaw Reperowicz in the International Affairs section: "Machinery of Peril"]

[Text] Zbigniew Bako's book, "NATO—The Arms Marketplace," is a research work of great current importance. Reading it permits an in-depth understanding of the workings of one of the greatest dangers presently menacing humanity: the arms race which is being promoted by the major nations of NATO.

The author's point of departure is the world's constantly-growing military spending which, according to UN forecasts, may reach 460 billion dollars this year, thus exceeding all the governments' health and education budgets.

The responsibility of the principal NATO nations for the above state of affairs stems from, among other things, the fact that being economic giants, they take advantage of their enormous economic-military potential to exert pressure and impose their positions on other nations. The peacetime policy of the Warsaw Pact governments limits the range and scope of the Atlantic bloc's diktat; nevertheless, it is still dangerously great.

The structure of the industry working to fill NATO's military needs has been very penetratingly exposed. The author emphasizes that the armed forces' material and technical resource needs are so varied that almost all branches of industry are involved in filling them. In fact, almost all industries are interested in obtaining military orders and thus become advocates of high military budgets.

However, the basic role in intensifying the arms spiral is played by businesses belonging to the so-called military-industrial complex, which manufacture the final military products or implements of war. The major arms manufacturers are the United States, France, West Germany and Great Britain. The United States holds first place, with its military expenditures accounting for 70 percent of NATO's total expenses.

The author devotes a great deal of space to the historically unique sociopolitical phenomenon of pressure groups which force the NATO nations' outlays for armaments and production of new defense systems.

These are associations of an informal nature, having no formal organizational structure or formal headquarters, but nevertheless working efficiently and successfully. Who are their members?

The author answers that this powerful lobby is comprised of the army, owners and managers of the armaments industry (that is a particularly large group; approximately 100,000 firms are regularly involved in filling Pentagon orders), members of government who are grateful for election campaign support, as well as employees of armaments factories. Around these four basic groups are gathered various people, among them professional politicians, ideologists fighting the imaginary "communist threat," union leaders with industry connections, government advisors, etc.

The military-economic potential of the NATO nations is great, writes the author. If it were used for war, it would bring enormous human losses and suffering. For that reason the principal task before international society is the maintenance and consolidation of tension-reducing processes. The book which has been reviewed here offers valuable input toward strengthening awareness of this.

9461
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CURRENT TRENDS IN AVIATION MEDICINE DISCUSSED

Bucharest REVISTA SANITARA MILITARA in Romanian No 2, Apr-May-Jun 80
pp 209-213

[Article by Colonel Dr Florin Uleu]

[Text] Today, aviation medicine is unanimously recognized as a medical specialty with its own research topics and methods. This raises the need to find the most appropriate approaches for training and educating aviation medical personnel, and for adopting a specific system for accreditation and promotion.

Under the present circumstances, the position of doctor specializing in aviation medicine should be held by the unit doctor, who is most familiar with the adaptation of pilots to the physical and psycho-emotional demands of actual flight.

We estimate that a specialist accreditation could be obtained after an assignment of at least three years in aviation units, followed by attendance of a postgraduate course with a specific topic. An aviation medicine chair at the School for Military Medicine, and the Center for Aviation Medicine would provide a framework for theoretical and practical teaching.

The accreditation of the unit doctor as specialist, and the possible availability of sophisticated equipment, would result in a more competent determination of flight capability before flights, and in the creation of conditions for scientific research for better professional achievements.

Postgraduate study Aviation medicine

Faithfully following the development of aviation, aviation medicine pursues an ascending path and defines its own domain as a unanimously recognized medical specialty, while expanding its interaction with biology, psychology, pedagogy, physics, chemistry, and even mathematics, radioelectronics, cybernetics, aerodynamics, and aircraft construction.

Aviation medicine is concerned with providing medical care to a profession that is exercised in a working environment hostile to man, counter-physiologic, under conditions similar to those encountered in the navy, in underwater activities, in mines, on mountains, in very cold or very hot climates, in the fuel industry, in microwave and toxic environments, and so on. In this respect, it thus becomes labor medicine, with a possible professional pathology.

Aviation Medicine, a Medical Specialty

Aviation medicine has its own research topics and methods. Its specific domain is the study, under simulated and real real conditions, of flight factors -- acceleration, hypobarism, hypoxia, hypothermia and hyperthermia, radiations -- of the stress they place on organisms, and of the possible adaptations to such stresses, which in supersonic flight reach the limits of human resistance. Current research is studying the correlation between man and flight technology, and the ergonomic factors of flight.

Aviation medicine studies and proposes technical and medical means for protecting the health of flight personnel, as well as measures for increasing the personnel's physical and psychological effort capabilities. Resorting to clinical and laboratory examinations in all medical specialties, determinations are made of the health condition, as well as the flight compatibility and incompatibility of flight personnel, and of the pathologic condition of pilots and passengers, upon whom flight factors can have a negative influence. The purpose of recovery and prevention steps is to assure complete flight reliability.

Romanian Aviation Medicine

Romanian aviation medicine, whose existence was officially confirmed in 1920 with the establishment of the air force health services, has responded successfully to the concrete demands for specialized assistance from the military and civilian aviation in our country, at their present level of development. The Center for Aviation Medicine is a specialized institution whose personnel has not only acquired extensive experience in medically certifying flight personnel, but has also made a contribution of unquestionable value through the medical selection of the first Romanian candidates for space flight. The Psychology Laboratory of the center has formulated its own methods and designed its own instruments, both for psychologic investigations associated with the selection and promotion of flight personnel, and for testing astronaut candidates.

An equally important role is played by unit doctors, who are fully competent to assure the medical preparation and conduct of flights, to provide individualized medical supervision for flight personnel, and to responsibly approve daily flight capabilities at air fields.

The unit doctor is respected even by his specialized colleagues as being the best judge of the manner in which each pilot adapts to the physical and psycho-emotional stresses of actual flights. No matter how complete they may be, simulated conditions are nevertheless inferior to real ones, as in fact true imponderability cannot be achieved by simulators in the training of astronauts. To support the unit doctor in obtaining objective data about the flight capability of flight personnel in day-to-day experience, it has become necessary to undertake air-to-ground data transmission and to endow units with portable electronic equipment for the rapid testing of physiologic and psychologic data at air fields.

Special efforts have been made during the last three years to provide the Center for Aviation Medicine with a new building and modern equipment. Today, the center has at its disposal medical instruments and installations compatible with current requirements, and new equipment is being constructed to assure total and complete expertise under flight conditions simulated in the laboratory.

The Center for Aviation Medicine has also made spectacular gains -- qualitatively and quantitatively -- in staffing its facilities.

Training Specialized Medical Staffs

At present, Romania is concerned with finding the most appropriate means for training and improving the education of specialized medical personnel, and for adopting our own system for accreditation and promotion; this assumes the need for a Romanian school for aviation medicine.

In our opinion this need could be met within the higher military medical education system, insofar as our country's aviation medicine arose and developed as part of our military aviation. At present it appears as the first military branch medicine specialty, since aviation technology and science are proving to be advanced fields both nationally and internationally.

Our aviation medicine exists de facto since 1920, with the founding of the Aviation Medical Station, and was recognized de jure last year, when the Decree of the Council of State No 168 designed the present Center for Aviation Medicine as the unique organ for determining and establishing the flight capability of flight personnel.

We believe that at present, the title of specialist should be held by the aviation unit doctor. It is well known that in the medical world and even in conventional wisdom, professional competence is considered to be a function of the specialist.

The specialist accreditation of doctors at the Center for Aviation Medicine in the traditional mold of medical and laboratory specialties, and even in the domain of aviation medicine functional exploration, represents a partial approach to aviation medicine, in fact a supraspecialization. This

statement is valid even when we consider that each specialist gathers, in addition to his conventional training, the experience of specialized examinations of, and assistance to flight personnel of all categories -- candidates, students, cadre -- an experience which is in fact indispensible to any aviation doctor.

Hence the need to formulate precise answers to the question: What is aviation medicine? as well as to another, derivative question: Which doctor represents this branch of medicine?

Aviation medicine has been defined by Armstrong as "that chapter of medicine which concerns itself with all the medical problems in aviation." This makes the point that aviation medicine is not limited to the study of a given illness or group of illnesss, as in the case of many specialties, but rather that it devotes its attention to the entire organism and is characterized by the fact that it exists in four dimensions. Of these, the third dimension is the vertical, in terms of altitude and its harmful effects on the organism, and the fourth dimension is time, given that medical observations of flight personnel are carried out throughout the person's activity in aviation.

Without even enumerating its many scientific and practical tasks, we can conclude that aviation medicine, which is constantly expanding its sphere of interests and its contact points with other domains, cannot be fully encompassed except at the level of an integrative and continuous medicine.

Because the object of the unit doctor's attention is the healthy or sick flier, and because the airman's history is well known to him, the doctor develops a closeness with the fliers and is trusted without reservation. That is why he is expected to have a sound knowledge of internal medicine and of medico-surgical emergencies, to be a good diagnostician of incipient, asymptomatic forms of diseases which could lead to a loss of flight capabilities, an accurate observer and therefore a good psychologist, and be able to use modern equipment with which he can objectively determine the physiologic and psychologic state of a pilot before, during, and after a flight. The unit doctor is entrusted with complex tasks of high responsibility, mostly unstandardized, in assuring the medical conditions of flights and in assessing the flight capabilities of flight personnel.

Specialization of Unit Doctor in Aviation Medicine

There is thus an obvious need for aviation medicine to have a fully competent representative in units, at air fields, wherever aviation plays a live role, wherever theory and practice must blend organically and harmoniously. We believe that a doctor, having practiced at least three years in aviation units, can be accredited as aviation medicine specialist after having completed a postgraduate course on a specific topic, which includes elements of aviation physiology and physiopathology, medical and psychological expertise, aviation hygiene, aviation health organization, aviation ergonomy, as well as medical training and health education of flight personnel.

The framework for specialization could be formed by an aviation medicine chair within the School for Military Medicine. The Center for Aviation Medicine could be used as a base for specific training, since it currently fulfills the necessary conditions for staffing and endowment.

We feel that it is completely realistic to approach the present problems of aviation medicine as an outlook for unit doctors, and that it is fully necessary to raise the level of training, the professional prestige of the doctor, and the prestige of aviation medicine in our country, so as to keep pace with the modern technology of military and civilian aviation.

This creates the foundations of real progress for the present level of training and education of unit doctors in aviation, as well as for their professional standings and the endowment of aviation units with medical equipment, so as to attain working conditions as similar as possible to those at the Center for Aviation Medicine.

The accreditation of unit doctors as specialists, and their endowment with equipment at the level of current requirements will assure greater competence and value in medical decisions taken at air fields regarding the day-to-day flight aptitudes of the personnel, as well as conditions suitable for the development of scientific research into the behavior of airmen during actual flights. In this way, the authority of the unit doctor will approach that of specialists at the Center for Aviation Medicine. Aviation unit doctors will thus be able to achieve professional advancement at their place of work.

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ARMED FORCES' BLOOD DONATIONS IN WAR, PEACE VIEWED

Bucharest REVISTA SANITARA MILITARA in Romanian No 2, Apr-May-Jun 80
pp 147-151

[Article by Lieutenant Colonel Dr Tiberiu Georgescu]

[Text] In a modern war, the large number of wounded will at times require appreciable quantities of blood for transfusions.

Because under field conditions, a centralized supply of blood or materials for blood collection and storage will be very difficult to achieve, blood centers will have to operate as autonomous units. It is also proposed that fighting units obtain the amounts of blood they need from their own donors, as has been demonstrated by the experience of recent armed conflicts throughout the world.

In order to properly meet the demand for transfusion blood, organizational steps must be taken during peacetime. Equally useful is a sustained medical education effort, with the contribution not only of doctors, but of all military cadre, using the most varied and effective means of publicity.

Blood donors Military personnel

One of the major tasks of medical assistance in modern war is to provide blood and blood derivatives. According to many groups of specialists, it is generally estimated that the treatment of 1000 wounded for one month would require 3000 l of preserved blood, 100 l of plasma, and 2500 l of substitutes.

The demand however, will not be the same throughout the hostilities. The use of mass destruction weapons, as well as the speed and intensity of military actions cause extremely large health losses, not only in the ranks of the fighting forces, but among civilians as well.. Consequently, sudden increases in the demand for blood will occur during certain phases of military operations, thus imposing a limitation on the amounts to be used.

It should also be pointed out that the real consumption of blood will depend not so much on predetermined quotas, as on the actual delivery capabilities of collection services.

Blood Collection and Storage During a War's Initial Period

The present organization of blood collection in our country, and the difficulties encountered in covering the entire territory with a network of units with autonomous operating capabilities, on one hand, and the guideline figures for eventual needs on the other hand, lead us to believe that very large quantities of blood will have to be collected, representing up to several times the amount of those obtained in peacetime.

Because the current structure and endowment of the Ministry of Health network will not be able to meet the increased demand of wartime, they must be reconsidered. The main problem that will arise will be the rapid recruitment of a large number of donors.

A valuable contribution in this respect will be made by civil defense; through its new legally defined organization, it will make available a large number of donors during wartime, namely rural inhabitants and non-drafted personnel in industrial enterprises.

During the initial period of a war, Red Cross workers will be able to mobilize donor groups independently of their place of work or address, donors whose records must be already be known during peacetime. It is also in peacetime that these workers will have the task of conducting a sustained publicity for blood donations.

Since blood donation is a problem even during peacetime, being given special attention by our party and state leadership, we believe that in addition to the Red Cross, the publicity efforts should involve all mass, public, women's, and youth organizations.

Some preliminary measures must be taken for county centers of blood collection and preservation because the major activity in this respect will be concentrated around these centers during a campaign, and especially during the initial period of a war. This involves: optimum organization of donor networks; organizing donations from recruits at county military centers; organizing the decentralized preparation of stabilizing solutions; providing means for transporting and preserving blood, as well as the most rapid methods for receiving, sorting, and distributing it; creating stocks of materials for small scale collection and preservation, in small, lightweight, and unprepossessing containers.

All of this will have to be assured through a close collaboration between civilian and military organs.

Assuring Blood for Transfusions Under Certain Fighting Conditions

Because according to Romania's military doctrine an eventual armed conflict would be solely a defensive war, it is not impossible that the nation's territory might be temporarily fragmented until the aggressor is finally pushed beyond the national borders.

To the above must be added other particular circumstances, such as: destruction of major railways; destruction of roads, or their closure by troops, fighting, or refugees; difficult air transportation by means of small airplanes or helicopters, due either to unavailability, lack of fuel, or ennemy control of air lanes.

Under such conditions some zones can remain isolated from the rest of the country for a given time, zones which have military units, national guards, or youth training units along with the civilian population. Similarly possible is the surrounding of some troops, whose release would not be immediately possible.

These considerations clearly exclude the supply with blood from other zones that are not affected by military operations. This will therefore raise large problems of material supply, staffing with qualified personnel, and recruitment of blood donors, and primarily of planning and organization.

As a result, the fighting forces and reservists will both have to provide from their own resources, the amounts of blood that they will need.

In applying this principle, one unit of blood will be collected from each fighting man one or two days before a battle. It will thus be possible to obtain the amount of blood required to meet immediate needs, with subsequent needs to be satisfied with collections from the civilian population in the area.

The experience gained from recent military campaigns in various areas of the world is illustrative in this respect. The medical services of some armies have used for transfusions, blood collected almost exclusively from soldiers before they engaged in battle. This process, which definitely does not impair the soldiers' fighting ability, has proven to be reliable, practical, and economical.

Taking into consideration the eventual supply and operating difficulties that can arise during a campaign, our collective considers that some steps are necessary, steps which have already been undertaken by the Army Blood Center.

They involve: replacing with domestic products the anticoagulants and stabilizers which are now being imported; abandoning if the need arises, the current plastic kits, and preparing our own collection devices as we did many years ago; distilling water with simple and readily transportable devices; sterilizing in vertical, portable autoclaves which can use any

available fuel; using natural ice for blood preservation, a reason for which we believe it would be useful to locate icehouses throughout the country, to be supplied during the winter from the running water, lakes, or ponds in their area.

Many of these measures could prove their usefulness even in case of natural disasters.

Blood Donations by the Armed Forces

The legal basis for the above is the Health Law, Decree No 94/1979, Technical Instructions No 44/1970 of the Ministry of Health, and within our own ministry, General Order No 38/1979.

According to the provisions of these regulatory acts, blood collection from the armed forces throughout the country during the last 10 years, with the exception of Bucharest, has been conducted by the collection centers of the Ministry of Health. In Bucharest, this activity was carried out by the Army Blood Center.

The experience garnered during the 10 years since our center restarted its activities, leads to certain conclusions:

1. Sufficient possibilities exist to provide blood both for the Central Military Hospital and for other hospitals of the garrison. However, the participation of the armed forces, outside of their training process, at construction, industrial, and other work sites, creates collection difficulties and raises problems for an adequate supply of blood at the Central Military Hospital.

We should nevertheless point out here that the peacetime needs of military hospitals can be met for the most part with the blood collected from friends and relatives of patients, as provided in the Technical Instructions No 44/1970 of the Ministry of Health.

2. An unjustified inertia on the part of some commanders, leadership cadre, and even doctors, is still noted when their units are faced with such a task. The Blood Center consequently encounters some difficulties when it undertakes donation efforts in military units.

3. The center's personnel has been able to face any volume of work, collecting not always under optimum conditions, with a mobile team travelling long distances from the Bucharest garrison.

4. Laboratory tests have been of good quality, with no post-transfusion accident being recorded during 10 years for blood delivered by our unit.

We believe that substantial possibilities for improvement exist in the collection of blood from the armed forces; the proportion of voluntary donations could be increased through a greater participation of military personnel of all ranks, and especially of enlisted men.

At the same time, because a blood donation constitutes a patriotic action of human solidarity, in essence a matter of political education, we deem it necessary to receive the support of party organs and organizations in the army. As part of their functions, political education resources, the central and branch military press, military radio and television broadcasts, and the army's film studio, can communicate to every soldier, messages associated with blood donations.

The goal sought by radio and television broadcasts, educational films, posters, folders, and brochures on this topic, will have to be a modification of the selfish, fundamentally mistaken attitude that blood is considered as a personal property, and that there exists a right to be helped when in need, but not a duty to help others under the same circumstances.

But before anything else, we will have to convince commanders of the profoundly unscientific, mistaken nature of the mentality which holds that blood donation is dangerous. They are the first ones interested in the rapid recovery of their surgery patients through blood donations obtained from their own units.

It is similarly necessary to introduce health education hours with appropriate contents in active and reserve officer schools, and to organize the information of military personnel of all ranks, so as to create mass opinions which will not be merely limited to a simple campaign.

The response of commanders and unit doctors in blood donation activities will have to go beyond the stage of benevolence and volunteering. The contribution they make in participating in the blood donation efforts of their own units will have to be a criterion in assessing their work, in promotion, and in admission to examinations and competitions. Those with good records should be given priority for spa and rest cures, as well as for compensation, all in accordance with military regulations.

We believe that it is possible for each person in the armed forces to donate twice in one cycle, without creating any hardship for the personnel's military training.

In supporting the above we are envisaging the logical conclusion that can be reached. Whether or not blood will present a problem in a campaign, will depend on the manner in which the armed forces will contribute their own blood to meet urgent needs, as well as on the manner in which military cadre will understand in peacetime the imperative need for this action.

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BRIEFS

DEATH OF CATHOLIC BISHOP--Catholic Bishop Aron Marton died on 29 September in Alba Iulia at the age of 84. He served the local Catholic diocese meritoriously for 42 years. When the communist regime was installed in the country, Bishop Aron Marton was arrested and he was in the communist jails from 1945 to 1955. He was arrested again in 1957 and put under house arrest until 1967. The Pope spoke words of praise about the deceased prelate in St. Peter's Square in Rome in the presence of thousands of believers. He was buried in the Alba Iulia Cathedral in the presence of his successor Bishop Jakab Antal and a large number of believers. The newspapers in the Socialist Republic of Romania did not publish any announcement of his death. [Text] [Paris BULETIN DE INFORMATIE PENTRU ROMANI IN EXIL in Romanian 16 Oct 80 p 3]

PRESIDENTIAL APPOINTMENT--The President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Ion Tesu is appointed minister state secretary in the Ministry of Agriculture and the Food Industry. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 80, 8 Oct 80 p 2]

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MILOVAN DJILAS COMMENTS ON SOVIET SYSTEM

Bonn DIE WELT in German 9 Oct 80 p 8

[Exclusive article by Milovan Djilas: "'Internally and Externally, the Soviet Systems Can Survive Only by Force'"]

[Text] A dangerous fallacy is spreading in the world, particularly in the West; namely, that Soviet expansionism resembles Western capitalist imperialism. This fallacy is current not only among communists and socialists whose attitude toward the Soviet system is also critical otherwise; rather, it can also be found in liberal and conservative circles.

The fallacy derives from the following analogy: Since capitalist imperialism consisted of expansion, domination and exploitation, Soviet expansionism or imperialism cannot be any different either.

Analogies are necessary, unavoidable aids, though they simplify reality and thus also cloud it. Analogies are checked past realizations which are applied to an unexamined present and an uncertain future. Analogies mislead, however, if more is expected of them than they can yield: they can note the similarity but not the identity of two phenomena.

To be sure, comparisons between Western and Soviet imperialism are not unfounded. What is unfounded is to consider them one and the same. That leads us astray.

Capitalism (if this term, like socialism and communism, is applied with reservations in the generally customary, not scientifically analytical, meaning) potentially includes imperialism but need not be imperialistic. The northern capitalist states were not imperialistic. In the development of the most advanced capitalist country, the United States of America, imperialism, colonies and the export of capital did not play a vital role.

The same can also be said of feudalism: it was possible but not necessary for it to be imperialistic. What is more, it was not characteristic either of the capitalism of the empire states to be imperialistic as a whole--"inevitably," "by their nature," as the communists would say. Rather, what was imperialistic was the groupings and branches of capital that were not profitable "at home." These combined with adventurists and fanatics to conquer new markets, cheap labor and rare raw materials.

The Boer War (1899-1902), according to Lenin, was the first war of the imperialistic phase of capitalism. But that war provoked the resistance not only of European and British socialists but of important segments of the British bourgeoisie. In short, imperialistic strivings and undertakings can, but need not, gain the upper hand in the national capitalist state.

Capitalist imperialisms proceeded slowly. They met with resistance at home and abroad. Precisely resistance abroad by rival great powers and competing enterprises helped in the suppression of domestic opponents and contributed to unbridled expansion. The idea was: If we do not conquer, they will do so and thus be stronger.

Capitalism obtained special profits in the colonies, destroying patriarchal cultures there as well as at home. But it also brought science and industrial civilization. Thus the world awaited the 20th century divided between big powers and big combines; there were no empty spaces any more than there was peace, and world wars became unavoidable.

Lenin thought that capitalism had thus entered its highest, final phase. This was the premise of the strategy of the Soviet Union and the communists between the two wars and even in the first few years after 1945. It followed from Lenin's theory that capitalism could not exist without colonies, without colonial and imperialistic wars. The war of 1939 between the Nazis and the Western democracies too was deemed imperialistic by Stalin and the Comintern--as long as Hitler did not attack the Soviet Union.

Lenin's premises did not turn out to be valid, however. In its "highest" and "final" phase, capitalism gave the colonies their national independence. This generally happened without wars or revolutions--except in rare instances when, for instance in Indochina, there was interference by communists and, through them, the Soviet Union. In the decolonialization, a certain, though not decisive, role was of course also played by humanitarianism and liberalism; wars against whole "colonial" peoples had become too expensive and unpopular.

As the dominating great capitalist power, the United States was anticolonialist. Finally, application of the highly developed technology at home was more profitable than the cheap labor in the underdeveloped countries. In short, capitalism entered the postindustrial, electronic period on the road of evolution. It avoided revolution, which Lenin had foreseen as "ineluctable" coincidentally with the fall of imperialism.

The West Is Entertaining Illusions

Soviet imperialism too is imperialism--imperialism similar to military imperialisms of the past--but the essence and nature of Soviet imperialism are not like capitalist imperialism in any respect.

The Soviet economy is based not on free labor or on profit but on the "plan" and "planning"--that is, on the determination of human and social needs by those in power or the party oligarchy. The Soviets produce no values, only quantities. With them compensation is not rendered by the market but "in accordance with work."

Hence neither production nor distribution can occur any other way than through bureaucratic plans--or through the power and stability of the ruling party bureaucracy. Voluntarism and tyranny are rooted deeply and indelibly in the Soviet system.

It follows from this that Soviet imperialism and expansionism are not motivated by an expansion of the market. What is more, they are not motivated by the search for raw materials any more strongly than by the idea that the adversary must be deprived of them--a potential adversary being anyone who has not been subjugated.

This does not mean that Soviet expansion does not also pursue material aims. On the contrary. Though immensely rich, the Soviet Union is not rich in every respect and for all times. It too welcomes inexpensive goods in great variety. But here it is not the market, the free formation of prices, that plays a significant role but political, military-ideological pressure.

Only the fear of uprisings in which the West might interfere--particularly after the uprising in Hungary in 1956--has forced the Soviet leadership occasionally to enter into market economy relations with the subjugated states.

Yet, the ruling class of the Soviet Union is also directly motivated to engage in conquests; some of its members thus climb more rapidly in the hierarchy and attain all kinds of privileges. The class as a whole, however, strengthens its position both at home and abroad. If the Soviet party bureaucracy desisted from expansion, its "messianic," "leading" role would be exposed to rapid erosion. It would then turn out that it was socially superfluous and parasitical. The decay of the system would accelerate, and changes in the social structure of the Soviet Union would become inevitable.

There are indissoluble connections between the power monopoly of the Soviet oligarchy at home and its hegemonism and expansionism abroad. Both have the immutable motive and aim of ruling over people--a rule not limited by anything temporally, and geographically only by the Soviet potential.

The Soviet Union does not effect any occupations--except in the course of military operations. And this happens for the simple reason that it does not have any need at all for occupations per se. Rather, the Soviet regime s rengthens "friendly" communist vassal domination. A military presence is desirable, often even unavoidable, in order to insure the vassal system or Soviet domination. But it is not necessary in every case--vide, for example, Bulgaria, where there is no Soviet occupation but great loyalty to the Soviet Union.

To the Western, nonideological mind Soviet expansionism often appears unreasonable. This leads to the ever-recurring illusions that the Soviets will "come to see reason." Thus the West is entertaining illusions about the Soviet Union going to withdraw its troops from Afghanistan--if for no other reason than that the occupation of Afghanistan is not worth the Soviets' while and is costing them a great deal.

Soviet reason, the Soviet way of drawing conclusions, however, is quite different. The Soviet leadership regards as reasonable and ethical whatever strengthens the "state," power and party, particularly the rule of the party. This leadership

would regard as unreasonable only the kind of expansion--including the one in Afghanistan--that jeopardizes that sort of reasoning and those "absolute values."

The top Soviet leadership, or at least a certain trend among it, has already had to realize that it had underestimated the worldwide reaction to the invasion of Afghanistan. Even the East European governments did not show any enthusiasm over it. But this does not mean that the Soviet troops will withdraw from there--even if there was a predominant inclination to do so within the Soviet leadership. In such a case Moscow would proceed to negotiate and bargain.

The Soviet troops are in Afghanistan in behalf of "higher," "absolute" values--in behalf of "internationalism" embodied in the absolute rule of the Soviet party. For this reason the Soviet Union will not and cannot withdraw from Afghanistan, any more than from the other areas throughout the world, except under pressure of the superiority of opposing forces. The Soviet Union will remain there until it has strengthened the system it wants or the vassal government.

Not Capable of Pluralism

Similar conclusions can be drawn from the Soviet attitude toward the coming into being of independent trade unions in Poland. The Soviet leadership will not be ready for any pluralism, least of all a proletarian pluralism, unless it were to be forced to.

Shakespeare would say: There is method in this madness. Soviet expansions are planned thoroughly and methodically--from a worldwide perspective and for each concrete case. Could it really be otherwise, considering that it is a military expansionism of worldwide extent? Afghanistan is but a step of the ladder--leading to petroleum, to the Indian ocean, to the subjugation of Europe and European industry.

The Soviet leadership, it happens, has long since been aware of the economic and creative inferiority of its system. Khrushchev was the last to be under the illusion that it was possible to overtake the capitalist system. The Soviet leadership notices and surmises that its system can last only if it is supported by force--by a kind of force which dominates not only "at home" but the world over. Hence its uninhibited systematic expansion of military power. Hence also its concealed strategic aim, the subjugation of the industrialized West, primarily via a detour through areas rich in raw materials but underdeveloped, unstable and rebellious.

Stalin dissolved the Communist International--for the sake of the Soviet state. Communist states are already waging wars against one another. But the forces of violence get political aid from the Soviet Union throughout the world--provided that they help Soviet expansion. The international of ideological darkness and of violence continues to exist, renews itself and expands under the leadership of the Soviet Union.

But despite the expansion of its influence, despite the conquests and the military strengthening, the Soviet Union feels encircled and besieged as in the times of its birth. Could the Soviet Union indeed feel different in a world toward which the Soviet system does not and cannot adopt a "friendly" attitude--even if this world had subjugated itself?

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LAW ON MOVEMENT, SOJORN OF FOREIGNERS

Belgrade SLUZBENI LIST SFRJ in Serbo-Croatian No 56, 3 Oct 80 pp 1663-1676

[Law enacted by the SFRY Assembly]

[Text] I. General Provisions

Article 1

During their stay in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia foreign nationals may move, reside, enter into association, use their name, purchase, possess and bear weapons under the conditions prescribed by this law unless international treaty provides otherwise.

For the purpose of this law "foreigner" means any individual who is not a national of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Article 2

During their stay in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia the foreigners must abide by the regulations and decisions of government bodies and agencies based on the Constitution of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, the laws of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and its obligations under international treaty.

Article 3

Matters related to the movement and sojourn of foreigners in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia shall be handled by the competent agencies in the republic or autonomous province unless federal law provides otherwise.

Article 4

Foreigners may be prohibited from entering the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, their movement in a specified area may be restricted or prohibited, their sojourn in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia may

be revoked, or they may be prohibited from permanent residence at specified localities on grounds of protecting law and order or on grounds of protecting the interests of national defense or on grounds arising out of international relations.

Organizations of associated labor and other self-managed organizations and communities and government agencies shall set forth in their enactments the conditions under which foreigners may visit and move about in those organizations and communities or agencies.

Organizations of associated labor and other self-managed organizations and communities and government agencies which invite members of foreign armed forces or foreign security services or which receive and organize their visits must notify the competent agency in the republic or autonomous province.

II. Travel Documents and Visas for Entering and Visiting the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia

1. Travel Documents

Article 5

A foreigner may enter the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and visit on its soil if he has a valid foreign travel document or valid travel document for foreigners issued by the competent agency of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, furnished with a Yugoslav visa.

Foreigners who visit the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia on the basis of a joint (group) travel document may move about separately from the group only on the basis of a permit from the competent agency in the republic or autonomous province.

Article 6

For the purpose of this law "foreign travel document" means passport (personal, family and group), diplomatic passport and official passport, seaman's papers, [river and lake] boatman's papers or other travel documents recognized under international treaty from which it is possible to establish the identity of its bearer, whose period of validity has not expired and which has been issued in accordance with the regulations on issuance of the travel documents of the foreign state.

The travel document of a foreign state shall not be recognized if that foreign state does not recognize the corresponding travel document of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Article 7

A travel document for refugees or a travel document for stateless persons, as envisaged by international treaty, shall be issued for travel abroad to a foreigner who in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has been granted the status of a refugee and to a stateless person.

Article 8

The travel document for refugees and the travel document for stateless persons shall be issued by the competent agency in the republic or autonomous province where the refugee or stateless person has his domicile or residence.

The travel documents referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article shall be issued for a period up to 1 year.

The period of validity of the travel documents referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article may be extended, but their total period of validity may not be longer than 5 years.

Article 9

The foreigner's travel certificate is a travel document which is issued to a foreigner who does not have a valid travel document, as follows:

1) who has been granted the right of asylum in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia--for travel abroad;

2) who has been granted the protection of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia--to enter the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia;

3) who has obtained a release from his status as a national of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia--to depart abroad;

4) who has lost his foreign travel document or has in some other manner been left without it, when the state of which he is a national does not have a mission in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia nor are its interests represented by another state--to depart abroad:

5) who while abroad has lost a travel document for foreigners issued by the competent agency of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia--for return to the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

The foreigner's travel certificate may also be issued to another foreigner if there are grounds which warrant it.

The foreigner's travel certificate shall be issued for a period of validity not to exceed 1 year.

Article 10

The foreigner's travel certificate shall contain the following: the words "Socijalisticka Federativna Republika Jugoslavija [Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia]"; the number of the travel certificate; the embossed seal of the SFRY; the words "Putni list za stranca [Foreigner's Travel Certificate]"; a place for a photograph; a place to enter data on the bearer of the travel certificate, specifically: first and last name, day, month and year of birth, place of birth, place of residence and nationality; a place for entering data on members of the bearer's family (spouse and children) traveling with him, specifically: first and last name, kinship and date of birth; a place for entering the period of validity of the travel certificate; the name of the agency issuing the travel certificate, the date of issuance of the travel certificate, the imprint of the seal of the agency issuing the travel certificate and the signature of the authorized individual.

A dry seal shall be embossed on the photograph on the travel certificate.

Article 11

The foreigner's travel certificate shall be issued to and by the following:

1) to the foreigner referred to in Article 9, Paragraph 1, Subparagraphs 1, 3 and 4, of this law--by the competent agency in the republic or autonomous province;

2) to the foreigner referred to in Article 9, Paragraph 1, Subparagraph 2, of this law--by the diplomatic or consular mission of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia abroad;

3) to the foreigner referred to in Article 9, Paragraph 1, Subparagraph 5, of this law--by a diplomatic or consular mission of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia abroad, after it obtains consent to issue the travel certificate from the federal administrative agency competent for internal affairs;

4) to the foreigner referred to in Article 9, Paragraph 2, of this law--by the competent agency in the republic or autonomous province or by a diplomatic or consular mission of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia abroad, after it obtains consent to issue the travel certificate from the federal administrative agency competent for internal affairs.

Article 12

The travel document for refugees, the travel document for stateless persons and the foreigner's travel certificate shall be issued to individuals who have reached age 18.

Personal data on persons under age 18 shall be entered on the travel document of parent.

As an exception to the provision of Paragraph 1 of this article, when the grounds so warrant, travel documents referred to in that paragraph may also be issued to a person who has not reached age 18.

Article 13

The travel document for refugees, the travel document for stateless persons and the foreigner's travel certificate shall not be issued to a foreigner in the following cases:

1) if criminal or misdemeanor proceedings are being conducted against him--at the request of the competent agency;

2) if an unsuspended prison sentence has been pronounced against him, until he has served the sentence;

3) on the written request of an interested party or that party's guardian or competent agency serving as guardian--if toward that person or toward other persons in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia he has not discharged an obligation in property law arising out of the marital relation or relation between parents and children which has come due;

4) on the written request of a competent agency of a sociopolitical community, organization of associated labor or other self-managed organization or community--if it would not be able in any other manner to obtain discharge of an obligation to it which has come due;

5) if protection of law and order so requires or if the interests of national defense so demand.

In the decision adopted on the basis of Subparagraph 5 of Paragraph 1 of this article the competent agency need not state the reasons which guided it in making the decision.

Article 14

If the grounds referred to in Article 13, Paragraph 1, of this law existed before the day when the travel document was issued, and the competent agency learned of them subsequently or if the grounds arose after the date of issuance of the travel document, the travel document shall be revoked.

The decision on revocation of a travel document shall be made by the agency competent to issue travel documents or visas.

An appeal against the decision referred to in Paragraph 2 of this article shall not postpone its execution.

No administrative dispute may be conducted against a decision rejecting an application for issuance of a travel document or against a decision revoking a travel document.

Article 15

The competent agency in the republic or autonomous province may temporarily retain a foreign travel document belonging to a foreigner in the following cases:

1) if criminal or misdemeanor proceedings are being conducted against him--at the request of the competent agency;

2) on the written request of the competent body of a sociopolitical community, organization of associated labor or other self-managed organization or community--if it would be unable in any other manner to obtain discharge of an obligation to it which has come due;

3) if protection of law and order or the interests of national defense so require.

The authorized individual of the agency who has temporarily retained a foreign travel document shall issue a certificate to that effect to the foreigner whose travel document has been temporarily retained.

2. Tourist Pass

Article 16

A tourist pass may be issued at the border crossing to a foreigner who is entering the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia for a tourist visit if he possesses a valid national travel document or document establishing his identity. The tourist pass shall be issued with a period of validity not to exceed 30 days.

A tourist pass may also be issued to foreigners traveling in international maritime, river or air tours on the basis of the passenger list certified by the captain of the vessel or aircraft. The passenger list shall contain the following: first and last name, year of birth, nationality and number of the passenger's travel document.

The tourist pass shall be issued by the agency in the republic or autonomous province competent for monitoring control of the national border.

Article 17

The tourist pass shall contain the following: the words "Socijalisticka Federativna Republika Jugoslavija [Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia]," the name of the agency issuing the pass; the words "TURISTICKA

PROPUSNICA [TOURIST PASS]"; a place for entering the number and title of the travel document or other document establishing the identity of the foreigner to whom the pass is being issued; the number of the pass; a place for certifying entry into the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia; the stamp of the agency issuing the pass and instructions as to its use.

3. Visas

Article 18

A visa shall be issued to a foreigner to enter the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia or to leave it or to cross the territory of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

The visa shall be issued for one trip, for several trips or for an unlimited number of trips.

The visa shall be issued with a period of validity not to exceed 1 year or to the date of expiration of the foreign travel document on which the visa is being issued if that period is less than 1 year.

A visa with a period of validity longer than 1 year may be issued under condition of reciprocity to the personnel of the diplomatic or consular mission of a foreign state in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Article 19

In a visa being issued on a family passport shall be entered the number of persons traveling with the bearer of the passport and who have been entered in the passport, and in the visa being issued on a joint (group) passport--the first and last name of the leader of the group and the number of members of the group.

At the request of an organization of associated labor organizing a tourist trip a visa may be issued on the list of persons traveling to foreigners visiting the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and wishing to make an excursion into a neighboring country. The first and last name of the leader of the group and the number of members of the group shall be entered in the visa.

The list referred to in Paragraph 2 of this article shall contain the first and last name of the members of the group and the number of their travel documents. The list shall be certified by a responsible individual in the organization of associated labor which is organizing the tourist trip.

Article 20

A transit visa shall be issued to a foreigner who seeks a visa to cross the territory of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia only if he has an

entry visa of the neighboring country to which he is traveling or across whose territory he is continuing his trip, unless international treaty has exempted him from the obligation of possessing such a visa.

Article 21

A diplomatic or consular mission of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia abroad shall issue visas to the following:

1) to a foreigner coming to the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to reside permanently;

2) to a foreigner coming to the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia for a visit or to cross its territory;

3) to a foreigner coming to the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia or crossing its territory who possesses a diplomatic or official passport;

4) to a foreigner who is a seaman or a foreigner who is a [river or lake] boatman, on the seaman's or boatman's papers--if he is coming to the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to embark on a vessel in a Yugoslav seaport, riverport or lake port, or who is crossing the territory of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to embark on a vessel in a foreign seaport, riverport or lake port or who is returning to his own country after disembarking from a vessel in a foreign seaport, riverport or lake port.

Article 22

The agency in the republic or autonomous province competent for monitoring the crossing of the national border shall issue a visa to a foreigner in the following cases:

1) if he is departing from the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and his visa has expired;

2) if during sojourn or permanent residence in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia he applies for a visa to go abroad and return to the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia;

3) if he is moving permanently from the Socialist Federal Repbulic of Yugoslavia;

4) if he has come to the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia under an international treaty on local border traffic;

5) if in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia he has lost his travel document or in some other manner been left without his travel document and is leaving the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia with a new travel document or with a foreigner's travel certificate;

6) if a foreigner's travel certificate has been issued to him to move permanently from the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia;

7) if he has entered the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia with a tourist pass, and the diplomatic or consular mission of the state of which he is a national has issued him a travel document.

Article 24

The federal administrative agency competent for foreign affairs shall issue visas to the personnel of diplomatic or consular missions of foreign states in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and to the personnel of other foreign missions which have diplomatic status in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Article 25

A visa or tourist pass shall not be issued to foreigners, that is, they shall not be allowed to enter the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, in the following cases:

1) if the foreigner has committed a crime against humanity and international law;

2) if the preventive measure of deportation from the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has been pronounced against him--for the time covered by that measure;

3) if the protective measure of removal from the territory of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has been pronounced against him--for the time covered by that measure;

4) if his sojourn in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has been revoked--for the time covered by that measure;

5) if he is listed as an international criminal in the records of the competent agency in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia;

6) if he possesses a travel document of a foreign state of which he is not a national, unless it is explicitly stated in that travel document that he has the right to return to the state which issued him the travel document or visa.

The official heading the federal administrative agency competent for internal affairs may decide that a visa or tourist pass shall not be issued to foreigners or that their entry into the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia shall not be allowed in other cases as well if reasons of protecting law and order so require or if this is required by protection of the interests of national defense or reasons which arise from international relations.

Article 26

An application for a visa or tourist pass may be rejected and a foreigner's entry into the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia prohibited in the following cases:

1) if he has been convicted in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia of a crime which is automatically prosecuted;

2) if he has been punished in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia for a foreign exchange or customs violation or for a violation of public peace and order;

3) if he does not have the means of support, and support in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has not been assured him in some other manner.

The official heading the federal administrative agency competent for internal affairs may specify that the competent agency may issue a visa or tourist pass to certain foreigners or may allow entry into the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia only with the prior consent of the federal administrative agency competent for internal affairs.

Article 27

If it is established that any of the grounds referred to in Article 25 of this law existed at the time when a visa was issued or has occurred since that time, the visa shall be canceled.

If it is established that any of the reasons referred to in Article 26 of this law existed at the time when the visa was issued or occurred thereafter, the visa may be canceled.

The visa referred to in Paragraphs 1 and 2 of this article may be canceled by the agency which issued the visa or other agency competent for issuing visas.

Article 28

In the decision rejecting an application for issuance of a visa or decision canceling a visa which has been issued on grounds of protecting law and order or on grounds of protecting the interests of national defense or on grounds which arise from international treaties, the competent agency need not state the reasons which guided it in making that decision.

No administrative dispute may be conducted against a decision rejecting an application for a visa or a decision canceling a visa which has been issued.

Article 29

A visa shall be issued to a foreigner who is moving permanently from the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia if he attaches to the visa application evidence of the following:

1) that he has discharged due obligations to the sociopolitical community;

2) that he has settled property obligations arising out of the marital relationship or relationship between parents and children toward persons living in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Article 30

A visa for departure from the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia shall not be issued to a foreigner if criminal or misdemeanor proceedings are being conducted against him--if the body conducting proceedings so requests.

III. Sojourn of Foreigners

1. Temporary Sojourn

Article 31

A foreigner who enters the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia with a foreign travel document may reside temporarily in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia during the period of validity of his visa and up to 3 months, but if he is passing across the territory of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia such visits shall not exceed 7 days counted from the date when the national border was crossed.

Temporary sojourn of more than 3 months or more than 7 days may be granted to the foreigner referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article at his request.

In the application for temporary sojourn the foreigner must state the reasons why he is seeking approval of temporary sojourn. If the competent agency so requires of him, the foreigner must attach to the application proof of the justifiability of the reasons for which he is seeking the granting of temporary sojourn and on his possession of the means of support or assurance of his support in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in some other manner.

The application for approval of temporary sojourn shall be submitted before expiration of the period referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article.

Article 32

A foreigner who comes to the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to attend school, for advanced training, to conduct scientific research, to take employment or to perform a particular professional activity must file an application for approval of temporary sojourn within a period of 3 days from the date when he entered the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

If the foreigner referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article is coming to an organization of associated labor, other self-managed organization or community, or government agency, the organization or community or government agency to which that foreigner has come is required to file application for approval of the foreigner's temporary sojourn within a period of 7 days from the date of his arrival in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Article 33

A foreigner shall be granted temporary sojourn by the competent agency in the republic or autonomous province in which the foreigner resides.

The permit for temporary sojourn shall be issued with a period of validity not to exceed 1 year or until expiration of the foreign travel document if that period is shorter than 1 year.

When the grounds so warrant, a foreigner's temporary sojourn may be extended, each time for the period stated in Paragraph 2 of this article.

Article 34

Temporary sojourn in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia shall not be granted to a foreigner in the following cases:

1) if under the provisions of Article 25 of this law he cannot be granted entry into the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia;

2) if he has given inaccurate information about himself or has used a false document;

3) if he has used someone else's travel document or has given his own travel document to someone else to use;

4) if he has entered the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in an unlawful manner and has not been granted the status of refugee and has not been granted right of asylum;

5) if he does not have the means of support or his support in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has not been furnished him in some other manner;

6) if he has helped another or instigated another to cross the national border of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in an unlawful manner.

Article 35

A foreigner's temporary sojourn in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia shall be terminated in the following cases:

1) if the security measure of deportation from the country or the protective measure of removal from the territory of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has been pronounced against him;

2) if his sojourn in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has been revoked;

3) if the competent agency has rejected his application for temporary sojourn in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Article 36

A foreigner's temporary sojourn in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia may be revoked in the following cases:

1) if he does not abide by the regulations in effect in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia or does not carry out the decisions of the government bodies and agencies;

2) if he is left without means of support, and his support in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has not been assured him in some other manner;

3) if he engages in vagrancy or begging;

4) if reasons of protecting law and order or the interests of national defense so require.

The decision to revoke temporary sojourn shall be made by the competent agency in the republic or autonomous province where the foreigner resides. The decision shall state the time within which the foreigner must leave the territory of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the period during which he may not come again to the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

An appeal may be filed against the decision referred to in Paragraph 2 of this article within a period of 3 days from the date of receipt of the decision.

Article 37

In a decision rejecting an application for issuance of permission for temporary sojourn in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia on grounds of protecting law and order or on grounds of protecting the interests of national defense the competent agency need not state the reasons which guided it in making that decision.

No administrative dispute may be conducted against a decision rejecting an application for the granting of temporary sojourn or against a decision revoking temporary sojourn in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

2. Permanent Residence

Article 38

A foreigner may take up permanent residence in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia if he obtains permission from the competent agency.

The permission referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article shall cease to be valid unless the foreigner takes up residence in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia within 1 year from the date when permission was delivered.

Article 39

A foreigner may be allowed to reside permanently in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in the following cases:

1) if some member of his immediate family (spouse, child, parent) is a national of the SFRY or is a foreigner who has been granted permanent residence in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia;

2) a foreigner who has married a national of the SFRY;

3) a foreigner of Yugoslav origin.

In exceptional cases other foreigners may also be granted permission to take up permanent residence in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

The foreigner must attach to the application for permanent residence proof that the means of support have been assured him.

Article 40

The federal administrative agency competent for internal affairs shall grant permission for permanent residence in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Article 41

A foreigner's right to reside permanently in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia shall be terminated in the following cases:

1) when he moves from the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia;

2) if he remains abroad continuously longer than 1 year unless he has been granted permission for such sojourn;

3) if the security measure of deportation from the country or the protective measure of removal from the territory of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has been pronounced against him;

4) if his further sojourn in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has been revoked.

The decision on termination of the right to reside permanently in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia shall be made by the federal administrative agency competent for internal affairs.

Article 42

In the decision rejecting an application for the granting of permanent residence in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia the competent agency need not state the reasons which guided it in making such a decision.

The foreigner may file an appeal with the Federal Executive Council against a decision rejecting his application for the granting of permanent residence and against a decision to terminate the right to reside permanently in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

No administrative dispute may be conducted against the ruling made on the appeal referred to in Paragraph 2 of this article.

Article 43

Further sojourn of a foreigner who has been granted permanent residence in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia may be revoked in the following cases:

1) if he has been convicted of a crime against the foundations of the system of socialist self-management and the security of the SFRY or other grave crime;

2) if he has been left without means of support, and his support in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has not been assured in some other manner;

3) if reasons of protecting law and order or the interests of national defense so require.

The decision revoking the further sojourn of a foreigner who has been granted permission to reside permanently in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia shall be made by the competent agency in the republic or autonomous province where the foreigner has his domicile.

In a decision revoking the further stay of a foreigner who has been granted permanent residence in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia on grounds of protecting law and order or on grounds of protecting the interests of national defense the competent agency need not state the reasons which guided it in making such a decision.

The decision referred to in Paragraph 2 of this article shall state the period within which the foreigner must leave the territory of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. That period of time may not be shorter than 30 days nor longer than 6 months.

3. Right of Asylum

Article 44

A foreigner who has been persecuted because of his efforts on behalf of democratic views and movements, social and national liberation, freedom and the rights of the individual or on behalf of the freedom of scientific or artistic creativity shall be granted the right of asylum in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Article 45

The official heading the federal administrative agency competent for internal affairs shall decide on recognizing or revoking the right of asylum.

A foreigner whose right of asylum has been recognized shall also attain the right of permanent residence in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Article 46

A foreigner who has been granted right of asylum shall be provided housing, means of support and health care.

Funds for housing, support and health care of foreigners granted the right of asylum shall be furnished from the federal budget.

The term "housing" in Paragraph 1 of this article means making an appropriate dwelling available for use or granting financial aid necessary to obtain housing space.

The federal administrative agency competent for matters of health and social welfare shall see to the housing, allocation of means of support and health care of foreigners who have been granted the right of asylum.

Article 47

The amount of money required for housing and support of foreigners who have been granted the right of asylum and the extent of health care, the standards and conditions governing the use and manner of obtaining that form of health care shall be defined by the Federal Executive Council for each individual case, but on the recommendation of the federal administrative agency competent for internal affairs and the federal administrative agency competent for matters of health and social welfare.

Article 48

A foreigner's right of asylum may be revoked if he acts against the system established by the SFRY Constitution or against the international interests of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

The decision revoking the right of asylum shall also state the period within which the foreigner must leave the territory of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. That period may not be shorter than 30 days nor longer than 6 months.

Article 49

A foreigner may file an appeal with the Federal Executive Council against a decision rejecting his application for recognition of the right of asylum and against a decision revoking his right of asylum.

No administrative dispute may be conducted against the ruling issued on the appeal referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article.

4. Refugees

Article 50

A foreigner who has left the state of which he is a national or in which he had permanent residence as a stateless person in order to avoid persecution because of his progressive political aspirations or his ethnic origin, race or religion may be granted the status of refugee in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Article 51

Refugee status shall not be granted to a foreigner if there is warranted suspicion that he has committed a crime against humanity and international law or that he has acted contrary to the aims and principles of the Organization of the United Nations.

A foreigner's application for recognition of refugee status may also be rejected on grounds of protecting law and order or on grounds of protecting the interests of national defense.

If the grounds referred to in Paragraphs 1 and 2 of this article existed before recognition of refugee status, and the competent agency learned of them later, or if they occurred after recognition of that status, refugee status shall be revoked.

The federal administrative agency competent for internal affairs shall bear general responsibility for the reception, housing and assurance of funds for support of foreigners granted the status of refugees.

Article 52

The children of foreigners who have been granted refugee status shall enjoy all the rights of their parents who have been granted refugee status.

Upon reaching age 18 the individuals referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article shall be treated like other foreigners residing temporarily in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Article 53

The federal administrative agency competent for internal affairs shall decide on recognition or revoking of refugee status.

A foreigner may file an appeal with the Federal Executive Council against a decision rejecting his application for recognition of refugee status or against a decision revoking his refugee status.

No administrative dispute may be conducted against the ruling issued on the appeal referred to in Paragraph 2 of this article.

Article 54

A foreigner's refugee status shall be terminated in the following cases:

1) if he seeks protection of the state of which he is a national or where he had permanent residence as a stateless person;

2) if he may return to the state of which he is a national or in which he had permanent residence as a stateless person once the reasons for which he fled from that state have ceased;

3) if he voluntarily returns to the state from which he fled;

4) if he takes up the nationality of another state.

Article 55

A foreigner whose refugee status has been recognized shall be provided the necessary housing, the necessary means of support and health care until his departure to another country or until he acquires the means of supporting himself, but no longer than 2 years from the date when the application was made for recognition of refugee status. The time restriction shall not apply to a foreigner who is not capable of gainful employment and cannot support himself independently.

The terms "necessary housing and necessary means of support" in the context of Paragraph 1 of this article mean financial aid necessary to provide housing space and to support the foreigner whose refugee status has been recognized and the members of his family. The amount of money shall be determined according to the number and age of members of his family who are not nationals of the SFRY, financial condition, fitness for gainful employment, and as a function of whether the foreigner whose refugee status has been recognized is undergoing specialized training.

As an exception to the provision of Paragraph 2 of this article, necessary housing and necessary means of support also refer to compensation of expenses of placing a foreigner whose refugee status has been recognized in an appropriate organization of associated labor if that placement or accommodation is necessary because he is old and alone or incapable of gainful employment.

Necessary means of support and necessary housing of foreigners whose refugee status has been recognized and to compensate the expenses referred to in Paragraph 3 of this article shall be furnished in the federal budget.

Article 56

The amount of money necessary for the support of foreigners whose refugee status has been recognized and to provide them necessary housing, and the scope of health care and scales and conditions for the use and manner of obtaining these forms of care shall be prescribed by the Federal Executive Council.

Article 57

A refugee reception center may be organized to house foreigners whose refugee status has been recognized.

The reception center referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article shall be established and administered by the federal administrative agency competent for internal affairs.

Foreigners whose refugee status has been recognized shall be sent to the reception center for refugees by the federal administrative agency competent for internal affairs.

The agency referred to in Paragraph 2 of this article shall see that these foreigners are furnished means of support and health care while they are in the reception center for refugees.

Article 58

The federal administrative agency competent for matters of health and social welfare, in collaboration with the federal administrative agency competent for internal affairs, shall see to the housing and furnishing of necessary means of support of foreigners whose refugee status has been recognized and who are not housed in the reception center for refugees and of fitting them for self-support.

Article 59

The place of residence of a foreigner whose refugee status has been recognized and who has not been placed in a reception center for refugees shall be determined by the competent agency in the republic or autonomous province.

The decision on furnishing housing and on allocation of necessary funds for support of the foreigner referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article shall be made by the competent agency in the republic or autonomous province in which that foreigner's place of residence has been determined.

No administrative dispute may be conducted against a final decision as referred to in Paragraph 2 of this article.

Article 60

The competent agency in the republic or autonomous province shall revoke sojourn in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia of a foreigner whose refugee status has been recognized if this is required to protect law and order or to protect the interests of national defense, or if his refugee status has been revoked.

The decision revoking a foreigner's sojourn as referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article must state the period of time in which the foreigner must leave the territory of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. The time necessary for the foreigner to be received by another state shall be taken into account in fixing that period.

In the decision revoking sojourn in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia of a foreigner whose refugee status has been recognized on grounds of protecting law and order or on grounds of protecting the interests of national defense the competent agency need not state the reasons which guided it in making that decision.

No administrative dispute may be conducted against the decision revoking sojourn of a foreigner whose refugee status has been recognized.

5. Forcible Removal

Article 61

A foreigner against whom the security measure of deportation from the country or the protective measure of removal from the territory of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia or whose sojourn in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has been revoked, or who is in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia without approval of the competent agency must leave the territory of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia within the period of time fixed by the competent agency.

If the foreigner referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article does not leave the territory of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia within the period specified, but does have a valid travel document, he shall be escorted to the national border and forcibly removed from the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

The foreigner referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article who does not leave the territory of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia within the period specified and does not have a valid travel document shall be sent or escorted to the diplomatic or consular mission of the state of which he is a national to obtain a travel document. If that mission refuses to issue the foreigner a travel document, the foreigner shall be sent or escorted to the national border and turned over to the competent agency of a neighboring state if he is a national of that state or to the competent agency of another state which consents to receive him.

When the agency in the republic or autonomous province escorts a foreigner to the reception center for aliens or to the national border for removal from the territory of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, that agency must first obtain the consent of the federal administrative agency competent for internal affairs. At the latest that consent shall be given within 2 days from the date of receipt of the request for consent.

Article 62

A reception center for aliens shall be organized to house the foreigner referred to in Article 61 of this law, a foreigner who has entered the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in an unlawful manner or is residing in it without the permission of the competent agency, the foreigner whose identity cannot be established, the foreigner whose temporary sojourn has not been approved or whose right of asylum or refugee status has not been recognized, and who for whatsoever reason cannot be immediately removed from the territory of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

The reception center referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article shall be established and administered by the federal administrative agency competent for internal affairs.

The decision to send a foreigner to the reception center for aliens shall be made by the federal administrative agency competent for internal affairs on the recommendation of the competent agency in the republic or autonomous province.

Article 63

The competent agency in the republic or autonomous province may assign a mandatory place of residence or may send to another place where his support is provided for the foreigner referred to in Article 61 of this law or a foreigner who has entered the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in an unlawful manner or who is residing in it without permission of the competent agency, or a foreigner whose identity cannot be established, or a foreigner who has not been granted temporary sojourn or whose right of asylum or refugee status has not been recognized, and who for whatsoever reason cannot be immediately removed from the territory of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and who has the means of support or whose support in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has been provided for in some other manner.

Article 64

The costs of escorting a foreigner to a diplomatic or consular mission or to the reception center for aliens or to the national border shall be charged to the foreigner being escorted.

If the foreigner being escorted does not have funds, the costs of escorting him shall be charged to the federal budget.

6. Movement of Foreigners in Uniform

Article 65

Foreigners may wear a foreign military uniform during sojourn in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in the following cases:

1) if they are in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia as members of a diplomatic or consular mission of a foreign state or other foreign mission which has diplomatic status in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in the capacity of military representatives, during the life of that mission;

2) if as members of foreign military missions or foreign military delegations they are making an official visit to the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia;

3) if they are attending school in the schools of the Yugoslav People's Army;

4) if as members of foreign military missions or foreign military delegations they are crossing the territory of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia with diplomatic or official passports.

The official heading the federal administrative agency competent for matters of national defense may in agreement with the official who heads the federal administrative agency competent for internal affairs grant approval to other foreigners to wear a foreign military uniform during their sojourn in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Article 66

During sojourn in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia foreigners may wear a foreign police uniform or uniform of a foreign customs officer in the following cases:

1) if as members of delegations of foreign police or foreign customs authorities they are making an official visit to the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia;

2) while they are performing official duties in joint monitoring of the crossing of the national border in that portion of the border crossing which belongs to the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia;

3) if as members of foreign police of foreign customs delegations they are crossing the territory of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia with a diplomatic or official passport.

7. Establishment and Termination of Associations of Foreigners

Article 67

Foreigners residing in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia may establish associations to accomplish cultural, scientific, technical and other similar goals.

Article 68

Associations of foreigners shall be established on the basis of approval of the competent agency.

A permit for establishment of an association of foreigners operating on the territory of one republic or autonomous province shall be issued by the competent agency in the republic or autonomous province, but the permit for establishing an association of foreigners which operates over the entire territory of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia or on the

territory of two or more republics or autonomous provinces shall be issued by the federal administrative agency competent for internal affairs.

Article 69

The establishment of an association of foreigners may be approved on application of at least 10 adult foreigners who are permanent residents of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia or who have resided in it longer than 1 year.

As an exception to the provision of Paragraph 1 of this article, a permit to establish an association of foreigners may also be granted to foreigners who have spent less than 1 year in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia if their visit is to attend school, to undergo specialization, to conduct scientific research, to take employment or to perform a specified professional activity.

Article 70

The application for a permit to establish an association of foreigners should contain the following: the association's name and the location of its headquarters, the purposes of the association and the means by which those purposes are to be achieved. The minutes of the founding assembly of the association and the rules (bylaws) of the association which have been adopted shall be attached to the application in duplicate.

The rules (bylaws) of the association of foreigners should contain the following: the purpose of the association and the means by which that purpose is to be attained; the rights and duties of members of the association; rights and duties of the organs of the association; the procedure for enrollment of members of the association; termination of membership and withdrawal from the association; representation of the association; the manner in which the means necessary to operate the association are to be furnished; the name of the headquarters of the association and the manner of disposition of property in case of termination of the association.

The founders must notify the competent agency in the republic or autonomous province of the holding of the founding assembly of the association of foreigners.

Article 71

If the agency competent to issue the permit to establish an association of foreigners finds that the rules (bylaws) of the association do not contain certain of the elements which have essential importance to granting the permit for establishment of the association, it shall call upon the founders to supplement the rules within a specified period.

Article 72

The establishment of an association of foreigners shall be approved in a decision containing the following: the name of the association, the association's activity, the association's address and the geographic area in which the association may operate.

The agency competent to grant the permit to establish an association of foreigners shall keep records on associations whose establishment it has approved.

An association of foreigners shall acquire the status of a legal person and may commence operation as of the date when the decision approving the establishment becomes valid.

One copy of the rules (bylaws) of the association, certified by the agency which has approved establishment of the association, shall be returned to the founders with the decision approving establishment of the association of foreigners.

Article 73

An application for approval of establishment of an association of foreigners shall be rejected and the operation of the association of foreigners prohibited if its activity does not conform to the rules (bylaws) of the association or if it is aimed at the following:

1) overthrow or alteration of the system established by the SFRY Constitution;

2) disruption of the brotherhood and unity of the nationalities and ethnic minorities of Yugoslavia and incitement of ethnic, racial or religious enmity;

3) threatening the independence and territorial integrity of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia or threatening peace or equal international cooperation;

4) the committing of criminal acts or instigation of the committing of such acts.

An appeal may be filed with the Federal Executive Council against a decision rejecting an application for approval of establishment of an association of foreigners or against a decision prohibiting operation of an association of foreigners and that decision was made by the federal administrative agency competent for internal affairs.

No administrative dispute may be conducted against a decision rejecting an application for approval of establishment of an association of foreigners or a decision prohibiting the operation of an association of foreigners.

Article 74

A foreigner may be a member of an association of citizens of the SFRY if this is provided for in the rules (bylaws) of that association.

Article 75

The lawfulness of the activity of an association of foreigners shall be monitored by the agency which made the decision to allow establishment of that association.

8. The Purchase and Bearing of Arms and Use of Personal Name

Article 76

During sojourn in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia a foreigner may purchase, bear and possess weapons and ammunition under the conditions set forth by the statute of the republic or autonomous province.

Article 77

During sojourn in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia a foreigner must use the personal name which he has received under the statutes of his own country unless law or international treaty provide otherwise.

IV. Notification of Arrival at and Departure From Place of Residence and Domicile

Article 78

A foreigner residing in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia must notify the competent agency in the republic or autonomous province of his sojourn and his change of address, and a foreigner who has been granted permanent residence must also give notification when he takes up or leaves his domicile.

Article 79

For the purpose of this law "place of residence" means the town or place in which the foreigner is residing temporarily.

For the purpose of this law "domicile" means the town or place in which the foreigner who has been granted permanent residence in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is settled with the intention of living in it permanently.

Article 80

A foreigner who has been granted permanent residence in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia must notify the competent agency in the republic or autonomous province of his domicile and change of address within that town or place within a period of 8 days from the date of his arrival at the domicile or from the date of change of address and shall report his temporary residence and change of address within 24 hours from arrival at the town or place of temporary residence or from the date of change of address in that place.

A foreigner must give notice of removal from his domicile before the date when he is to leave the domicile.

Article 81

Organizations of associated labor, other self-managed organizations and individuals who provide lodgings to foreigners for compensation, as well as individuals whom foreigners come to visit are required to report the sojourn of foreigners to the competent agency in the republic or autonomous province within 12 hours from the date of providing the lodgings to the foreigner or from the date of the foreigner's arrival for the visit.

A foreigner who does not use lodgings referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article must notify the competent agency in the republic or autonomous province of his sojourn and change of address on the day after arrival in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia or within 24 hours from the date of change of place of residence or change of address.

The official heading the federal administrative agency competent for foreign affairs may in agreement with the official who heads the federal administrative agency competent for internal affairs prescribe that certain foreigners shall not be required to give notice of their sojourn in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

The sojourn of foreigners may also be reported through tourist organizations.

Article 82

Organizations of associated labor, other self-managed organizations and individuals offering lodgings to foreigners for compensation must keep records on the foreigners to whom they furnish lodgings--a book of foreigners.

The book of foreigners shall be certified by the competent agency in the republic or autonomous province.

Organizations and individuals referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article are required to keep a book of foreigners at least 3 years after the date when it is closed.

Organizations and individuals referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article are required to allow an authorized individual of a competent agency to examine the book of foreigners.

V. Documents To Prove Identity

Article 83

A foreigner may prove his identity with the following: a foreign travel document, a travel document for foreigners issued by the competent agency of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, an alien identity card or other document furnished with a photograph by which his identity can be established.

At the request of an authorized individual of a competent agency the foreigner is required to show the document by which he proves his identity.

1. Alien Identity Card

Article 84

An alien identity card shall be issued to the following: to a foreigner who has been granted permanent residence in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and to a foreigner whose temporary sojourn in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has been granted if he does not have a foreign travel document.

As an exception to the provision of Paragraph 1 of this article, an alien identity card may be issued to a foreigner who has been granted temporary residence in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia though he has a valid foreign travel document, if that foreigner or diplomatic or consular mission of the state of which he is a national submits an application for issuance of an alien identity card.

A special identity card shall be issued to a foreigner who is a member of a diplomatic or consular mission of a foreign state or a member of another foreign mission which has diplomatic status in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Article 85

The alien identity card shall be issued by the competent agency in the republic or autonomous province in which is located the domicile or residence of the foreigner to whom the alien identity card is being issued.

An imprint shall be taken of the index finger of the right hand of the foreigner who is being issued an alien identity card.

The federal administrative agency competent for foreign affairs shall issue the special identity card referred to in Article 84, Paragraph 3, of this law.

Article 86

An application for issuance of an alien identity card may be filed by a foreigner who has reached age 18 and also by a foreigner under age 18 who has married or who has taken employment.

Article 87

The application for issuance of the alien identity card shall be made on the prescribed form.

The application for issuance of the alien identity card shall be accompanied by two photographs of the prescribed size which faithfully portray the applicant or the person for whom the application is being filed.

Article 88

The application for issuance of an alien identity card shall be filed within a period of 30 days from the date of arrival of the foreigner at his domicile or place of residence or within 30 days from the date when the foreigner has married or taken up employment.

Article 89

The form of the alien identity card shall contain the following: the words "Socijalisticka Federativna Republika Jugoslavija"; the name of the agency which issued the alien identity card; the words "Osobna karta za stranca [Alien Identity Card]"; the number of the identity card; a place for a photograph; a place for entering data on the foreigner, specifically: first and last name, day, month and year of birth, place of birth, nationality, domicile and address, basis on which the foreigner is residing in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, date of issuance of the alien identity card; stamp of the agency which issued the alien identity card and signature of the authorized individual.

Article 90

The alien identity card shall be issued to a foreigner who has been granted permanent residence in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia for a period of validity of 5 years.

An alien identity card shall be issued to a foreigner who has been granted temporary sojourn in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia until expiration of the permit for temporary sojourn, but no longer than 1 year.

The validity of the alien identity card issued to the foreigner referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article may be extended, but its total validity may not be longer than 10 years.

The validity of the alien identity card issued to the foreigner referred to in Paragraph 2 of this article may be extended, provided its total validity does not exceed 5 years.

Article 91

A foreigner is required to carry his alien identity card on his person.

A foreigner may not give his alien identity card to someone else to use, nor may he use someone else's identity card as his own.

Article 92

The alien identity card shall be replaced when damaged or worn out or when for other reasons it can no longer serve its purpose.

Within a period of 8 days from the date of occurrence of any of the reasons referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article the foreigner must file application with the competent agency to replace the alien identity card.

The authorized individual of the competent agency may order a foreigner to file application for replacement of his alien identity card if in examining the foreigner's credentials he finds that any of the reasons stated in Paragraph 1 of this article exist.

Article 93

A foreigner is required to return his alien identity card to the competent agency in the following cases:

1) when he becomes a citizen of the SFRY;

2) when he leaves the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia;

3) when the security measure of deportation from the country or the protective measure of removal from the territory of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has been pronounced against him or when his further sojourn in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has been revoked.

2. Disappearance or Loss of the Alien Identity Card or Other Document Proving Identity

Article 94

The disappearance or loss of an alien identity card, travel document or other document proving identity in the Socialist Federal Republic of

Yugoslavia must be reported by the foreigner without delay, and no later than within 24 hours from the moment of learning of the loss or disappearance of the alien identity card or other document proving identity, to the competent agency in the republic or autonomous province in which he has lost the document or in which he has learned of its disappearance or loss.

The agency referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article shall issue the foreigner a certificate to the effect that he has reported the loss or disappearance of his alien identity card or other document proving identity.

Article 95

A foreigner who while abroad has lost his travel document issued by the competent agency of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia or remains without it in some other manner must report this to the nearest diplomatic or consular mission of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia abroad.

The diplomatic or consular mission of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia abroad shall issue to the foreigner referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article a new travel document after having obtained consent of the federal administrative agency competent for internal affairs.

Article 96

A foreigner who in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia loses his travel document or is left without it in some other manner must accompany his application for issuance of a new travel document or his application for issuance of a visa on a new foreign travel document by the certificate that he has reported the loss or disappearance of the travel document which he previously had.

VI. Records and Reporting

Article 97

Records shall be kept on foreigners who are permanent residents, on foreigners who are temporary residents or who are crossing the territory of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, on establishment and termination of associations of foreigners, and on the documents and visas issued to foreigners by the competent agency of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

The records referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article shall be kept by the competent agencies in the republic or autonomous province, by the federal administrative agency competent for internal affairs, by the federal administrative agency competent for foreign affairs and by diplomatic or consular missions of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia abroad, each within its respective jurisdiction.

Article 98

Records on expenditure of funds for housing and material support of foreigners whose refugee status has been recognized shall be kept by the competent age in the republic or autonomous province.

The competent agency in the republic or autonomous province shall report to the federal administrative agency competent for affairs of health and social welfare on expenditure of funds referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article.

VII. Authorization and Oversight

Article 99

The official heading the federal administrative agency competent for internal affairs is hereby authorized as follows:

1) to prescribe the manner of issuance of travel and other documents and visas to foreigners, the manner of approval of temporary sojourn, the manner of approval of permanent residence, the manner of recognition of refugee status, the reporting of arrival at and departure from domicile and residence and procedure for keeping the register of aliens;

2) to prescribe the form of the travel document for foreigners, the tourist pass, the alien identity card, the permit for permanent residence, the permit for temporary sojourn and the visa issued to foreigners, as well as the forms of applications for their issuance;

3) to prescribe the form on which arrival at and departure from domicile and residence shall be reported and the forms of records which are to be kept under the provisions of this law by organizations of associated labor, other self-managed organizations and individuals providing lodgings to foreigners;

4) to prescribe the manner of keeping records and of reporting on foreigners who are permanent residents, foreigners who are temporary residents or who are crossing the territory of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and on travel documents and visas issued to foreigners by the competent agencies in the republic or autonomous province;

5) to fix the price which the competent agencies shall collect for the forms of the documents which they issue to foreigners.

Article 100

The official heading the federal administrative agency competent for foreign affairs is authorized to prescribe the following in agreement with the official who heads the federal administrative agency competent for internal affairs:

1) the manner of issuance of travel documents and visas to foreigners in diplomatic or consular missions of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia abroad;

2) the form and manner of issuance of the special identity card issued to members of diplomatic or consular missions of foreign states or to members of other foreign missions which have diplomatic status in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia;

3) the manner of issuance of visas to members of diplomatic or consular missions of foreign states or to members of other foreign missions which have diplomatic status in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia;

4) the manner of keeping records and of reporting on travel documents and visas issued to foreigners in diplomatic or consular missions of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia abroad.

Article 101

With respect to the matters of entry, movement and sojourn of foreigners, personal name, association, purchase, possession and bearing of arms, the official who heads the federal administrative agency competent for internal affairs may issue binding instructions for enforcement of this law to agencies in the republic or autonomous province.

Article 102

With respect to the matters of issuing travel documents to foreigners, approval of sojourn (temporary sojourn, permanent residence), recognition of refugee status, recognition of right of asylum, notification of arrival at and departure from domicile and residence, and associations of foreigners, the federal administrative agency competent for internal affairs may also conduct inspection concerning enforcement of federal regulations.

The agency in the republic or autonomous province in which inspection is conducted under the provision of Paragraph 1 of this article must facilitate scrutiny of articles which pertain to enforcement of the respective federal regulations and furnish the necessary data and reports.

If it finds that the agency in the republic or autonomous province in which an inspection is conducted is not enforcing federal regulations in the areas enumerated in Paragraph 1 of this article or if it establishes irregularity in enforcement of these regulations, the official conducting the inspection shall so inform the official who heads that agency and the official who heads the federal administrative agency competent for internal affairs and shall propose the steps which should be taken.

Article 103

Oversight over the expenditure of funds for housing and material support of foreigners whose refugee status has been recognized shall be performed by the federal administrative agency competent for matters of health and social welfare.

VIII. Punitive Provisions

Article 104

An organization of associated labor or other legal person shall be fined up to 20,000 dinars for a misdemeanor in the following cases:

1) if it does not inform the competent agency in the republic or autonomous province of the arrival of members of foreign armed forces or foreign security forces (Article 4, Paragraph 3);

2) if within the prescribed period it does not seek approval for the temporary sojourn of foreigners (Article 32, Paragraph 2);

3) if within the prescribed period it does not report to the competent agency in the republic or autonomous province the sojourn of a foreigner to whom it furnishes housing or if it files a late report (Article 81, Paragraph 1);

4) if it does not keep or does not keep up to date the book of foreigners to whom it furnishes lodgings (Article 82, Paragraph 1);

5) if it does not allow an authorized individual of a competent agency to examine the book of foreigners to whom it has furnished lodgings (Article 82, Paragraph 4).

The individual responsible in the organization of associated labor or other legal person shall also be fined up to 2,000 dinars for the misdemeanor referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article.

Article 105

An individual furnishing lodgings to foreigners for compensation shall be liable to a fine up to 3,000 dinars or imprisonment up to 30 days for a misdemeanor in the following cases:

1) if within the prescribed period he does not report to the competent agency the sojourn of a foreigner to whom he furnishes lodgings or if he submits a tardy report (Article 81, Paragraph 1);

2) if he does not keep or does not keep up to date a book of foreigners to whom he furnishes lodgings for compensation (Article 82, Paragraph 1);

3) if he does not make it possible for an authorized individual of a competent agency to examine the book of foreigners to whom he has furnished lodgings (Article 82, Paragraph 4).

An individual whom a foreigner has visited shall also be liable to a fine up to 2,000 dinars for the misdemeanor referred to in Paragraph 1, Subparagraph 1, of this article.

The protective measure of prohibition of the furnishing of lodgings may also be pronounced for a period of time not to exceed 2 years against an individual furnishing lodgings to foreigners for compensation.

Article 106

A foreigner shall be liable to a fine up to 3,000 dinars or imprisonment up to 30 days for a misdemeanor in the following cases:

1) if he enters the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia when his entry has been prohibited under the provisions of Article 25 of this law;

2) if he gives inaccurate information about himself or uses a false document (Article 34, Subparagraph 2);

3) if he uses someone else's travel document or gives his own travel document to someone else to use (Article 34, Subparagraph 3);

4) if he has entered the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in an unlawful manner and his refugee status or right of asylum has not been recognized (Article 34, Subparagraph 4);

5) if he has helped someone else or instigated someone else to cross the national border of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in an unlawful manner (Article 34, Subparagraph 6);

6) if he enters the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia during the period in which his temporary sojourn has been revoked (Article 36, Paragraph 2);

7) if within the period specified in the decision of the competent agency he does not leave the territory of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Article 61, Paragraph 1).

The protective measure of removal from the territory of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia may also be pronounced against the foreigner for the misdemeanor referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article.

Article 107

A foreigner shall be liable to a fine up to 2,000 dinars or imprisonment up to 15 days for a misdemeanor in the following cases:

1) if he moves, resides or takes up permanent residence in a particular place or in a particular area in which the movement, sojourn or settlement of foreigners is restricted or prohibited (Article 4, Paragraph 1);

2) if he remains in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia more than 2 days beyond the date stated in the visa, tourist pass or permit for temporary sojourn or if within the prescribed period he does not file an application for approval of temporary sojourn (Article 16, Paragraph 1; Article 31, Paragraph 1; and Article 32, Paragraph 1);

3) if he leaves his place of residence designated for him by the competent agency (Article 63);

4) if during sojourn in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia he wears a foreign military, police or customs uniform contrary to the provisions of law (Articles 65 and 66);

5) if within the prescribed period he does not report to the competent agency his taking up domicile, change of address in his domicile or if he does not report removal from his domicile before he leaves the place or town which is his domicile (Article 80);

6) if he evades reporting to the competent agency his residence or change of address at the place or town of his residence (Article 81, Paragraph 2);

7) if he refuses to show to an authorized individual of a competent agency the document whereby he proves his identity (Article 83, Paragraph 2);

8) if he gives his identity card to someone else to use or if he uses someone else's alien identity card (Article 91, Paragraph 2).

An authorized individual of the agency in the republic or autonomous province competent for monitoring the crossing of the national border may collect a fine of 300 dinars on the spot from a foreigner for the act referred to in Paragraph 1, Subparagraph 2, of this article.

Article 108

A foreigner shall be liable for a fine up to 1,000 dinars for a misdemeanor in the following cases:

1) if he does not report to the competent agency his sojourn and change of address at the town or place of his residence when he is not staying in the facility of an organization of associated labor, other self-managed

organization or individual offering lodgings to foreigners or if he does not stay with an individual he is visiting (Article 81, Paragraph 2);

2) if within the prescribed period he does not file application for issuance of an alien identity card (Article 88);

3) if within the prescribed period he does not file application with the competent agency for replacement of his alien identity card (Article 92, Paragraph 2);

4) if within the prescribed period he does not report to the competent agency in the republic or autonomous province the disappearance or loss of his alien identity card, travel document or other document proving identity (Article 94, Paragraph 1).

IX. Final Provisions

Article 109

The Law on Movement and Sojourn of Foreigners in Yugoslavia (SLUZBENI LIST SFRJ, No 6, 1973) shall cease to be valid on the day when this law takes effect.

Article 110

This law shall take effect on the eighth day after publication in SLUZBENI LIST SFRJ.

7045
CSO: 2800

END

JPRS 76797

12 November 1980

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1826

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

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12 November 1980

EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1826

CONTENTS

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Current Tasks of Communists in Trade Unions
(Ludvik Opletal Interview; ZIVOT STRANY, Sep 80) 1

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

SED Sociologist Discusses Economic, Social Policy for 1980's
(Otto Reinhold; SONNTAG, 17 Aug 80) 6

POLAND

PRO-CCP Organ Interviews Bielinski, Walesa on Union Effort
(GNISTAN, 17-23 Oct 80) 16

SOLIDARNOSC's Konrad Bielinski Interviewed,
Konrad Bielinski Interview
Customs Seize Printing Press, by Thomas Kanger
Walesa: Government 'Sabotage' Attempts,
Lech Walesa Interview

Berezowski Comments on Duplicity of West's Policy
(M. Berezowski; TRYBUNA LUDU, 12 Aug 80) 24

Cultural Problems Viewed in Light of Recent Events
(Feliks Fornalczyk; GAZETA ZACHODNIA, 19, 20, 21 Sep 80) 27

YUGOSLAVIA

Journalists' Aggressive Questioning Criticized
(Petar Jovic; OSLOBODJENJE, 10 Oct 80) 30

Riot at Pristina Soccer Stadium Detailed
(Zvonko Simic, et al.; NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE,
5 Oct 80) 36

Lies by Job Hunters Found 'Justified' in Court Decrees
(Vuk Draskovic; NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE,
28 Sep 80) 44

Anonymous Ex-Conscript Describes Experiences in Army
(NOVA HRVATSKA, 29 Jun, 13, 27 Jul 80) 47

CURRENT TASKS OF COMMUNISTS IN TRADE UNIONS

Prague ZIVOT STRANY in Czech 22 Sep 80 No 20, 22 Sep 80 pp 42-44

[Interview with Ludvik Opletal, chairman of the Regional Trade Union Council in Brno, by Jiri Novotny: "Current Tasks of the Communists in Trade Unions"]

[Text] The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia has always considered it one of its foremost tasks to involve wide masses of our working people in implementation of the party policy, and therefore, the attitude of the party to the broadest mass social organization, which has a membership of over 7 million workers, reflects its close unity with the workers' class, cooperative farmers and intelligentsia. Communist officials and members of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement play an important role in the party's relations with trade unions.

Comrade Ludvik Opletal, chairman of the Regional Trade Union Council in Brno, answered our questions about the current and prospective tasks that must be resolved now and in the future by the communists in organs and organizations of trade unions in the South Moravia kraj.

[Question] The coresponsibility of our trade unions for the development of socialism finds its specific expression in inspiring our workers to demonstrate initiative in their fulfillment of tasks in production, in their integration into the decisionmaking processes when resolving problems of production, and in their participation in the management of production. What is the task of the communist members of trade unions in that area, particularly in conjunction with the application of the Set of Measures for Improving the Planned Management System of the National Economy after 1980?

[Answer] We regard the coresponsibility of our trade unions for the development of socialism as a fulfillment of a dual function. I would express this most succinctly, saying that there can be no rights without obligations, conversely, no obligations without rights, when it concerns the solution of our economic and social affairs. The unity of the rights and obligation comes into the focus more clearly in conjunction with a gradual introduction of the Set of Measures for Improving the Planned Management System of the National Economy after 1980.

By the application of the Set of Measures we also implement the decisions of the 15th CPCZ Congress. The Set of Measures expresses objective needs of the further development of our socialist society and a higher level of our economic relations.

For that reason, the communists in trade unions must approach this task in a responsible and creative manner, and prepare promptly and thoroughly for its fulfillment. Within the system of party education our party offers its members and candidates appropriate opportunities to improve their knowledge. A search for criteria of its efficiency continues; one of them should assess how it helps the principles stipulated in the Set of Measures to penetrate into the people's thoughts and deeds.

[Question] What specific role will the communists in trade unions play in explaining and clarifying the Set of Measures to our workers?

[Answer] The communists in trade unions, with a far-reaching efficient cooperation of other officials in the ROH [Revolutionary Trade Union Movement], must vigorously assist in creating such conditions and such a climate that the tender plant of the Set of Measures may take a healthy root. For that purpose we are organizing, first of all, a lecture to explain the Set of Measures--its basis, its purpose, and new ideas for consideration of its aspects. We held a seminar of the expanded plenum of our Regional Trade Union Council where comrades from the Antonin Zapotocky Central School of the ROH in Prague lectured. We made that lecture and additional materials available to workshops of trade union education at district trade union councils where we demand a close cooperation with the institutes of political education at the CPCZ District Committee, as well as with the Regional Political School in Brno.

Our trade union associations are concurrently acquainting our workers with the application of the Set of Measures in individual branches and ministries. The measures must be explained to workers' collectives in branches. For that purpose we are preparing standard plans of trade union education. We intend to appoint an aktiv of our leading economists to act as teams of lecturers for consultations on the contents of the Set of Measures so that everybody can understand it. Furthermore, we conducted a seminar on the implementation of long-range cadre, personnel and social programs in the Seventh Five-Year Plan. Thus far, comprehensive plans for social development, applied with various degrees of success, have been focused primarily on workers' rights and advantages. However, long-range cadre, personnel and social programs also obligate the people to fulfill their duties by creating financial and material preconditions for the satisfaction of their needs and interests.

[Question] Concern in the development of labor initiative must become an integral part of the economic management and of all activities in our trade unions. Communists in trade unions in particular must promote this task as stipulated in the document of the CSSR Government and of the URO [Central Council of Trade Unions] concerning the development of labor initiative in the 1979-1980 period. What experience have you gained in your kraj in this respect?

[Answer] In 1979-1980 we organized the workers' activity and initiative in honor of the 35th anniversary of our liberation, and directed their efforts toward higher efficiency and quality of all work and toward higher economic consciousness. Nevertheless, it would not be sincere to think that we have completed a major part of that work. The truth is, of course, that systematically, step by step, we are focusing on vital areas underscored in the documents of the CSSR Government and of the URO. Let us consider, for instance, our attention to the construction of power

engineering projects in the South Moravia kraj, in which our workers are participating. It is our satisfaction and, at the same time, obligation that the words "our building" and "we" are already beginning to be accepted in the nuclear power plant in Dukovany, okres of Trebic. Tens of working teams have become closely acquainted, and the towering construction which looms behind them will dominate the skyline of the Dukovany area in the future. We concluded agreements with the Regional National Committee and the Regional Trade Union Council on mutual cooperation, for example, in organizing competitions to conserve electricity and fuels. We discussed the contribution rendered by our technical intelligentsia in fulfilling the tasks of the plan. We assessed the contribution of the long-term socialist pledges adopted for the Sixth Five-Year Plan. It is now confirmed that when applying the Set of Measures, the long-term socialist pledges for the Seventh Five-Year Plan will represent an essential method in the development of our workers' initiative.

[Question] Our current and prospective tasks demand that the communists in trade unions unify their procedures for further development of trade union programs. What tasks are being carried out in this direction by the communists in the basic party organization of the Regional Trade Union Council in Brno?

[Answer] The activity of this basic party organization affects to a considerable degree improvement of work performed by political workers in the Regional Trade Union Council and in the regional committees of trade union associations who participate in the management of district trade union councils and district trade union assiciations, enterprise committees and plant organizations of the ROH in our kraj, in other words, a total of almost 800,000 members of the trade union base. Our party organization has united the communists who serve as political workers in the Regional Trade Union Council and the Regional Association of Education and Culture system for the purpose of implementing superior, tested forms and methods in the fulfillment of party decisions within trade unions. In their membership meetings the communists discuss methods of general application of their experience in individual branches and the problems they encounter. Furthermore, our organization participates in the development of proper dimensions in relations of the all-union and federation activities, and individual associations are steered toward cooperation in the solution of problems exceeding the framework of a single branch. Higher responsibility for the implementation of the decisions is also being enforced within the party. Membership conferences which analyzed the results of individual meetings of the CPCZ Central Committee offered in the discussion numerous proposals. On the agenda were, for example, methods to improve the work with the trade union aktiv and to direct more efficiently trade union education and the activity of trade unionists in workers' teams.

[Question] The 15th meeting of the CPCZ Central Committee recently underscored that our ideological educational system must be further improved. In your field this means upgrading of trade union education, better schools of socialist labor, economic propaganda and agitation, educational programs to be carried out in workers' teams and in particular, among the youth. What tasks does that impose on communists-trade unionists?

[Answer] In June 1980 plenary session of the Regional Trade Union Council discussed the decisions of the 15th meeting of the CPCZ Central Committee. Our trade union organization got very favorable conditions for the fulfillment of its share of

responsibility for our workers' education. A solid system of trade union education is at its disposal. Our topmost task is to upgrade its activities. Basic ROH organizations and district trade union councils reviewed recently the 1979-1980 academic year and the situation in planning for next year. Without overestimating the results achieved in trade union education, our aktiv of voluntary propaganda workers, lecturers and distributors of literature with a total of 17,000 members, has accomplished a great deal of honest work in cooperation with institutes of political education of the CPCZ district committees, the Regional Political School in Brno, and schools of socialist labor. Nevertheless, we feel that we still have considerable gaps, which the results of the 1979-1980 academic year have also confirmed. For instance, the development of our mass political work in places of work and through person-to-person canvass are unsatisfactory.

Our trade union education often lacks efficiency in those places where political training had just been completed. This concerns, for instance, a lack of understanding that the work must be done in shifts, the schedule of work adjusted, capital assets well utilized, and in general working discipline observed. In this respect, the Plants for Precision Engineering, for example, have been doing a splendid job by including in their trade union educational programs also lectures focused on better quality of production, exploitation of capital assets, and application of Soviet methods of competition. What is the result? They announced a long-range socialist pledge for the Sixth Five-Year Plan which, though difficult, is advantageously reflected in the quality of their production, the volume of production of spare parts, and the development of a competition to achieve the highest shift rate. Naturally, economic propaganda and agitation alone could not resolve every problem, but they helped the workers' teams realize many facts and steer their efforts in the right direction. An analysis of the educational work following the 15th meeting of the CPCZ Central Committee has shown that in the future we must proceed more vigorously in organizing schools of socialist labor wherever we can find unexploited opportunities for such schools. We must upgrade our work with the lecturers and propaganda workers, increase attendance at lectures to maintain their quality, and eliminate boring reading of haphazardly prepared reports.

We must reexamine creative programs for lecturers, so that they do not regard their work only as a job, but also as an opportunity for their own self-fulfillment by advancing their own education and spreading knowledge among the workers. Furthermore, a review has shown that the control of trade union education must be unconditionally intensified, beginning with sectors and ending with the regional political school. In trade union education we face an uncommonly challenging task to acquaint our workers with the Set of Measures.

In the final analysis, we have every right to regard trade union education as preparation for our young unionists' membership in the CPCZ. Our target is to make every basic organization of the ROH feel coresponsible for the training of its most promising members for membership in our party, because the decision as to who will lead and guide our society in the future is made today. This requires the trade unionists to work more thoroughly and over a prolonged period with our youth. Many basic ROH organizations have gained good experience with the movement of reserves of the socialist labor teams. The work with young people, however, must begin much sooner, as, for instance, in case of the comrades in the CKD [Ceskomoravska-Kolben-Danek] of Blansko, who organized a station of young technicians in the basic 9-year

school, where they work with children, influencing, among other things, also the choice of their vocation.

An agreement with the Regional Administration of the Ministry of the Interior in Brno aids us in our work; according to it the communists from the regional trade union council and regional committees of trade union associations, together with its employees, are fighting juvenile delinquency by expanding the young people's knowledge of the law and intensifying their attitude toward our socialist society.

[Question] Attention concentrated on the solution of the workers' personal and labor-related problems, and on their suggestions and proposals, is part of daily activities of our trade unions. What are the measures adopted by the party organization of the Regional Trade Union Council for reviewing workers' suggestions, proposals and complaints promptly and responsibly?

[Answer] The communists in our trade unions have an enormous duty to strengthen democracy. A tried and true method in that process involves consultations on production, to which we must pay even more attention. The basic party organization in the Regional Trade Union Council fosters in the communists personal responsibility for prompt, responsible and expert review of such suggestions and complaints, more intensive activity on the part of arbitration commissions in plants, and advanced professional and political knowledge of officials at every level as a precondition for adroit and competent decisionmaking.

Upon the decision of the URO six additional okresses in the South Moravia kraj were recently granted the right to publicly supervise the implementation of the labor code. As a result, the number of complaints addressed to the highest trade union has declined, as have the instances of repeated complaints. This proves that the process of dealing with them has been qualitatively upgraded.

9004
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SED SOCIOLOGIST DISCUSSES ECONOMIC, SOCIAL POLICY FOR 1980'S

East Berlin SONNTAG in German Vol 34 No 33, 17 Aug 80, No 35, 31 Aug 80

[Articles by Prof Dr Otto Reinhold, director, Institute for Social Sciences, SED Central Committee: "The Challenge of the 1980's"]

[No 33, 17 Aug 80 p 9]

[Text] A Consideration of Economic Problems

The Tenth Party Congress will provide an answer to the question what we must do to be able--under the new conditions--further to pursue our present policy, which is oriented toward accomplishing our principal task, and what new prerequisites must be established, what tasks must be accomplished to this end. Even now it is clear that from an historical point of view the decisions that have to be made in this respect will be no less important than the resolutions adopted by the Eighth and the Ninth SED Congress.

In the course of the 1970's, it was possible to bring into play the advantages of socialism in a quantitatively and qualitatively new way. Even though a number of complex problems had to be solved--especially in the last half of the past decade--the development of the economy proceeded at a steady pace and in the last few months the rate of growth has noticeably accelerated. This has provided a solid foundation for the implementation of extensive sociopolitical programs. Even today it is clear that the respective targets of the present five-year plan will be met and exceeded. Thus, while the people's net monetary income for these 5 years was targeted at a total of M 552 billion, the actual amount will be at least M 554 billion. The retail turnover target was set at M 461 billion, but the actual turnover will be in excess of that amount. For social funds, M 207-210 billion were originally targeted, but M 233 billion will actually be made available. The housing construction plan stipulated construction or modernization of 750,000 apartments, but this target will be exceeded by at least 60,000 units. These figures are based on the results achieved during the period from 1976 to 1979 and on the plan targets for 1980. However, the results obtained during the first 6 months of 1980 indicate

that the figures quoted may very well be exceeded.

Three Factors

What are the new conditions under which we will have to implement the policy objectives hitherto pursued? There are three factors that are of special importance in this regard: Firstly, the new dimensions of our work. Secondly, the aggravation of the international situation and thirdly, the momentous world-economic changes. We will examine these new conditions somewhat more closely.

First of all, there is the fact that during the past 10 years the dimensions of our work have changed considerably. In order to be able to continue and gradually to extend the comprehensive sociopolitical measures in the 1980's, we will need a much more solid material foundation than the one we had at the time of our Eighth Party Congress. Thus, as compared to that period, it is now necessary year after year to build twice as many apartments. The monthly earned income of workers and salaried employees (M 1016) has exceeded by M 254 the average income of 1970. During this period, total pensions increased from M 9.7 billion to M 15.3 billion. The net monetary income of the population increased by approximately 50 percent. From the social funds of the state, each citizen receives twice the amount he or she received in 1970. Calculated for a family of four, the monthly state subsidies intended to stabilize prices, rents and rates and to promote cultural concerns and support health services rose from M 360 in 1970 to M 730 in 1979. Thus the present level of purchasing power calls for a considerable increase in the commodity supply. In this respect, we are not merely concerned with the quantity of the consumer goods, but with their quality and with the changes in the structure of demand. As the people's income increases, the demand for high-quality goods increases as well. At present, the individual citizen's retail trade turnover exceeds by approximately M 2,000 that of 1970. For example, the annual consumption of meat and meat products rose during this period from 66 kilograms to approximately 90 kilograms. The total working time reductions implemented in these 10 years--including extended vacations and the "baby year"--are equivalent to the working time store of 1 million workers.

Thus, since our policy in the coming years will be oriented toward safeguarding and gradually improving the results achieved, the productive capacities of our national economy must be expanded considerably, as compared to the beginning of the 1970's. For example, the volume of industrial goods produced in 1970 in the course of the whole year must now be produced in approximately 6 months, and in the coming year, it must be produced in 5 months. The foreign trade turnover must increase 2.5-fold. This target must be met with the same number of workers, and the volume of energy and raw materials can be increased only slightly.

Naturally, there are other reasons why new demands are being made on economic management. From 1970 to 1979, the basic assets of the national

economy increased by M 220 billion, and in industry alone, by M 120 billion. The influence of science on the reproduction process has been growing considerably and the workers' level of education has been markedly raised; the number of university and technical college graduates has nearly doubled. The cooperation between the GDR and the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries has reached a new level. This means that today continuous increases in production and in the efficiency of socially beneficial work can no longer be achieved with the means and methods that were sufficient at the time of the Eighth Party Congress.

New Situation

Another new factor is the aggravation of the international situation resulting from the aggressive policy pursued by the United States and other reactionary forces. The primary objective of this policy is by the mid-1980's to ensure the United States' military superiority over the Soviet Union and the superiority of NATO over the Warsaw Pact. Several goals are to be attained thereby. Above all, the reactionary forces aim at creating the conditions necessary for pursuing a policy of force and blackmail vis-a-vis the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community. In this way, they want to regain unlimited control over the raw material and fuel resources of the developing countries and to reestablish the old power position of the United States in the framework of the capitalist world.

The socialist states seek to establish a military equilibrium and--through arms limitation and disarmament measurew--to peg it at the lowest level possible. The Warsaw Pact states have made it perfectly clear that they can and will take any steps necessary to prevent--even under changed circumstances--any changes in the military equilibrium that would be to their disadvantage. It is clear, however, that this would require significant economic and scientific-technological capacities, that the struggle for peace and detente makes heavy demands on the productive capacity of the national economy.

For the GDR, there is yet another important aspect: The country is situated not only at the point of contact of the two social systems, but also at the borderline between the two great military alliances--NATO and the Warsaw Pact. At no other border is there a greater concentration of military forces than at the Western border of our country. Most of the nuclear weapons stationed by the United States in Europe are in the FRG. The FRG's Armed Forces are the strongest military force in capitalist Europe and the second strongest force in NATO. In 1979, NATO conducted maneuvres at this border, in which a total of 260,000 troops participated. One need not be an expert to realize that at this border any provocation may lead to a military catastrophe. Thus, next to military security at this border, it is the GDR's political stability that is of primary importance for peace and security in Central Europe. In the long term, however, political stability cannot be ensured without economic and social stability. Economic and social stability in its turn is inconceivable without economic growth.

In other words, a policy that is oriented toward full employment, affluence, growth and stability is in accord with the inner laws and requirements of socialist construction. For the GDR, such a policy also is a prerequisite for the preservation of peace in Europe. A successful policy aimed at developing the advanced socialist society must take these two requirements into consideration.

As is well known, the world economy has been undergoing great changes. As far as the development of our national economy is concerned, there are a number of problems that are of special importance. Most important is the safeguarding of the raw material and fuel supply so as to ensure continuous economic development. In the course of the 1970's, the expenditures involved here increased extraordinarily. Thus a barrel of oil (159 liters) that in 1972 cost $2.40 in the world market costs today an average of $34. However, the prices of other raw materials have sharply increased as well. Moreover, expenditures on the domestic market--e.g. the cost involved in brown coal production--are steadily rising.

Facts and Possibilities

Thus we are confronted with two incontrovertible facts: In the 1980's, the cost of raw materials and fuel will continue to rise and in the coming years, we must bring about economic growth with a volume of raw materials and fuel that is unlikely to show any marked increase. In the past 10 years, the GDR's national income increased at an annual rate of approximately 5 percent. From 1971 to 1975, the volume of raw materials and fuel increased at an average annual rate of 3.7 percent; from 1976 to 1978, the increase amounted to approximately 2.3 percent, and presently, to approximately 0.5 percent. In regard to raw materials and fuel, one must always keep in mind that they account for approximately 60 to 70 percent of the production costs and that they must for the most part be imported.

So how can we solve this problem? Our policy is oriented toward three points of main emphasis. Firstly, maximum utilization of our own resources, e.g. intensification of brown coal production. In regard to the procurement or raw materials and fuel, our long-term cooperation with the Soviet Union and the socialist economic integration within the framework of CEMA are of crucial importance. Secondly, further intensification of the recycling of secondary raw materials. And thirdly, economical use of the available raw materials and fuel. This means above all extensive application of raw material- and fuel-saving technologies and maximum refinement. The dialectics of the situation lie in the fact that while there have emerged new problems in this connection, modern science and technology have opened up new ways of solving these problems. Thus extensive employment of microelectronics entails a reduction of material and energy input. So the acceleration of scientific-technological progress is the key to the solution of the problems in this field.

One of the changes affecting the world economy is the fact that all over the world scientific-technological progress has been accelerating and will continue to accelerate. In this respect, microelectronics, robot and computer technology and bio-technology are of great importance. These technologies have already brought about extensive structural changes of the world economy. The production processes are being rapidly transformed. The hitherto customary mechanical work principles are increasingly being replaced by electronic principles; material- and energy-saving technologies are becoming more and more prevalent; there is an obvious trend toward maximum improvement of raw materials and fuel, and extensive changes are taking place in the services sector and in office technology.

Dynamism Sets Standards

In many respects, our present world is undergoing radical change. It is a dynamic, very mobile world. In the 1980's, this change will be further accelerating. In this decade, the scientific-technological revolution and its extensive practical effects will obviously be approaching a new climax. Those who are not able to keep up with this process of change, those who are not able through their own efficiency to exert an influence on the rate and direction of the development in important sectors are bound to lose their standing in international life and above all in the world economy. Since the internationalization of economic life is steadily progressing, this is bound to have an effect on the internal development of every country, on the productive capacities and, naturally, on the standard of living.

At present, the GDR is allocating approximately 30 percent of the national income to foreign trade. Imports are absolutely essential for ensuring a sufficient supply of raw materials and fuel, for accelerating scientific-technological progress and for safeguarding a sufficient commodity supply. Very likely, this share will be increasing further. As is well known, in the last few years, the prices of raw materials and fuel--which account for most of our imports--have been increasing much more rapidly than the prices of finished goods--which account for most of our exports. This means that in order to ensure the imports required, we must every year increase our exports by several millions worth of goods.

Consideration of these problems naturally gives rise to the question how they can be solved and what we must do to be able--under these conditions--to ensure the further growth of the national economy, to maintain and gradually raise the standard of living. Indisputably, there is the desire to do all this. But what concrete possibilities are open to us?

[No 35, 31 Aug 80 p 10]

[Text] Capacities for Solving the Economic Problems

During the past decade, the conditions underlying the GDR's economic development have changed in many respects. These changes are quite different

in nature--some are positive and some are negative. On the one hand, the economic and scientific-technological capacities of the GDR have increased considerably and the cooperation within the framework of the socialist community has reached a new level; on the other hand, the international situation has been aggravated on account of the policy pursued by the United States and other imperialist forces, and the development of the world economy, the explosive rise in the prices of raw materials and fuel and the crisis of the capitalist world economy have given rise to new, great difficulties. On the one hand, the extraordinary acceleration of scientific-technological progress is making new, heavy demands on us; on the other hand, it is this acceleration that produces important tools, the efficient use of which makes it possible to solve many of the new economic problems.

In consideration of all these new conditions and of the resultant challenge to the economy and society of our country, the 11th and 12th Central Committee sessions concluded that in the coming years as well it will be possible to pursue the present policy of implementation of the principal task, i.e. the unification of economic and social policy. However, the development of the economy cannot be determined by subjective wishes. The crucial question is whether or not there are the concrete prerequisites, whether or not we have at our disposal the necessary capacities and reserves. This question can be answered in the affirmative. For such an increase in performance, for quantitative and qualitative growth under the new conditions, we can fall back on a solid material foundation.

Naturally, the question is what these capacities and possibilities consist in. In this context, we will discuss only the most important ones.

Four Good Reasons

Firstly, the GDR has great scientific capacities which in the course of the past decade have been significantly expanded. In the last 9 years alone, approximately M 50 billion were spent on research and development. During this period, the scientific potential of the national economy increased by approximately 48 percent. In the course of the present five-year plan, approximately 4.5 percent of the national income will be spent on research and development. If this amount is considered on a per-capita basis, the GDR occupies a leading position among the first five countries in the world. However, at its 11th session the SED Central Committee emphatically pointed out that the efficient and effective use of this potential falls far short of its possibilities. There is no doubt that elimination of this inconsistency will greatly stimulate growth.

Secondly: An extraordinaryly high level of education has been attained in the GDR. Over 70 percent of all workers graduated from the 10-grade polytechnical high school and completed an apprenticeship program. During the last 10 year, the number of university and technical college graduates almost doubled. These graduates account for just under 17 percent of the total number of gainfully employed persons. Sociological studies and

practical experience have shown, however, that this educational potential has by no means been optimally utilized. Moreover, the subject matter of the training programs has not always been in accord with the requirements of scientific-technological progress. Undoubtedly, this high level of education represents one of our most valuable reserves for expanding the productive capacities of the national economy.

Thirdly: The GDR economy has at its disposal a huge stock of basic assets, i.e. machines, equipment and buildings. Since the Eighth Party Congress, these assets have been expanded by approximately M 220 billion and presently amount to M 686 billion. In the course of this expansion, the degree of automation was raised from 33 percent in 1970 to 47 percent in 1979. However, efficient utilization lags far behind this quantitative expansion of the basic assets of our economy. While in good GDR combines modern machines and equipment are in operation for at least 20 hours per day--which is in keeping with international standards--the GDR average during the first 6 months of 1980 was approximately 14.9 hours, and in many economic sectors and combines it was even lower. It is well known, however, that under conditions of optimal utilization the efficiency of modern technology increases rapidly.

A related factor is the effectiveness of investments. In this sector, the targets set by the current five-year plan will most likely be exceeded. However, only about 50 percent of the investments are directed toward rationalization. But in the interest of scientific-technological progress it is necessary considerably to increase this rationalization share and radically to curtail the construction share. In some countries, including the FRG, this share at times accounts for over 80 percent. Similar figures obtain in regard to the utilization of raw materials and energy and of the working time fund.

Fourthly: The increasingly close cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries represents a great potential for growth. Through this cooperation, we are assured a steady supply of raw materials and fuel (e.g. most of our oil imports). The agreed-upon target programs and the agreements of specialization and cooperation make possible the joint solution of important economic problems, acceleration of scientific-technological progress and improvement of efficiency. The last CEMA conferences have made it quite clear that considerable reserves for increased economic performance on the part of the participant countries have not yet been tapped. Thus for all the problems and contradictions that still exist, we can proceed from the assumption that we have at our disposal the concrete and especially the material prerequisites for attaining--even under the new conditions--that steady economic growth that is necessary for continuing the policy of implementation of the principal task.

Measures

The crucial problem is the question what we must do to be able actually to utilize these available reserves and significantly to improve the efficiency of work. Toward implementation of such a policy, important steps have been taken, only the most important of which can be mentioned in this context. A key project is the formation or reorganization of the combines so as to link science, research, production and marketing in a new way so that the focus will be on the improvement of efficiency as a crucial source of growth. The results of the economic development during the first 6 months of 1980 show that this policy is beginning to take effect.

Significant changes in the management and planning system have been initiated. Great importance is attached to the efforts to emphasize--along with the quantitative expansion--the qualitative factors, especially in connection with material motivation. In the investment sector, important measures have been taken that are intended to increase investment effectiveness. There can be no doubt that the implementation of the performance principle is a key problem.

For some time, a large number of enterprises, combines and scientific institutions have been engaged in implementing a program for the development and application of microelectronics and of robot and computer technology.

The impending University Conference will concern itself with the problem of establishing a closer link between the universities and technical colleges and the world of practical work. The Party, the state management organs and the initiatives of the socialist enterprises and workers will continue to focus their attention on the task of finding ways and means of translating the available potential and possibilities into increased economic efficiency and productive capacity. The challenge of the 1980's is bound up with a great many intellectual problems. The actual development has confirmed the statement contained in the SED Program, namely that the development of the advanced socialist society is a process involving radical political, economic, social and intellectual-cultural changes. The first conclusion to be drawn from this is that the view, according to which the continuing socialist construction is a smooth, simple process free from inconsistencies, is more than ever at variance with Marxist-Leninist conceptions and with practical experience. The development of advanced socialism is an extremely dynamic process. Of necessity, both the internal and the international development lead to ever new questions, problems and tasks of various kinds. This involves--again of necessity--certain contradictions. Thus it is necessary continuously to resolve contradictions, with new contradictions arising constantly. For example, the increasingly important role of science in the production process and the transition from extensive to predominantly intensive reproduction have led to a situation where the hitherto customary structure of organization and a number of hitherto successful management methods are at variance with the new requirements. The rising level of education is inconsistent with the fact that some of the modern technologies

entail a great deal of monotonous work.

Naturally, this gives rise to the question what attitude we are going to adopt vis-a-vis these dynamics and the contradictions involved. Are we going to view this process as extraordinary, as disturbing the "quiet", as a morally defective process or as the normal form of socialist development? As Marxists-Leninists, we can only view it as a normal form of social development.

Intellectual-Moral Sources of the Will To Produce

In the last few years, the dialectics of internal and international development has been attracting more and more attention and has increasingly become part of the realm of practical work. Theoretically, it has always been justified and recognized that--in keeping with the character of our age--the struggle between the two systems determines the international development and that this struggle is hard and inexorable. But obviously it makes a big difference whether one recognizes this fact in both theory and practice and acts accordingly or whether one is surprised about the fact that practice is in accord with this theoretical insight.

Today it is obvious that the growth of the GDR economy, its increased productive capacity is of great importance in the international arena, that accomplishment of the tasks involved here is an important contribution in the struggle for peace and security in Europe.

In contrast to any other society, the productive capacity of the socialist economy is based on the working people's performance and will to produce. As Marx and Engels pointed out, the performance principle is a basic law of the economic and social development of socialism. Practical experience has shown that the mental attitude, the willingness to produce outstanding results for the socialist society is one of the most important driving forces of the socialist society. This is all the more true, since we have attained a high standard of living and a high level of social security. In high degree, the quantitative and qualitative growth of our economy is presently determined by the intense will to produce on the part of millions of workers.

Naturally, we must keep asking ourselves whether inside and outside of our educational system, in the intellectual life, in the art and culture of our republic all possibilities are being exploited so as to encourage such an attitude toward outstanding achievements, whether indifferent conduct in this regard is indifferently accepted or whether it meets with resolute criticism.

Once scientific-technological progress and its effective application have become the key to economic development, there naturally arises the question how important science is to the workers, what their mental attitude is toward its results and possibilities. It goes without saying that this is

not a matter of theoretical explanations, but of the role of science in the realm of everyday work. The broad, effective application of new scientific findings in all sectors of the economy largely depends on an appropriate attitude. It is the attitude that determines whether or not there is an atmosphere of scientific creativity, a creative climate which represents an important foundation for new insights.

On the basis of these few questions, we can state without exaggeration that there exists now--more than ever--a complex, close interaction between the economic tasks and the intellectual realm. The correct structuralization of these interrelationships is one of the key prerequisites for the solution of those problems that in the 1980's are bound up with the further development of the advanced socialist society in the GDR.

8760
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PRO-CCP ORGAN INTERVIEWS BIELINSKI, WALESA ON UNION EFFORT

SOLIDARNOSC'S Konrad Bielinski Interviewed

Stockholm GNISTAN in Swedish 17-23 Oct 80 p 1

/Report on interview with Konrad Bielinski/

/Text/ In the middle of work on the SOLIDARNOSC, the newspaper of Poland's free trade union, the telephone message arrives: Czeslaw Milosz has won the Nobel Prize!

One of the newspaper editors has double reason to be happy. Konrad Bielinski is also one of the editors of the underground publishing house NOWA. Only NOWA has published the banned Polish author in his home country.

Konrad Bielinski is one example of how closely the politically oppositional intellectuals work with the new trade union. Bielinski was the one who wrote the first issue of SOLIDARNOSC, under supervision by the leaders of the workers. The issue was published on the fourth day of the strike, at the end of September.

That work has borne fruit for Bielinski. Now comes the next reward. The underground company will get its Nobel Prize winner. What a triumph for those who have worked long and hard to spread free speech in Poland!

"In 14 days we will publish our 100th book," Konrad Bielinski says. "The first one came in 1977. Editions are between 2,000 and 4,000 copies."

"Milosz is banned in Poland. No one knows who he is. In 1948-50 he was the cultural attache at the Polish Embassy in Paris. Then in 1950 he published a book which was critical of the treatment of intellectuals in Poland. He was called a traitor and defected.

Konrad Bielinski speaks of the presecutions which have made life difficult for NOWA.

"Previously we had semi-secret selling places, about 20 in Warsaw and in other parts of the country. But the security police came and confiscated the books."

"This is why we have gone over to another system. Instead, we announce a number of people who sell the books. Then people can call us and order a book. We then arrange a meeting in some place and deliver the book."

"In this way we never have more than one book with us. The remainder of the books is hidden."

Economically, the Nobel Prize means nothing to NOWA.

"But it gives us a lot of self-satisfaction," Konrad Bielinski concludes.

Customs Seize Printing Press

Stockholm GNISTAN in Swedish 17-23 Oct 80 pp 2,3

/Article by Thomas Kanger: "Polish Customs Took Their Printing Press"/

/Text/ Stop! Customs!

The one in military uniform stares grimly at us when we submit our papers.

As he reads his facial expression undergoes a complete change. His eyes open wide and his chin drops.

"Get the chief," he shouts.

We have arrived with a van full of offest printing presses for the free trade union in Gdansk, Poland.

The machines are a gift from the trade unions in Oslo, because the free trade union in Poland had specifically asked for printing equipment.

But the Norwegians had trouble with the visa. In a roundabout way I was asked if I could help with the transportation.

The car was driven from Oslo by Ewa Orlowski, a Swedish woman born in Poland and residing in Oslo. She is active in the Norwegian municipal workers' union.

I hitched on in Stockholm.

At Nynashamn we caught the ferry to Gdansk. The problem was to get the machines into the country. The strategy was that I would drive the car and Ewa would disembark in order to meet Piotr, a trade union man who would be waiting.

We decide that both of us will ride in the car, however. The questions will come anyway and we have enough to explain to the authorities.

Now all other cars are allowed to go around us while the "chief" and a security policeman bring Ewa into a room. Piotr is nowhere to be seen.

The last ones to pass through customs -- besides us -- are three motorcyclists. I ask them to drive to the trade union headquarters and alert them.

But they are afraid to.

Ewa returns. The authorities are going to call the capital, Warsaw, in order to get instructions concerning the cargo and us.

After yet another hour we find out that customs will confiscate the machines. The trade unions have not yet been approved, is the formal reason.

Everything in the car is lifted out. Inside the customs building every box is opened and everything is recorded, down to each individual plastic bottle and tube of paint.

We make contact with Piotr, who is anxiously following what goes on.

Two hours later everything is finished. The machines and all accessories are stowed in a room which is sealed.

The Trade Union Headquarters

We are allowed to continue into Gdansk, however. In the morning of the next day, last Thursday, we drove down to the trade union headquarters at Grunwaldska Street, in the center of Gdansk.

The house has several stories and banners and Polish flags attached to the balconies. Down at street level information and pictures are glued to the wall. There is always a cluster of interested people.

Once upstairs in the building we end up at the office for propaganda. One by one the trade union functionaries read the typed list of what customs have seized.

Great commotion. It is believed that it is a matter of time before the trade union will get the machines out.

We soon understand what these printing presses mean to the union. We get to see the equipment they now work with. At the same time this provides a good picture of the conditions under which the trade union is working.

In a locked room at the headquarters two men sit at a table. On the table is a pad of printing ink under a glued-down cloth. On top of the cloth is a stencil.

One of the men places a sheet of paper on top of the stencil. The other one pulls a rubber roller over the paper. In this way thousands and thousands of leaflets are "printed."

Secret Printing Shop

In another, secret, place is the collected machinery of the union. It consists of two run-down stencil machines.

Two workers are printing today's SOLIDARNOSC, SOLIDARITY, the trade union newspaper. It consists of a folded quarto sheet.

The two are named Leszek Zborowski and Kazik Zabczynski. They are both among the true foot-soldiers of the union and have participated in and worked for the cause for a few years.

"In 1978 a leadership group of 6-7 shipyard workers was formed," says Leszek, who is a trained mason. The leaders were Lech Walesa, Anna Walentynowicz, Joanna Duda-Gwiazda and Andzej Gwiazda. These are the ones who are now at the head of the free trade union.

"The two of us belonged to a subgroup. Our duties were to, for example, paint slogans on the walls and to distribute leaflets."

The distribution of leaflets did not function as in Sweden.

"We got up at 0400 hours in the morning in order to distribute to those who took the streetcar to work. We were always afraid of being caught by the police. That meant -- at best -- 48 hours' detention."

"At the same time we were afraid to lose the leaflets. A great deal of work has gone into those sheets, as you can see. We couldn't very well throw them away."

"There were also a lot of police checks at my home," Leszek recounts.

"The most important task was to fight for people's rights, however. People knew us, we functioned as contact persons for the trade union, In this way we learned about the injustices committed against people and we were able to help them. In this manner confidence was built."

In the morning of the day the strike at the Lenin Shipyard began, Leszek and Kazik distributed leaflets about the harassment of Anna Walentynowicz. These events were the spark. The first shift went on strike and the other shifts followed suit.

"During the strike our task was to print information," Kazik says.

Continued Struggle!

Now they are not quite as harassed as before, although the free trade union has not yet been formally approved. But the free union in Poland is a fact. It gives workers such as Leszek and Kazik the opportunity to avoid having the police at their heels.

"But we haven't won yet," Leszek says. "Right now those at the top of the party are arguing about how they should act. In 1 month they must decide. This is why it is important that people have the strength to continue struggling. We must keep our heads above water, otherwise we will have to fight for another 30 years in order to get where we are today."

I ask if they think the Russians will come if the trade union continues its struggle for freedom.

"All the good things we have come from the Russians," Leszek says ironically and laughs. "No, I don't think the Russians will come now. But if in their eyes things go too far they will certainly come. We have to go forward in small steps."

"But," says Leszek, "I would rather live for 5 minutes with my head held high than a lifetime on my knees."

Walesa: Government 'Sabotage' Attempts

Stockholm GNISTAN in Swedish 17-23 Oct 80 pp 2,3

/Report on interview with Lech Walesa by Thomas Kanger: "It Would Be Strange If the Authorities Did Not Sabotage Us"

/Text/ "He can see you now."

The whole thing happens so quickly that I don't have time to get nervous. Through the throng of people we are funneled into a small office at the end of a corridor.

Sunk deep in a chair behind a desk, there he sits, the legendary strike leader and newly elected chairman of Poland's free trade union -- Lech Walesa.

There are two other people in the little room. One is Walesa's personal bodyguard. The other one is his closest coworker, a worker in his fifties or sixties who looks as if he has made at least a couple of round trips to the salt mines of Siberia.

Lech Walesa gets up and kisses Ewa Orlowski's hand. He is content to shake mine forcefully.

I begin by congratulating him on his successes. He waves it away.

"No congratulations are needed," he says. "There is much we have not accomplished. The authorities have been forced to agree to our demands, the 21 points. They have promised us this, but as yet no item has been completely accomplished. Some demands have been fulfilled in certain parts or half-fulfilled."

"But," Walesa says, "it would be strange if the authorities didn't sabotage us."

"The 1-hour strike on 3 October was a means of pressure to achieve the demands. We also have other effective means that can be used at the places of work in the country. And then I sit here in my chair and work, of course."

Lech Walesa laughs. He is very cordial the whole time and jokes a lot. It is even difficult to get him to give serious answers.

Delegations

"We have much left, but the struggle has been easier than I anticipated," he says.

A large group of people comes through the door. These are older workers from another part of Poland. A delegation which is to meet with Walesa. He talks with them for a few minutes, then out they go again.

All the time people enter and interrupt. If it isn't visitors it is colleagues or Walesa's secretary, a toothless older woman.

I get help from the bodyguard to conclude the interview. He tries to quiet the people in the room. I ask how many members the trade union has today.

"I don't know," Walesa says. "We don't have a calculator."

He laughs again.

I turn around and fish out my mini-calculator from the jacket pocket. I hand it to Walesa. As a present.

Walesa is thrilled and asks for instructions. Then he pulls out photos of himself and the Pope and signs them. He hands over the pictures, hugs me and tells Ewa to take a picture.

Then it's Ewa's turn to be photographed and Walesa kisses her cheek as I press the button.

After that the interview becomes orderly.

Organizational Problems

"We have 8-10 million members," he says. "It is difficult for the organization to take care of everyone. But since they want to belong they are of course welcome."

"So far everyone is part of the same organization. We will gradually divide the organization intc several smaller ones. The salaried employees separately, various professional categories among the workers separately. This will take 1 to 2 years."

"We have organizational problems. We look up to the unions in Scandinavia and want positive criticism and help from them."

Lech Walesa says that the economic situation for the workers had deteriorated in the last few years. It has become much worse in the last few months alone. Right now potatoes can hardly be found.

The average worker's wage is 5,000 zloty a month. That is 700-800 [Swedish] crowns, according to the normal rate of exchange. On the black market you get 5,000 zloty for only 200 crowns.

The members of the free trade union pay one percent of their wages to the trade union, Walesa tells me. Thirty percent of the dues will go for administration of the union, the remainder to the workers in various forms.

Poland Needs Help

I ask what role the old party-controlled trade unions are playing today. He waves his hands.

"They don't exist for me," he says.

How does the economic situation in the country affect the opportunities for realizing the demands?

"It is clear to me that Poland's economic situation is difficult. The country needs help in order to cope with it."

Walesa doesn't want to comment on the latest events at the top of the party. But to the question of what role the political opposition plays, he replies:

"We work together with the Workers' Defense Committee, KOR. We use some of their members in the work. It is good for the trade union and this is what we will continue to do."

What will happen next in the struggle?

"We will continue to strike for our demands. But it is wrong as has been written in the Western newspapers that we will go on strike on 20 October.

We have given the authorities that date as a deadline. Then we will take a stand on what we intend to do if they don't keep their promises."

When I ask about the Russian threat, he at first replies evasively.

"I don't see them either," he says.

The he leans forward and says:

"I don't believe they will come. To begin with, it is we who maintain order in Poland. We don't disturb the Russians. Second, we have too much support abroad for them to dare."

New groups of people enter the room.

The interview ends by itself. When Lech Walesa says goodbye to us my eyes fall on his lapels. On one lapel he has a picture of a Catholic saint. On the other a button with a U.S and a Polish flag.

How else would the coat lapels of a Polish labor leader look?

11949
CSO: 3109

BEREZOWSKI COMMENTS ON DUPLICITY OF WEST'S POLICY

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 12 Aug 80 p 6

[Article by M. Berezowski: "Detente and West European Strategy; Destructive Duplicity"]

> [Text] No one today needs to be persuaded that the dialog between the USSR and the United States is of fundamental importance to world security, just as it is not necessary to explain that of late the Americans are maintaining an aloofness in this regard. Thus it is increasingly important that lines of communication with Western Europe be kept open. Nevertheless, the duplicity in the policies of many West European countries is obvious. While maintaining an East-West dialog, they are also expanding their military operations.

As a result of the United States' interruption of dialog with the Soviet Union after the events in Afghanistan and the strong words directed towards the USSR during the American elections campaign, a distinct cooling in international relations has taken place. Under these circumstances, particular advantages to the detente structure existing in Europe appeared. Promotion of cooperation between both parts of the continent and maintenance of contact between governments had a positive influence on the situation.

The West European countries tried to convince Washington that obvious differences in viewpoints and interests should not block the path to a search for a way out of the impasse, to discussions and gradual agreements. When their arguments were rejected, they undertook a series of measures, with which their American ally reluctantly agreed. The meetings of France's president and the FRG's chancellor with the head of the USSR played a constructive role, as Leonid Brezhnev emphasized in his talks with leaders of the socialist countries.

The Credits

The USSR proposal on negotiations regarding the missile arsenal in Europe, which aroused Western interest, improved the climate of the Vienna talks

on reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe. It is possible that a serious discussion on strategic weapons will begin when the United States elections are over.

Many West European countries would like to see the fall meeting in Madrid, which will be attended by the CSCE countries, i.e., 33 European countries, the United States and Canada, conducted in an atmosphere of calm deliberation. Efforts are being made to avert heated confrontations and to make this meeting the start of an expanded dialog.

There is talk in Western Europe about arranging a conference on military detente and disarmament in Europe. This coincides with a similar proposal which, as is known, emanated from the socialist countries. Poland suggests that the conference be held in Warsaw.

Some West European countries also put forth ideas in an attempt to change the American position. They advise acceptance of a broader plan of participation in negotiations on the subject of stabilization in the Near East and rejection of military solutions on Iran. They oppose the United States' deeper involvement in military supplies for China and warn against an abrupt playing of the "China card" against the USSR.

This is one column of the policy account of Western Europe, the "credits" column.

The Liabilities

On the "debits" side, the list is long.

Although many West European countries are concerned about whether they acted correctly at the NATO Council session last December in accepting the American proposal for forming a European strategic nuclear arsenal, the necessary preliminary work is underway. Although Holland and Belgium are wavering on whether to accept "Cruise" missiles on their land, because the NATO decision threatens a new arms race in Europe, other countries have assured the United States of their readiness to fulfill these resolutions.

The first to do this was the British government, creating a precedent being utilized by the originators of the new atomic system. Also, despite strenuous objections from the Labourites, this government has placed orders in the United States for the "Trident" underwater long-range missiles which will be placed on British ships. The purchases of "Tridents," replacing the "Polaris" missiles, will greatly increase Great Britain's nuclear capability. Even before this decision was made, the government increased its military operations: in 1979, the British military budget increased six percent, i.e., almost double in relation to growth of these expenditures in other European NATO countries.

The Acrobatics Requirement

The FRG government stipulated that it would accept American strategic missiles if at least one other NATO country in continental Europe did likewise. In view of Italy's readiness, this condition is not difficult to meet. Also, the FRG expanded its military involvement outside Europe.

First, FRG naval forces appeared on the Indian Ocean, assisting U.S. naval patrols. Second, on the basis of the NATO agreement, it will greatly extend its range of operations: heretofore the Bundesmarine did not operate beyond a 24-hour navigation distance from the Baltic straits. Now the FRG fleet will extend its operation range on the North Atlantic to the coast of Iceland, the Shetland Islands and Greenland. Third, the West European Union lifted restrictions on warship tonnages, placed on the FRG after World War II.

France, which since 1966 has not been a party to the military organization of the Atlantic Alliance but has cooperated with it, has begun to modernize and strengthen its nuclear capability. We learned recently that work on neutron weapons has reached an advanced stage, although no decision has been made as to whether these weapons will be used by the French armed forces.

Thus we have a situation in which many West European countries are concerned (to different degrees, of course) about the vitality of the fiber of political detente, while at the same time, using the increase in Warsaw Pact forces as a justification and often without regard to it, they are increasing their armaments and strategic operations on a broad scale.

A highly destructive duplicity results: the same governments which participate in the policy of detente, pull Europe backwards in the strategic field. Maintaining a security balance under these conditions requires acrobatic skills, but it is obvious that acrobatics cannot be perpetual.

9295
CSO: 2600

CULTURAL PROBLEMS VIEWED IN LIGHT OF RECENT EVENTS

Poznan GAZETA ZACHODNIA in Polish 19, 20, 21 Sep 80 p 3

[Conversation with Feliks Fornalczyk, first secretary of the [POP] Primary Party Organization at the Poznan branch of the Union of Polish Writers, conducted by Z. Beryt: "Citizens' Concern over the Development of Socialist Culture"]

[Text] A great heated discussion continues throughout Poland with unabated force. The reform of the Republic is spoken of in all circles. The causes of the crisis are analyzed with the greatest zeal and are the subject of the most frequent discussion among the working class, particularly the working class concentrated in large centers of the key industries, who, at the same time, propose solutions to be incorporated immediately into life, through honest work, above all. But artistic circles are also making their deposit in the general bank of Polish thought.

The Poznan literary environment is not an exception in this process. What are the major directions of discussion? What in particular arouses the unrest and concern of the Poznan writers? What is the subject of their most important demands? These are the questions I put before Feliks Fornalczyk, literary critic, essayist and publicist who serves in the capacity of first secretary of the [POP] Primary Party Organization at the Poznan branch of the Union of Polish Writers. I shall present the crucial questions discussed in our long, frank conversation.

Problems in various aspects of our communal life have many times been the subject of discussions during meetings of the POP of the Poznan literary circle. In addition, for many years proposals, demands and suggestions based on our attempts at analysis have been formulated and may be found in the minutes of our meetings and other party documents. In each instance we relayed them to higher officials and state authorities. Unfortunately, most of them had no effect. Perhaps the opinion of such a small circle was not taken into consideration because it was thought that it was not representative...A significant number of the issues raised by us on various occasions have resurfaced recently with greater intensity. This has occurred because the working class has raised them, particularly the working class concentration in large industrial plants on the coast.

This great complex of issues of which the circle of party and nonparty writers in Poznan spoke with concern has been the subject, of course, of literary questions and books, but it has also encompassed questions of the state of the economy, market supply and guaranteeing the suitable means of subsistence for every working family, as well as for pensioners and retired employees. We have observed with

concern the symptoms of uneconomical management and waste, as well as the growing indebtedness of the nation to foreign countries, the sometimes senseless purchase of investment equipment and licenses for industrial products, which have not brought about the anticipated improvement in the economic and social status of the nation.

As the cricis symptoms have increased, various fields of intellectual and artistic life have become more and more limited, including the status of books and the social position of their authors. Of course, this does not mean that in the area of culture we have not recorded endeavors of lasting value. But real degradation, pushing cultural matters and needs into a corner, has been an increasing issue. Relevant demands issuing from an awareness of the situation and linked with the development of various fields of artistic and intellectual endeavor have been relegated to the sphere of promises or have found their way into file folders in various oversized desks in offices.

It is enough to call attention to the example of even the average number of books per inhabitant of Poland, which, according to comparative counts, puts our country in last place among socialist countries. Pertinent resolutions of the highest party unit and promises of the ministry projecting a reduction in the distance separating Poland from other countries of our camp have, unfortunately, not been implemented.

Recent difficulties connected with the economic crisis and with the lack of possibility to purchase paper and other raw materials indispensable for the production of books (paints, varnishes, and the like) have stood in the way of the improvement of our position in the field of book production. To this may be added the catastrophic state of the Polish printing base, for example, in Poznan. For years together with the Poznan printers and publishers we have demanded the erection of a new printing firm in our city; thus far our efforts have been fruitless.

Added to the problem with paper is the continuing irrational management of it. It is well known that the small portion of raw materials designated for the printing of literature which is at the disposal of the Ministry of Culture and Art is in use by other ministries. Accordingly, taking into consideration the matter of the limited quota of paper, we are led to the implementation of the demands of the circle, which aims at the establishment of priorities for those fields of writing which rest on the assumption that the workings of culture and the intellectual life are necessary. Thus, the priorities should be school and academic textbooks, indispensable readings in the process of teaching, and guaranteeing the development of literary production and contemporarily practiced literature. The problem of the selection of titles to be published is also important. We cannot have bookstores out of reprints of the classics and the works of contemporary authors which have passed inspection, as well as dictionaries, encyclopedias, and synthetic studies.

Within the circle of writers, the question of the various kinds of censorship applied by the Administration of Inspection of Publications and Spectacles has been undertaken for many years. It is well known that this very question was quite clearly elaborated in the texts of the agreements concluded by the government representatives and the striking workers of the coastal cities. We also spoke of

the problem of censorship more than once at party and union meetings at the ZLP [Union of Polish Writers] branch. We presented examples of nonsensical interference into artistic texts. We called attention to the fact that such fields, for example, as literary criticism or the history of contemporary literature are simply impossible to pursue as a result of the seal of silence on several contemporary currents of the literature of our country, and on several names of authors of the older and younger generation. And these limitations have encompassed disputes about the complex of subjects and events of several decades of the contemporary history of our country.

Thus, the status of the author who would have liked to treat various problems of our social and political life which are essential to our history in his writings is not an enviable one...Even though the call has gone out in official pronouncements to the creators of literature to deal with contemporary subjects and to treat political themes--which have had practically no opportunity to appear in print. The literary circle has even been subject to criticism on this account. But the critics have not taken into consideration the real imponderables of the workings of the contemporary literary life of our country.

Thus the complex of problems to which we devoted many hours of discussion at the last meeting of our primary party organization is not a set of new problems. I should once again like to emphasize the fact that we have been speaking of these problems with growing intensity and concern for many years, and that our demands in this area remained without an echo.

The system of guarantees which has been spoken of recently in all vocational environments of our country also creates the hope for the writers of our region that these demands will soon see their constructive and fruitful resolution. This is important for the cultural good of the nation, taken in its best sense, as well as for the stabilization of the moods which we observe anxiously in various workers' environments.

It is for this reason that, in the course of our discussion in the circle of party writers of Poznan, we have concentrated our attention on the indispensable elements for guaranteeing social stability. One problem relative to this is the honest and unprocrastinating attitude of state officials to the legal proceedings which are now taking place in the realm of the formation of new trade and artistic unions. Another is the problem of the creation of conditions for reliable information in the means of mass communication and of the facilitation of the possibilities for the exchange of thought on the pages of periodicals by the broader range of people given over to questions of the socialist future of our country. In the case of the Poznan circle, this relates, e.g., to the improvement of conditions of the publication of one of our sociocultural periodicals, NURT. Finally a third, extraordinarily essential point, the matter of the necessity of broadening the role of lower party organizations and the voices of the member masses and of changing the attitude to their demands and criticisms once and for all. This leads us finally to one proposition: to a reduction in the distance between the basic organizations and party units at the higher levels.

8536
CSO: 2600

JOURNALISTS' AGGRESSIVE QUESTIONING CRITICIZED

Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 10 Oct 80 p 3

[Article by Petar Jovic: "The 'Bravery' of Newsmen's Caviling Questions"]

[Text] In Yugoslavia's field of journalism and public life one can recognize what might be called the circle of so-called brave newsmen. In conversations in which they put questions these "brave" newsmen of ours--who will be our topic here--actually want to prove that all the others are mute, pusillanimous, frightened and scared, that they "do not know" or "do not dare" to put the "right" questions.

Since we are talking about "well-informed" individuals--newsmen, they know "something else"--that foreign newsmen are "freer" and do not hold back from putting even "the most sensitive" questions.

And now these "heroes" of ours would like--directly and by their counter-example--to cast aspersions on those who put "pointless" questions. Since they are "ours," "natives," but, of course, above the average, brilliant and the like in both knowledge and bravery, they will put those questions which on the basis of the state of affairs in the past we might expect only from foreigners. What is the purpose and what is the objective significance of questions in these "frank," "free," "exhaustive," and "agreeable" conversations of the "former" and similar kind?

Not to dispute certain contributions to the processes of demystifying various phenomena, functions and tasks, relations among people and social groups, we must state clearly at the outset: it is incomprehensible that such questions could appear at all in our public media. After all, they are foreign in the true sense of that word both in view of their purpose, their character and their undertones as well as in their number. They are foreign above all in their recognizability and at times even by their aggressive bourgeois or liberalistic commitment. This is unquestionably the most general description that can be applied to all the examples we have in mind.

How otherwise to understand questions which are persistently put, which vary in the variety of follow-up questions, and in which actually theses and theories are set forth whose origin and purpose we are aware of? For example, that every nationalism is not equally dangerous, that there are those "nationalistic actions" which have been more dangerous than others? Or the "question" about the different inclinations of the various religions toward the development of socialist self-management? Exploration of the essential differences in the behavior of the various churches in particular intervals of our more recent history. These "questions" contain a plea for a differentiated approach to the various nationalities (!?), and the "courage" does not fudge even when the conclusion is framed (!): "Does that mean that we therefore must be tolerant in a way toward nationalism?"

Tones of an Orchestra

Such questions undoubtedly represent the most serious case, but we should emphasize that they are only one of several examples we are referring to. That is, somewhat milder questions have been published in certain of our periodicals and have been (even with some answers) the subject of public criticism. We emphasize, our criticism pertains to all of them, to all the questions of the "brave" newsmen in which there is recognizable that same liberalistic and bourgeois tendency of refractoriness, of privatization of newspapers, of banalization and vulgarization of serious social issues, of experimentation with the past and of hypothesizing the future, and so on. Hand in hand with this goes the reckless pursuit of larger circulation, cheap popularity, paid for, of course, with society's expensive money, and of easy earnings. It is in this, then, that our quasinewsmen actually go "furthest," and not in bravery, knowledge, eloquence and resourcefulness, as they suppose and believe. The varying intensities of this tendency and the tones produced by this orchestra, the seeking of shelter behind various institutions and the use of positions on newspapers cannot conceal the essential intonation that runs through it all. We, of course, do not doubt for a moment the good intentions of some of these "newsmen," but we are pointing to the objective significance of their caviling questions.

It is well known that in spite of such far-reachingness, garrulousness and bravery, those true, essential and if you like even sensitive questions of our society find no place in the notebook of our newsmen, that is, they never occur to them.

Though here we are analyzing only the questions, that is, the motives and aims of the "fearless" newsmen, we should say that the answers to these and similar caviling questions are by and large correct. We can also understand the readiness of those they are interviewing to enter into an exhaustive and obviously provocative conversation, but we would mention that it is not difficult to conclude that they were unable to resist the aggressive "newsmen" and to calm down their vehemence.

The answers given by the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, which have been given by all our progressive forces, concerning relations between the nationalities, concerning the sources of nationalism and other delegate questions, are, as is well known, axioms of our reality, of our community life, of our present and of our future. This, of course, does not mean that there is nothing left to talk about concerning them. But certainly not with questions of that kind, which are provocative to say the least.

Threshold of Inside Knowledge

It is certain that we need more conversations, that we must both as newsmen and other public figures learn quite a bit more, both how to converse and how to ask questions and also how to listen carefully to the person we are talking to, how to give him an occasion to speak, to elucidate his ideas. But those questions which are referred to as the most delicate undoubtedly require a more open and broader discussion. That kind of discussion, however, is not only desirable, but it is indeed a reality of our authentic and deep democratic processes.

Some questions can, of course, be examined more broadly and frankly even in interviews or conversations, and there is nothing unclear about that. That is, in criticizing certain questions we do not wish to diminish the value of interviews in general and to dispute the important place they have in news activity as a whole.

Aside from the essential and meaningful aspects we have talked about, the questions in the interviews that go "the furthest" strive to break records even in their length and not merely to cross what have in the past been the thresholds of inside knowledge (authentic) and courage. What is the basis of the frightening number of these questions? This "unfortunate long-windedness" is an expression and a result of the ambition of the "bold" newsman to have the last word himself, to use his questions to state, construct and round out his own theory, his own vision, to extort from the person he is interviewing at least some sort of confirmations of his own theses.

What is the objective meaning of questions in which more nationalism of a more dangerous variety is sought first in the smaller ethnic groups? When an affirmative answer is not forthcoming, this extra amount is sought in the economically less developed, and this formula is suggested: the lower the level of development, the more nationalism there is, and then to drag in the epithet of the "deprived" ethnic group. Sometimes the attribute "primitivism" turns up. All of this, however, is not enough, and other ways are used, by a series of follow-up questions, to check out assertions that the large nationalities, those which are more advanced and more civilized, carry a smaller burden of nationalism. It is a question, then, of making certain in any case, of checking out the thing from several angles.

"Privileged Positions"

Though it is not our purpose to enter in polemics with those questions and to expose their objective significance by citing the judgments and positions of the LCY, that is, of the theoreticians and strategists of our socialist revolution concerning relations between the nationalities, we will recall that in examining the large differences in economic development of the various parts of Yugoslavia E. Kardelj did among other things point out the nationalistic tendency behind the "privileged positions of this or that ethnic group." Kardelj warned of the harmfulness and danger of a tendency "that would attempt to conserve differences in level of development of the various regions of Yugoslavia or to underestimate them and leave them to spontaneous development." The socialist forces must combat with ideological and political means all forms of nationalism and chauvinism, and also, within that same framework, Kardelj said, "nationalistic and other egoistic tendencies that arise ... in the advanced republics and aspirations for privileged economic positions...."

Our readers are not unaware as to which nationalities in the Yugoslav context are "large" and which are "small," nor are they unaware of whose arsenal uses the descriptions "primitive" and "deprived."

The prurience and curiosity that use the terminology of those forces which cannot reconcile themselves to our theory and practice in the domain of relations among the nationalities cannot lead us to any sort of clarification or to anything good.

Our "knights without fault or fear" even go out of their way to suggest the notion that opportunism has more to do with the former revolutionaries who "have set out on the road of nationalism or chauvinism" than deep personal belief! Who is this supposed to justify? Does the essence of the thing lie in that? Against whom and whose judgments is this kind of polemics directed?

"Advocates and Adherents"

Why do the questions of certain "brave" and eloquent newsmen in Yugoslavia represent a false bravery, why are they defective? It has to do with nationalities and relations among them, and they insist on the question as to where there is more and where there is less nationalism. We cannot avoid the conclusion, then, that some are being accused and others defended either intentionally or involuntarily, but recognizably. In both cases, however, this is unacceptable as a tendency and especially as a position. This is a distorted approach to the nationality, since its point of departure is that of those members of the nationality who, as we know, are working most directly against its real interests.

Moreover, no nationality needs advocates and adherents who want to argue that that nationality has less nationalism. On the other hand, it is unacceptable in any manner and for whatever purpose, even though it be a desire

to make the interview "frank," "more interesting," and the like, to examine relations among the nationalities exclusively in terms of their negative characteristics, that is, in terms of the bad side.

It is also incomprehensible that the concepts of economic equality and community spirit never crop up in such questions. Yet there is no accident in this, and this is the best proof of the unhistorical, metaphysical and bourgeois approach to the sources of nationalism. This kind of curiosity and caviling questions about relations among the nationalities and about the sources and forms that nationalism takes obviously sees nothing relevant in questions concerning interest--economic, cultural and others--of the working class, about the struggle for socialism, for socialist self-management, for equality, particularly economic, and about the resistance that is being offered concerning these matters.

"Peeking at the Past"

Even with respect to certain purely external features the questions in the these interviews are petit or more accurately grand bourgeois. It is no accident at all that expressions turn up in the questions like "poking around," "peeking at the past," "what would happen if," and the like. In the face of cautions by those they are interviewing, our "brave" men continue with undiminished persistence to vary their questions and their theses concerning certain social topics. Embittered by numerous "incompetents," "scaredy cats," "cowards," and the like in the past, and obsessed by their own "resourcefulness" and "courage," they make an assault with their questions and do not give up even when the possible serious adverse consequences are made known to them.

The true source of their loquaciousness and curiosity, their undisguised intention to "get under the skin" of the person they are interviewing, and through him certain others as well, is certainly not always and exclusively of a personal, egoistic or even a professional, news-gathering, journalistic or other similar nature. In essence and objectively it is sometimes a question of revivals of bourgeois consciousness which in this way is attempting to nourish itself and of a tendency to turn back not only the debate, but even time, history, at least by poking around and going on about imaginary experiments with the past and by posing problems of the future in a manner that is barely disguised.

Since the sources that favor the survival and reproduction of bourgeois consciousness are still a reality that cannot be eliminated, it is also certain that the "noble" mission of the "courageous" newsmen does not go without a certain quiet applause. Their task is not at all easy, that is very clear and evident. After all, they are not "toiling" just for themselves. They are performing a substantial part of the job and taking the place of possible curious foreigners, but also on behalf of our internal and domestic foreigners, whose unfamiliarity with certain things in the development of this society and whose questions and whose caviling--contrary

to the theses of their spokesmen--are not psychological and are not aimed at obtaining knowledge, but are above all of a political nature.

The essential motivation and interest of the loquaciousness, curiosity, resourcefulness, and "courage" of our quasinewsmen is, then, petty political activity, paternalism and the role of a self-styled guardian angel. The common denominator and headline that runs over all these questions might be, to put it most mildly: beyond all measure.

7045
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RIOT AT PRISTINA SOCCER STADIUM DETAILED

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1553, 5 Oct 80 pp 28-30

[Article by Zvonko Simic, Milan Milosevic and Milisav Krstic: "Riot Against Soccer?"]

[Text] Yugoslav soccer has a rich tradition of disturbances at games, but what happened in Pristina the week before last at the match between the Pristina club and Teteks of Tetovo never occurred before in matches in the first and second leagues. NIN has attempted to shed light on this event and to place it in context with events at soccer stadiums elsewhere in the country and indeed in the world. We have attempted to get to the roots of these irrational and sometimes fatal incidents which have become a constant comcomitant of soccer affairs. We talked in Pristina, Tetovo and Belgrade with several dozen participants and witnesses of the soccer drama in Pristina which at certain moments could have become a tragedy. Perhaps there is no true, simple and direct explanation for what happened. We hope that all our conversations at the three key points can cast the events and the causes in a sharper light.

First about the event in the strict sense.

Pristina, the soccer team, was leading 1-0 when at the very end of the match the referee Radovan Joksic of Obrenovac called for a penalty kick, a call that was debatable at the very least. As has become the rule on our soccer fields, none of those whose responsibility it was to see what happened either confirmed or disputed the correctness of Joksic's call--neither of the two assistant referees, nor the umpire. At least that is what they said in their official reports.

How It Began

Bogdan Vukovic, the game's delegate, who was not called upon to evaluate the calls of the referees, says that there was no foul. In any case 12,000 spectators were convinced that the referee had intentionally deprived them of the joy of a victory. The umpire Mioljub Petrovic gave the referee

Joksic a 1 [a failing grade--translator's note], but he explained that he did not do this because he had called the penalty kick, but because the referee had not stopped the match when members of the Pristina team began to haul him around the field demanding that he change his call.

The real volcano erupted in the stadium at the point when the Teteks player Cupi shot a goal from the 11-meter penalty line. The Pristina players began to chase him around the field, and the referee whistled the end of the game and himself ran toward the runway that leads to the lockerroom under the stadium. Perhaps it was that flight which encouraged the fans to rush out onto the field.

A mutiny began in which it was difficult to recognize who was delivering and who was receiving all the blows. It is precisely those moments that were recorded in the only two photos we were able to find. In those photographs one person in uniform, probably a policeman, is calmly watching what is happening. On the field there were 13 policemen on duty and approximately the same number again in the grandstand, we were told by people in the city's Socialist Alliance. It is not clear why they were not effective in protecting the referees and the visiting players. The attempts by NIN's newsman to get an answer to this question and to others were in vain. At the moment when this issue of NIN was being put to bed, 10 days after the event, the public still had not been informed even about the number of those arrested for disturbing the peace. Yet Yugoslav readers were informed--just 2 days after the event--that following similar disturbances in Athens some 30 troublemakers had been arrested there.

In the principal and supplemental reports of the match the head judge described the events in two contradictory versions: in the first, which went into the report written at the stadium itself, the referee said that Dimovski, the coach of the home team, had protected him from the enraged spectators (this was also stated by eyewitnesses in Pristina), but in the supplemental report (from the City Hospital in Belgrade) he said that the coach Dimovski held him in the runway while two ushers beat him and broke his rib. He also said that a policeman who was there also hit him. He explains these and other essential differences between the first and the supplemental report by saying that he was allegedly coerced to put into the official report only what suited the people there in Pristina.

The commission responsible for matches of the association of the clubs in the Eastern Group of the Second Federal League did not for all practical purposes take his supplemental report under consideration, and the delegate of the match, who was present when the report was written at the stadium, said that referee Joksic dictated his report to the Pristina secretary Milan Dutina without any sort of pressure.

The Teteks coach Zoran Colakovic says that some of the ushers attempted to stop the referees and the Teteks players rather than the spectators. The door to the lockerroom was locked. In those dramatic moments, Colakovic

says, real hell broke out. We were beaten not only by the unrestrained fans, but also by the ushers responsible for stadium security. Some of our players broke the glass in the door of the lockerroom (that must have been Memeti, whose hands were cut).

NIN has learned unofficially from circles other than the police that six troublemakers are in jail and that during the game two Teteks fans were also arrested and then released after interrogation.

Blagoje Kostic, president of the Pristina team, told NIN's reporter that during halftime those two threw some object at assistant referee Popev (an ear of corn, a stone or bottle, or a flashlight--there are differing interpretations of the event), from which the conclusion is drawn that this should have been a reason for stopping the game in Teteks' favor. Popev, the assistant referee from Skopje, has declared that he insisted that the head judge not stop the game.

Enraged Fans

Thus the Teteks players nevertheless managed to get into the lockerroom and barricade themselves. Their coach says that they are all of them deeply grateful to the Pristina players Trajkovic, Josifovski and Rajcevski, who "practically intervened with their bodies in order to protect us from the enraged fans."

One group of fans headed for the Grand Hotel, that imposing edifice about 400 meters away. Their anger was turned against the people from Tetovo--one car with Tetovo plates was turned over, several others were damaged, they tried to set fire to one but did not succeed, they broke the windows of the bus the visiting team came in, they also attempted to turn it over, but unsuccessfully. Summoned by walkie-talkie, the police withdrew from the stadium and concentrated in front of the hotel. The stadium emptied, and the gates were closed.

Perhaps 100 young people, perhaps more, went back to the stadium looking for the referee. According to the stories told by people from Pristina, they armed themselves along the way with sticks and rods from the construction site of the athletic center which is located between the hotel and the stadium.

In the meantime the referees and officials left the lockerroom and went off with members of the administration of the Pristina Soccer Club to the rooms belonging to the club at the goal line under the west stands, which has one wall of glass that looks out on the field.

As the report in dispute was being written there, the troublemakers broke into the lockerroom where the Teteks players had remained; using a lever, they bent the bars on the window.

The players withdrew from the lockerroom into the showerroom, leaving behind their things and equipment (NIN's reporter came upon a bag all torn open that was still there, everything else had vanished). Nor did the door of the showerroom hold. The equipment manager of the Pristina team says that he hid the Teteks players in an equipment storeroom 3 meters long and 2 meters wide. The troublemakers shattered that door with an ax.

In a way these moments were the culmination of the drama, at least for the Teteks players. One of them sobbed out loud, "Surely you're not going to kill us over a ball?" The troublemakers were particularly looking for Zimer Cupi, who had scored the goal on the penalty kick in the game. Cupi said: "The one with the ax wanted me to explain why I didn't miss the penalty kick. I begged him on my knees to spare me and my comrades."

In the end the offenders went first for the referee. When they didn't find him, they went on to the offices of the Pristina Soccer Club, in the upper corner of the west stands.

Zoran Tasic, Miodrag Savic and five other players from Tetovo did not dare to leave the stadium, fearing they might be lynched, so they hid in a pile of iron and boards underneath the stands. Mirko Petrov, one of those who withdrew, said that he was rescued by Karabeg, Pristina's assistant coach. "I set off to look for the Teteks coach and I saw that some 50 troublemakers had surrounded Petrov in the street and beat him. I bundled him into the car and went off home," went Karabeg's version.

The official representative of Teteks, Bogdan Dejanovski, said that as he was leaving the stadium with the delegate of the game and a member of the administration of the Pristina team he came upon a crowd of people which began to ask them who they were and what they were, and while delegate Vukovic was explaining, "I fled to a [illegible]y house. In the courtyard a car was parked, I slipped underneath it, so that the small group of young men who were chasing me fortunately did not find me." Dejanovski added that later in the Grand Hotel he was with a small group of players and members of the administration of Teteks, that at about 2230 hours they left Pristina, but leaving behind six players, the assistant coach and one member of the management, whose fate they learned of only on Monday morning. The other members of the expedition from Tetovo returned to their homes during the night each on his own, by taxi, by bus or in some other way.

Many members of the administration of the Pristina Soccer Club attempted to protect the guests from Teteks as well as they knew how and as well as they could. The club's director Zecir Govori was injured when he was attempting on the stairs in front of the entrance to the offices of the Pristina Soccer Club to stop a group which had set off to settle accounts with the referee once again.

Between Vandalism and Lynching

"They simply walked right over me," Zecir Govori told our newsman in Belgrade in an intermission during the session of the commission for games of "his" league. Zoran Tasic, a Teteks soccer player, said that he saw him lying on the concrete.

Milan Dutina, secretary of the Pristina Soccer Club, showed the NIN reporter the corner in which the referee Joksic hid when the stones began to fly. "I also tried to hold them back, they pushed me away, and they knocked referee Joksic down into the corner and beat him."

The assistant referee Andreja Antic said that he also received blows at that time.

In the opinion of the victims the police were slow in coming. Milan Dutina said that they called the police from the stadium, when the last wave came. Apparently it seemed that the heart of the struggle was in front of the Grand Hotel, where a crowd had gathered. That was also the assessment of Mehmed Mustafa, president of the Socialist Alliance, whom we talked with. In any case the event went far beyond the domain of athletics, ranging somewhere between vandalism and lynching. Not only did the property of the referees and the Teteks players disappear from the lockerroom, but the offices of the Pristina Soccer Club were also ransacked, soccer equipment disappeared, and one of the offenders was seen putting a telephone under his coat. The immediate damage suffered by the Pristina Soccer Club is estimated at about 40 million dinars. The nonmaterial loss is practically beyond assessment.

Differing motives are always crisscrossed in this kind of explosion of resentment and violence. It seems that the Pristina incident was above all a rebellion against soccer and all the dirty games, whether they have to do with the judges, scandals or whatever, which have been part of it for years now.

Mehmed Mustafa expressed the unanimous opinion of people of Pristina about the nature of the event when he said to NIN: "There weren't any nationalistic or any sort of other slogans at all except those against soccer."

In Pristina Joksic's refereeing of this game is referred to scandalous, and they add along the same line that the referee was not merely a victim of the rage of the most aggressive fans, but in fact the one who started it all. Sensing that the temperature of the spectators was rising dangerously, one public prosecutor was told by a friend, half in jest: "Go down on the field and arrest the referee." "There's no evidence," the prosecutor said. "You have 12,000 witnesses, isn't that enough?"

Yet this version would be much more convincing if the visiting players, visiting fans and even the home club Pristina had not also been victims of the attack.

If we look for prior events which contributed to the explosive atmosphere, we should remember the notorious game on the same field against OFK [Youth Soccer Club] of Belgrade, which decided whether OFK or some other team would go up into the first league. Aside from their dissatisfaction with Abdulahu, the referee, on that occasion the fans also bared their teeth to their own club or at least to certain of its players. They demonstrated that they do not believe that even their hands are clean.

Djemal Hasani, president of the Kosovo Soccer Federation, feels that the rebellion was caused by the pent-up dissatisfaction of the spectators because of a series of games on this field where the refereeing was biased. The public has gotten the impression that the "referees have turned against us." The Kosovo Soccer Federation pronounced penalties at the end of the last championship. Had that orientation been adopted everywhere, Hasani said, I am convinced that we would have a better situation in soccer.

A Tough League

The Pristina Soccer Club until recently had a small public, no more than would fit into a theater, says Safet Preka, secretary of the SIZ [Self-Managed Special-Interest Community] for Physical Education. The city has grown from 15,000 in 1945 to a population of 120,000. On coming to Pristina people continued to root for the teams from the places they came from--those from Kosovska Mitrovica for Trepca, those from Djakovica for Vlaznimi.... But recently this public has taken up ambitions of getting into the first league, and they have a firmer emotional attachment to the Pristina Soccer Club.

The Eastern Group of the Second Federal League is supposed to be a "tough league." The competition here is among several teams from cities of similar size which have grown up very rapidly in demographic, industrial and even financial expansion. Tension runs high at all the games among the principal rivals.

It is a fact that an "excessive number of spectators" have already been attending the soccer games in Pristina. It seems that the team has the largest attendance at its soccer games in the league.

The people from Pristina are particularly upset that it looks as though they are poor hosts. The sacredness of hospitality, well known in the regional folklore, has still not been erased by urbanization. Even a waiter in a restaurant will not let you pay the check if you sit down with a friend who says: "He is not from here." He will collect from the friend. And those who are knowledgeable say that in Albania the same word is used for guest and friend.

The fact that the Pristina players Josifovski, Trajkovic and Tajcevski were suspended in a meeting of the commission for games of the "eastern group," because they attacked the referee when he called a foul also belongs among

the special irrationalities of the Pristina drama; the same three players also turn up in the statements of the people from Tetovo and the men who rescued them at the sacrifice of their own skin. Several soccer players had come from Teteks to play for the Pristina Soccer Club. The coaches of the two teams were once on the same team. And after everything that happened, the representatives of the two teams and with them the entire commission for games--at the meeting in Belgrade 6 days later--devoted incomparably more attention and time to the dispute over whether the referee whistled the regular end of the game or cut the game short than to the causes of the unfortunate event. One point more or less in the standings overshadowed the essence of the matter on this occasion once again, overshadowed the essence of the game of soccer and of wholesome relations and athletics in general.

Like a Member of a Religious Sect

Milenko Karan, a psychologist, says that you cannot expect a fan to be objective. The very word itself means [in Serbo-Croatian] that he is wound up, and he behaves like the member of a religious sect.

Sometimes it is even worse than that, he is like a member of a belligerent in a war.

On 26 March 1978 this journal wrote: "Fortunately we have not had in Yugoslavia what has already become customary in England, Italy, and the countries of South America--mass skirmishes which move from soccer stadiums into the streets of the city...." Unfortunately events have betrayed us. It is a "brief schizophrenia," as one psychiatrist refers to the behavior of soccer spectators, that caused the fierce incidents in recent years at the games in this "tough league" to which Pristina and Teteks belong.

To continue with the terminology of psychiatry, the stadiums are "doctors' offices for group abreaction of urban aggressiveness," or, if you like, the "largest psychiatric clinic in the world."

In the urban anthill which imposes restraint and self-discipline, beginning with the job, including municipal transportation, and ending with the ban on "walking on the grass" in the city park, people seem to be looking for a place where they can let themselves go. They find it unfortunately in the soccer stadium.

Last winter during a game between the city rivals Roma and Lazia in Rome, a Roma fan fired an antihail rocket (!) on the Lazia fans on the other side of the field who were clustered around a banner; it injured a Roma player and killed one person whom it hit directly in the face.

Should we be content that nothing like that has happened in our country?

If under certain circumstances a contemporary stadium can become a "temporary madhouse," the kind of soccer we play and the kind of soccer we watch contribute to this. Judging that is biased and even bribed, scores agreed on, games fixed, and a war over a point in the standings in which there is no shame and no restraint multiply many times over the explosive effect of a stadium crammed with between 10,000 and 15,000 spectators. Nevertheless, a cleaner soccer would be the best pledge to keeping the curve of such incidents from rising any more.

7045
CSO: 2800

LIES BY JOB HUNTERS FOUND 'JUSTIFIED' IN COURT DECREES

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1552, 28 Sep 80 pp 24-25

[Article by Vuk Draskovic]

[Text] Is every lie immoral? Aren't we forced at times to lie? And finally, how are we to take a court decision which directly or indirectly sanctions the right to falsehood?

First of all, a few concrete examples. Neither embellished nor dramatized: simply randomly chosen from the reality in which we work and in which we live.

Why Not Tell the Truth

First Case. An unemployed young man answers a want ad for which he meets all the conditions sought: he has senior postsecondary specialized training, he knows English and he has no medical problems. He learns from a friend, however, that applications will not even be examined from those who have not resolved their housing problem. To put it simply, this does not pay from the collective's standpoint. The young man resorts to cunning and assumes "full moral, financial and criminal liability" by stating that he has a privately owned apartment and is permanently taken care of in that respect. The way it actually worked out was this: the lad was hired and soon submitted an application to obtain an apartment. In the collective the alarm was sounded. Some demanded that he be discharged for having given false information, while others said that in line with what he wrote in his application, his housing question "should be regarded as resolved." The second view prevailed, the "liar" was not fired, but his right to housing was taken away from him. Had the deception been discovered during the proceedings to fill the vacancy, it is almost certain that he would not have been hired.

Second Case. A woman wrote in her application that she has two children and that she will not have any more. She also did this after certain indications that the commission was reluctant to hire pregnant women, both

present and future, because of the long childbirth leave. She was hired, and in 7 months she gave birth.

Third Case. In competing for an editor's position in a publishing work organization, an applicant said that he was a member of the LCY [SKJ]. He assumed this would "help him along." It later turned out that he had never been a member of the party [LCY]. But actually he was rather clever and explained that he hadn't lied at all, because he actually was a member of the Federation of Yugoslav Writers [SKJ].

Many other variations of these and similar deceptions are possible and occur in practice. For example, for a worker to say there are six members rather than three members in his family so as to obtain a larger apartment and get it more quickly, or to "assume full liability" and state that because of dampness in his dwelling the children have gotten chronic bronchitis, and then after he has moved to a new apartment it turns out that he doesn't even have any children.... The question is this, What is to be done then? Fire him, declare the competition unlawful, deprive people of their right to housing, or simply throw up one's hands in the face of this deception?

Judges Are Protecting "Immorality"

In examining a similar appeal by a worker from Nis, the Constitutional Court of Serbia decided in principle that a provision (Article 50) of the Social Compact on Employment in that opstina was unconstitutional and unlawful: that article says that a person shall be dropped from the competition or a decision already made shall be annulled if it turns out that to obtain a job more easily a worker has concealed something about himself or his family or has given inaccurate information. The bodies of self-management, the court said, are required to act on the basis of the real situation, that is, the truthful one, and not that which a worker inaccurately stated for this or that reason. In other words, regardless of what he wrote or stated, he cannot be deprived of his right to housing if he actually does not have a roof over his head. Much less can he be discharged for this or some similar reason and thereby deprived of the right to work which is guaranteed by the constitution.

In ruling on a similar case the Serbian Court of Associated Labor (decision dated 18 June of this year) explicitly said that "the furnishing of inaccurate information in an application for an apartment cannot affect a worker's right to participate in the allocation of apartments." Otherwise, by the same logic and because of petty "deceptions," his right to personal income might be infringed, and that in and of itself is absurd and unthinkable.

As we see, the judges have had to overlook this falsification. But a lie is a lie regardless of how serious it is or what its motives were. So, however unenviable the real position of the unemployed and subtenants, it is difficult to conceive how such cases can be given society's blessing.

But the problem has two sides. People are compelled to distort the facts in order to obtain housing or a job more easily because circumstances have driven them to this means of obtaining something which they are otherwise entitled to without any sort of inventions and deceptions.

It is first of all unconstitutional to make hiring conditional upon the applicant's possession of housing or renunciation of motherhood. Or to make it conditional upon membership in the party, or to make it conditional upon presentation of a certificate on permanent residence in a particular town or region.

First, certain comrades obtain jobs and apartments, then they raise their children and all of a sudden on behalf of "stewardly" business operation, they have thought of depriving others of what they themselves possess.

Looked at from this angle, the judges have made the only possible and fair decision.

7045
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ANONYMOUS EX-CONSCRIPT DESCRIBES EXPERIENCES IN ARMY

London NOVA HRVATSKA in Serbo-Croatian 29 Jun, 13, 27 Jul 80

[29 Jun 80, pp 15-16]

> [Text] A young Croatian living in Yugoslavia has secretly sent to the editors of NOVA HRVATSKA a report on his time in the Yugoslav Armed Forces, from which he was recently discharged. Only those details which might expose the author have been altered in the text.

There were only a few soldiers with puffy faces and glazed eyes in the dirty little train station of a town in southern Serbia. They had obviously had quite a bit to drink. Their caps were pushed back on their heads, and they had their fingers stuck in their notched belts, so as to make them prominent: each "notch" represented a month spent in the army. Their bayonets hung from their right hip and bumped against their bodies, which were keeping their balance with increasing difficulty....

The brakes screeched loudly and the worn-out cars whined as the train finally came to a stop at the first platform. The group of young men left the train hesitantly and cast frightened looks in all directions.

The sun was resting on a distant hill, and the heat mixed with the stench from a nearby toilet which had been built who knows when. Garbage and trash represented the first picture of the town we had just arrived in.

"Come on, lizards, let's see where you will be assigned," the half-drunk soldiers called out. "Recruits with the military post office number 7356/2 over here!" ordered one of the soldiers, who had two red stripes on his sleeve, referred to as "slashes" in military language, which meant that he had the rank of corporal. Beside him stood a tall lad with one "slash." He was a private first class. I assumed from his speech that he was from the south.

"Is there anyone from Kljuc?" the private first class asked, but no one spoke up. "So, no one from my home town," he said in answer to his own question.

"Fine, lads, let's get started: first, turn over whatever alcohol you have! You can't take it on the post! But we still have time ... here is a bar, and we'll wet our whistle a little bit.... You, lizards, once you pass the gate, you won't be out again for a month if not more...."

The corporal just laughed and turned without a word toward the bar, which was three or four steps from the toilet. We recruits, numbering five or six, went into the "Trainman" bar without a word. Only the fellow from my home town showed any signs of cheerfulness. "We're lucky to be at the same post," he said with relief.

There were only a few tables in the bar at which some other recruits were sitting along with a few soldiers, and there was the fat bartender with a red face, with a mustache over his thick lips, who was gasping for air it was so stifling. Swarms of flies were almost the only vital signs in what was almost a still life.

When we sat down at a table in the corner near the bar, the fat guy came up to us and asked: "What will you have?" The soldiers ordered rum and coffee, and the recruits Coca Cola. "Afraid, huh? Today you could drink something stronger...," the corporal said, poking fun at them. I ordered a Badel cognac, but I had hardly got out the words when the fat guy drew himself up like a gorilla: "Hey, you, where do you think you are? We don't have that here. Listen, fella, you can have Prokupac or Navip, and if you want wine, there's Colt's Blood, Tsar Lazar...." "Thank you," I interrupted him, "I still have a little grappa in my bag, and that will be enough for me...." "Want a glass?" "No, thanks, I prefer it from the bottle...."

"Are you a Dalmatian?" the corporal asked me. I swallowed my saliva and reluctantly said: "Brdjak."

The corporal bragged to the others: "Today this is my 14th rum with coffee, but come on, boys, let's drink this grappa so as not to throw it away, or this bear of a man will sell it if we leave it here...."

"So we're from the same region," the corporal went on to say, "I'm from Capljina myself. Better for you to put that back in your bag, and we'll have a few swigs along the way...."

The First Night in the Barracks

The post was quite far from the railroad station. We walked a good half a hour to the other end of the town. It had already gotten dark; moonlight and a sky full of stars. A breeze that came from the mountain drove away the heat of the June night.

At the entrance to the post the corporal offered what was left of the grappa to the sentry, who was happy to take it and greedily swallowed down a good

swig. We headed for a nearby building, and the corporal remained with the soldier on guard duty to finish what was still left in the bottle.

From the "gate," for which they used the Turkish word, it was about 300 meters to the barracks. In front of me there was a high one-story building which had obviously once been the mansion of some rich man. We entered a broad corridor where there were two soldiers, one at one end and the other at the other end of the corridor. Wrapped in their military overcoats, they looked a little like ghosts.

The thick walls of the old mansion were full of dampness and cold--in the middle of summer. Against the wall there was a "rack" for a "modern" weapon--an M-48 rifle, the "Kragujevka [that is, manufactured in the arsenal in Kragujevac], such as no one else in the world has," I was to learn later from the officers. There were also two machineguns, so old it was difficult to determine when they were made. The recruits quietly whispered to one another: "Which one will we get?"

There were four doors off the corridor. We came to the last, near the bottom of the staircase. Over the door was written: "Welcome, comrades and soldiers," but beyond the door we were awaited by a real welcome such as it is difficult to imagine in any civilized country: the recruits were lying on old mattresses, fully clothed under the blankets, which probably had once been horse blankets when the cavalry still existed. The heavy odor was almost intolerable in the stifling room.

My neighbor Ante took the bed next to me. For a long time we could not go to sleep, and we talked quietly until we left each other each to his own thoughts. In this black and stinking darkness many verses about freedom constantly come into one's head.

It seemed to me that I had not slept an hour when sweet-smelling bodies began to hop over me. It was 0500 hours. A figure at the door screeched: "Get up, soldiers!" Some soldiers, I thought.

"Hold it there, fella, where are you going! First you make the beds, then you wash up, and only then you go to breakfast!" I lay there a bit longer and looked at the bustle around me. "And what are you waiting for? Mama's not gonna bring you your breakfast in bed here!" "Take it easy, friend, there's no hurry!" I retorted and refused to hurry. When I passed in front of the corporal after washing up, he said through his teeth: "You, just wait till I get my hands on you...."

I went back into the dormitory. Absolute chaos. Some were looking for their shoes, others their jackets, still another bewailing his missing bag or money. "The old hooks" (soldiers who had served longer) had come into their own and had gathered up booty. They would soon be going home, so they were making sure they had civilian clothes....

I looked at these beardless boys, who looked like lambs in a sheep pen surrounded by wolves. This was to be their first experience...!

Finally breakfast time came. My friend Ante was next to me in formation, and the older soldiers standing around called out to us: "Lizards, things with tails, you'll never last to the end," and they stamped with their boots on the crumbling and cracked concrete as though they were stamping on someone's tail.

The unpleasant smell from the place that bore a sign saying "Mess Hall" struck us from the very entrance. Breakfast consisted of a little piece of bacon the size of a matchbox, a little cup of tea and a small piece of bread. Few of the newly arrived recruits ate anything. The tea had almost no taste, and the bacon was rancid. At the table were my friend Ante and I and three young Albanians. When the Albanians saw that we were not eating our bacon, they asked in broken Macedonian what religion we were. "Catholics, Croats," I answered. "We have Catholic Albanians at home. They root for Dinamo or Hajduk," one of them said to us confidentially. They were glad to see we were not eating the bacon, and when we told them that we also root for Dinamo and Hajduk [soccer teams of Zagreb and Split, respectively], there was a warm atmosphere at our table as though we had been friends for years.

"Hey, you Shiptars! Send that bacon over here if it doesn't smell good to you!" someone from a neighboring table shouted. The Albanians gave him a dirty look and only muttered through their teeth: "Chusha nona!" (Albanian curse)

We left the mess hall together. We formed up on the path and then went off for haircuts, baths and the issuing of uniforms. The trousers I got were too large, and I tried to exchange them, but the captain overseeing the issuing of clothes and military equipment shouted at the top of his voice: "OK, everyone out! What are you thinking of, buddy?!" I wasn't thinking of anything, everything was clear to me already....

After that a corporal took me to my unit and told me: "Your unit is called 2/3, which means second battalion, third company. Pick one of these bunks. Upper or lower?" (They were double bunks.)

I laid out my clothes in the wooden cupboard which in "professional" military language is called a locker, and at that point I noticed the traces of its having been forced open several times. I looked about me for a safer cupboard, but I saw that all the lockers were the same--all of them had been broken into.... Along the way I counted the bunks in the dormitory--27 double bunks, so 54 bunks in all. There was just enough space left in the room so the soldiers could get to their bunks.

At about 1000 hours the corporal came and told us to go with him to the classroom. We were to meet the captain. The classroom was almost the same

as in school, except that each cadet had a three-legged stool instead of a chair with a back. Here as everywhere there was a picture of "our beloved."

I sat down in the last bench and looked at the close-cut heads in front of me. One of the seven corporals gathered there warned us in soldierly fashion: "Lizards, when I say Attention, you must all stand up as one!" He had hardly finished when the captain appeared at the door holding his cap in his hand. The corporal shouted: "Attention!" but the agreement didn't hold--everyone stood up at his own "command"....

The captain ordered us to sit down, and reminded the corporal that he should already have taught us how to greet him. "Don't greet me again that way tomorrow, comrade corporals, I hope you understand me." "We do, comrade Captain!"

The captain, about 180 cm tall, with a keen look, a large mouth with spaces between his teeth, getting a little gray at the temples, finally turned to the soldiers: "Comrades, I am Captain Milija Matic. You make up a unit consisting of 44 new soldiers and 18 older comrades. I have already told you who I am and I want to hear from you who you are, what are your names and where you are from and what you are.

"We will begin in order.... Don't speak until I do," he said, suddenly changing his tone, and then he resumed, "Who are you, comrade?"

The young man in the first row stood up and answered: "Redzepi, Redzep" and then he took his seat again. "Who, soldier, told you to sit down? Get up!" Redzep stood up again, but slower than the first time. "You are not to stand up, soldier, as though you liberated Belgrade, but as soon as I say 'You soldier!' you should already be on your feet. Do you understand?" "I do, comrade Captain!" "And you should say: 'If you please, comrade Captain, I am soldier so and so' and you should ask: 'Comrade Captain, allow me to sit down,' and I will then give you permission to sit down....

"And you soldier?" the captain asked the soldier next to Redzep. This one stood up quickly and in his haste turned over the stool, which fell to the floor very noisily: "If you please, comrade Captain! Soldier Miletic, Zarko, Bosnian from Zenica." "Sit down!" the captain said. The soldier sat down, but again he made a mistake: "Who told you, soldier, to sit down without saying 'Yes sir, comrade Captain'?" It was all we could do to restrain our laughter.

"And who are you, comrade?" "Jovanovic, Aca!" We could no longer restrain ourselves, and the classroom began to shake with laughter--Jovanovic had again forgotten military protocol.

[13 Jul 80, pp 14-15]

[Text] The uncontrollable laughter in the classroom died out only at the captain's third appeal: "Enough, soldiers, I don't want to hear another word!" After Aca Jovanovic, to whom it was still not clear what mistake he had made, a tall broad-shouldered lad with a robust voice stood up on the captain's order: "If you please, comrade Captain! I am Brzica, Ante, Croat, Catholic!" the young soldier answered in a clipped speech. The captain gave him a glance that was like a slap in the face: "What are you doing, soldier, blurting out what no one has asked you, huh? Who cares what religion you are? Where are you from, that's what I want to know!"

"From Siroki Brijeg, comrade Captain, Listica, if you have heard of it...." The captain didn't hear the comment and only mumbled: "So, from Hercegovina...."

Then my turn came to introduce myself: "Dalibor Ter, Croat from southern Croatia!" At this the captain set his jaw, and his pupils jumped about nervously several times in his lean face. "Well, you surprise me the most, Dalibor! You might have learned from the others to put your last name first, and then your first name, and then where you're from, yes, I want to hear you say where you are from, do you understand!?"

"From the little village of Raseljka in southern Croatia, Livanjska Krajina." The capitain as though with sudden relief, concluded: "Dalmatian, so why didn't you say so...." "But I am not a Dalmatian by nationality, but a Croat, and that is what you asked me...." I said, standing my ground. "Is that so, well, I will have some other questions for you, damn your hide," the captain said, bristling once again, "You just wait, we will be talking again...."

Later the rest of the soldiers satisfied the captain; one introduced himself as from Zagorje, another from Slavonia, a third from Lika, another from Kordun, a Bosnian, a Serb, a Slovene, a Moslem, a Macedonian, a Montenegrin; no one else aroused the captain with that objectionable word--CROAT.

The first days of our life as soldiers were taken up by preparations and drills for the "solemn oath." The drill was conducted by a second lieutenant, and the captain whom we had already become acquainted with conducted our class in political instruction.

After 2 or 3 days the second lieutenant also started to pick on me. During the morning drill an open conflict even occurred between us: "Do you hear me, soldier?! I'll stick it up your ass' stocking!" he shouted in front of the entire formation of soldiers. He stared at me all in a froth: "I want this unit to stand as an example, as those before you have stood, and those who don't toe the line, we will have other methods for them...."

"Are those curses meant for me, comrade second lieutenant?" I asked him without a bit of fear, and I looked him straight in the eyes. "Yes, for you, f--- your...," he answered, still more angry, but he nevertheless held back from finishing his last thought: "It is good that you publicly confirm this in front of the entire unit...." The second lieutenant reflected a bit and fell silent. But a bit later, still excited, he again addressed me: "At 1400 hours you will report to the captain! You will dress up in a new uniform and appear in full battle dress!"

Ten minutes before the appointed time I was standing in front of the office of Captain Matic. After I waited half an hour the clerk called me in and said in passing: "What the hell did you do that for?" (He was a Serb from Mostar.) Holding my cap in my hand, I entered in silence.

"Do you see how I can see through people immediately? I told you we'd be seeing each other. And you come in without a salute, as though we were your subordinates. Lieutenant, when you send someone to me, first teach him how to salute." After the captain's introduction, the second lieutenant tried to say something: "Comrade Captain...." "That's enough, lieutenant!" he interrupted him, and then again turned to me: "What was the problem, soldier?" "Well, this fella insulted me...." "He is not 'this fella' to you!" "Excuse me, the second lieutenant. He accused me of encouraging the soldiers to shirk, he called me names and swore at me...."

It seems to me that I softened the captain a bit with my choice of words. He reflected briefly about something, and then muttered absently: "You can go!" Only later did I realize that I was not rescued so much by my own "cleverness" as by the bad blood between the captain and the second lieutenant. For a long time already they had had a cat-and-dog relationship.

While I had been on report, the other soldiers had been at lunch. By the time I returned, the mess hall was closed. I again put on my fatigues and went off to my "duty." The second lieutenant (we called him PP [initial letters of second lieutenant in Serbo-Croatian]): "Your rifle has not been cleaned. I want it to be clean by 1700 hours and shine like the sun! Do you understand?" Perfectly. I took the gun in my hands and looked through the barrel. You could hardly see the light at the other end. "What did you do to it?" I asked myself....

After some 20 days of practicing the "oath" and marching, the day came when we had no choice: in front of the picture of "our beloved" we young soldiers, numbering between 400 and 500, had to take the oath. A table with red carnations and photographs of the "commander in chief" was set up in front of each unit. We all had to repeat after the officers: "I solemnly swear that I will defend the independence, constitutional order and integrity of self-managed socialist Yugoslavia...." Several soldiers around me merely opened their mouths and probably were thinking the same thing I was.

[27 Jul 80, p 15]

[Text] An exhibition of "modern weapons" was held the first week after the "oath" on the grounds of the post; it was also open to the public. Already by about 0800 hours Captain Matic marched us up to examine the weapons.

"This is a heavy cannon which takes a crew of six or seven soldiers. It was used in the Vietnam War and showed good results. It is accurate against targets up to 15 km away," the captain declaimed in chosen words. "The shells weigh as much as 25 kg and they can kill within a radius of up to 500 meters."

I noticed that there were more Soviet guns between 105 and 122 mm than anything else. There were also T55 tanks from the war and old machineguns. Hand grenades, mortars and multiple-barrel launchers, which are operated by an electronic trigger, were manufactured in Yugoslavia. The "more recent" models of machineguns were manufactured in 1952. The small antiaircraft guns were also very outdated. They had a manual training mechanism "as though the aircraft would wait in the air while the gunner takes aim," as my friend Tugomir noted. The captain went on ensuring everyone around him that these were "the most up-to-date weapons in hitting and bringing down airplanes..."

For days we prepared for our first target practice with the M-48 rifle. For the captains this was the question of prestige. The tension among them also increased for a particular reason: They had to conceal the scores very well from one another. These scores were catastrophically poor. Anyone who hit the target with just one out of six shots had to be proud. But in the end it all turned out right: if you had five bull's-eyes, they gave you another 10, and if you had seven, they would mark down 20. "The best score" was 45 bull's-eyes.

Some soldiers, however, did not even dare to fire, and the captains, showing the soldiers how to do this, shot at the targets, but even they did not get hits with the "good and accurate rifle, the Kragujevka, a rifle such as no one else in the world has...."

After target practice the scores were read out. It was ridiculous to listen to the obvious lies, but "that is the way it must be," Captain Matic admitted to us in confidence: "What would the commanding officer say if he heard that only one had a passing score out of 60 soldiers? But that is a military secret, comrades and soldiers! Don't tell anyone about this or write home, especially not abroad. Anyone who does will have a hard time. It is a very dangerous matter to divulge military secrets, and you know what happens to such people...."

Political Instruction: "When I Say So, You Know That It's the Opposite...!"

Every day we had political instruction which the captain conducted personally. We learned about capitalism, Marxism, imperialism and the benefits of socialism. After almost every charge against the West the captain would end with a sentence: "Isn't that right, Vladimir?" Vladimir, whom I'd also made friends with, would each time confirm what the captain requested from him.

This was a little strange to me, since we knew that before going into the army Vladimir had worked abroad and would tell us about how "it had not been bad." After one lecture I happened to catch him alone. I asked him openly: "So, Vladimir, before you told us that you lived well in Germany, and now when the captain asks for confirmation from you who has been there, you back everything bad he has to say about the West. How is that?" "I will tell you if you don't tell anyone," Vladimir told me in confidence. "The captain called me in once and told me: 'We know that you have been in a capitalist country. We also know how it is there, but we must talk to the soldiers about the negative consequences of capitalism. So when I ask you, you back up what I say. You will be able to tell whether you should say yea or nay to what I say. We have to collaborate, but let it stay between us two. Do you understand?'

"'Yes, comrade Captain. In other words, we have to break down the soldiers' illusions about the benefits of the West....' 'Right, that's exactly what I want you to do. And, you know, there will be rewards ... extra leave and other privileges.' So now you understand, he ordered me to back up what he said so that you would no longer believe those things. If I had not consented, I would have a hard time, and he would certainly find someone else. So, when I confirm something, you know that the truth is the opposite!"

This was a worthwhile experience; later we followed political instruction with more "comprehension."

The Soldier's Life in the Mountains

During military exercises we all had to go in the field. We spent 20 days on Golija with other units from Belgrade, Negotin, Kragujevac, Vranje and other places. Only some dozen soldiers were left on the post.

We slept in some old tents (an entire squad in one tent, and sometimes an entire platoon). During the field exercises there were no baths, we slept in our clothes and boots. Before departure we had taken some sort of injections to increase the resistance of the organism. Without that who knows what we would have come back with.

For those 20 days we ate only dry food and canned food 10 years old or more! In the evening the officers went into the settlement to drink and returned to the camp just before dawn. One morning Captain Matic said to

me in a good humor: "Listen here, soldier, the longer these exercises last, the better. Now, look here, don't you serve any more cognac to those fat asses (at that time I was working in the improvised canteen), let them slobber, sons of whores...." That is, his fellow captains.

The officers hated each other with a passion. They gossiped about one another and envied each other for having a larger apartment, for having a better wife or car, for having gotten credit, for one having pulled the wool over the other's eyes, and the like. In their hatred and primitivism the officers went so far as not to conceal their mutual relations even from the soldiers. As a matter of fact, they even talked about their colleagues in front of us.

I often wondered, then, how these commanding officers would behave in wartime? What would drive them to help one another? Even in ordinary conversations about sports you could easily see that they were ready to find a pretext for showing their enmity:

"Listen, Georgie, Ivan says that the Red Star soccer team will not end up in first place! Hell, I'll hang him up by his b----! Come on, man, who would dare to take away our title, eh?" Captain Ivan is a Croat by nationality, but he has utterly renounced his origin. In order to survive in this society, he has replaced his Croatian language with Serbian; I never heard him display his Croatian nationality in any way whatsoever. He groveled before the Serbs, but in spite of all that he never ceased to be a Croat in the eyes of the Serbs. They never received him into their society, nor do they recognize him as their equal. Perhaps precisely because he has lost his human and ethnic dignity.

During the military exercises on Golija we fired the heavy guns, Russian and American howitzers. When the war in Vietnam ended, it no longer paid the Americans to transport their weapons back to America, so they sold them. Some were bought by Yugoslavia. An old T55 tank, a relic from the war, was even used in the exercises. If someone from outside had seen this, he might have thought that some old Partisan film was being made and not that these were exercises of the "up-to-date Yugoslav People's Army!"

We also carried mortars from the post, but on Golija we fired only a few blanks, because of the lack of ammunition. Quite a few of the soldiers were trained in handling mortars, but during their service in the army they didn't fire a single shell.

Nighttime Alerts--By Agreement

From time to time alerts were organized on the post or in the field to check military preparedness. Of course, the time of the alert was supposed to be a secret. However, the captain of our unit would always tell us in advance, "So that no one will be surprised." That is probably how the others acted as well.

The captain first warned us that there would be an alert, and then he would usually add: "No one must know that I told you! Each unit has its destination in case of an alert. You will all have to be in full battle dress. Jump on the first truck and start right off...."

And as a matter of fact no one looked to see whose truck was whose at those times. "No one knows which end is up around here!" one of the commanders would say after the mess with the alert. This circus was repeated two or three times to "check our alertness and military skill."

After target practice and this kind of military training, there were few other important events on the post. The principal soldier's preoccupation at that time was to count the days to discharge from the armed forces. Everyone can hardly wait for the end of this most miserable life to come as soon as possible.

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END

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14 November 1980

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1827

EXTRACTS FROM 'THE KHRUSHCHEVITES' BY ENVER HOXHA

Part 1

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

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EXTRACTS FROM 'THE KHRUSHCHEVITES' BY ENVER HOXHA

PART 1

Tirana ATA in English 0900 GMT 9-19 Oct 80

["Extracts From the Book by Comrade Enver Hoxha 'The Khrushchevites' (Memoirs)"--ATA headline]

[9 Oct 80]

[Text] Tirana, 9 Oct (ATA)--Beginning with today we begin to broadcast extracts from the new book by Comrade Enver Hoxha "The Khrushchevites" (Memoirs) which came off the press recently. This book which is another work in the series of the author's memoirs, following that "With Stalin," contains memoirs and impressions of the author from the direct meetings and other contacts with the leaders of the C.P.S.U. and other communist and workers' parties during the years 1953-1961, from Stalin's death till the final break off with the Khrushchevites. The talks, meetings, mutual visits, the joint meeting over political, ideological, economic and military problems constitute mainly the basic materials of this book.

At the beginning of this work Comrade Enver Hoxha writes:

Two decades have gone by since the meeting of 81 communist and workers' parties of the world, which has gone down in history as one of the most important events in the struggle which is being waged between Marxism-Leninism and opportunism. At this meeting our party opened fire on the revisionist group of Khrushchev which was ruling in the Soviet Union and struggling in every way to subjugate the entire international communist movement, all the communist and workers' parties of the world, and set them on its road of betrayal.

> The counterrevolutionary attack on Khrushchevite revisionism at the meeting in November 1960 was a logical continuation of the Marxist-Leninist stand which the Party of Labour of Albania had always maintained.

Our open and principled attack on Khrushchevite modern revisionism at the meeting in November 1960 was not a surprise move. On the contrary, it was the logical continuation of the Marxist-Leninist stand which the Party of Labour of Albania

had always maintained, was the transition to a new, higher stage of the struggle which our party had long been waging for the defence and consistent application of Marxism-Leninism.

From the time the Khrushchevites took power to the moment when we came out in open confrontation with them, the relations of the Party of Labour of Albania with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union passed through a complicated process, with zig zags, with periods of exacerbation and periods of temporary normalization. This was the process of each getting to know the other through encounters in the course of the struggle and the continual clash of views. After the Khrushchevite Revisionist Putchists came to power, our party, basing itself on the events that were taking place there, on certain stands and actions, which were ill-defined at first, but which, step by step, were becoming more concrete, began to sense the great danger of this clique of renegades, which hid behind a deafening pseudo-Marxist demagogy, and to understand that this clique was becoming a great threat both to the cause of the revolution and socialism as a whole, and to our country.

> The PLA [Party of Labor of Albania] refused to swallow what the Soviet leaders served up to us.

We became more and more aware that the views and stands of Nikita Khrushchev on important questions of the international communist movement and the socialist camp differed from our views and stands. The 20th Congress of the CPSU, in particular, was the event which made us adopt a stand of opposition to Khrushchev and the Khrushchevites. As Marxist-Leninists and in a Marxist-Leninist way, time after time we had pointed out to the Soviet leaders our reservations and objections to their conciliatory stands towards the Yugoslav revisionists, about many aspects of their unprincipled foreign policy, about many of their wrong and completely un-Marxist stands and actions on major international problems, etc. Although they sometimes feigned a retreat, they continued on their course, while we refused to swallow what they served up to us, but on the contrary, defended our views and implemented our internal and external policy.

With the passage of time this brought about that we became better acquainted with each other's positions, and neither side trusted the other. For our part, we continued to preserve our friendship with the Soviet Union, with its peoples, continued to build socialism according to the teachings of Lenin and Stalin, continued as before to defend the great Stalin and his work and to fight unwaveringly against Yugoslav revisionism. Our existing doubts about the Soviet revisionists increased and deepened from day to day, because day by day Khrushchev and company were acting in opposition to Marxism-Leninism.

> After the attempts to take the Albanian fortress from within, Khrushchev went openly to the attack to subjugate the P.L.A.

Khrushchev was aware of our reservations about the 20th congress, and about the policy which he followed with the Titoites, imperialism, etc, but his tactic was not to hasten to exacerbate the situation with us Albanians. He hoped to profit from the friendship which we displayed for the Soviet Union to take the Albanian fortress from within and to get us into the bag through smiles and threat, through giving us some reduced credits, as well as through pressure and blockades. Khrushchev and the Khrushchevites thought: "We know the Albanians, however

stubborn they are, however hot-tempered they are, they have nowhere else to turn to, because we have them pinned up and, if they prove difficult, if they don't obey us, then we will show our teeth, we'll cut them off and boycott them, and overthrow all those who oppose us."

The Khrushchev group prepared this course of action, promoted and deepened it, thinking that it would achieve its aim "quietly and gently" and "without any fuss." However, the reality was convincing them that this tactic was yielding no fruit, and thus their impatience and arrogance began to emerge. The situation became tense. Then it was "eased" only to grow tense again. We understood where this course would lead Khrushchev and company, therefore we strengthened our vigilance, and while replying to manifestations of their despotism, we tried to prolong the "peace" while safeguarding our principles.

But the moment came when the cup was full to overflowing. The "peace," which had seemed to exist before, could continue no longer. Khrushchev went openly on to the attack to subjugate and force us to follow his utterly opportunist line. Then we told Khrushchev bluntly and loudly "no," we said "stop," to his treacherous activity. This marked the beginning of a long and very difficult struggle in which our party, to its glory and the glory of the people who gave birth to it and raised it, consistently defended the interests of its socialist homeland, persistently defended Marxism-Leninism and the genuine international communist movement.

> Time fully confirmed how right the Party of Labour of Albania was to fight the Khrushchevites and refuse to follow their line.
>
> Albania did not become and will never become a protectorate of the Russians or anyone else.

At that time many people did not understand the stand of the Party of Labour of Albania. There were even well-wishers of our party and country who considered this action hasty. Some had not yet completely understood the Khrushchevites' betrayal, some others thought that we broke away from the Soviet Union to link up with China, etc. Today, not only the friends, but also the enemies of socialist Albania have understood the principled character of the uninterrupted struggle which our party has waged and is waging against opportunists of every hue.

Time has fully confirmed how right the Party of Labour of Albania was to fight the Khrushchevites and refuse to follow their line. To this fight, which demanded and still demands great sacrifices, our small homeland owes the freedom and independence it prizes so highly and its successful development on the road of socialism only thanks to the Marxist-Leninist line of our party did Albania not become and never will become a protectorate of the Russians or anyone else.

> We do not maintain and will never establish state relations with the Soviet social-imperialists.
>
> Brezhnev and company have proved to be "worthy pupils" of their ill-famed teacher.

Since 1961 our Party of Labour has not had any link or contact with the Khrushchevites. In the future, too, it will never establish party relations with

them, and we do not have and will never have even state relations with the Soviet social-imperialists. Up to now, our party will consistently wage the ideological and political struggle for the exposure of these enemies of Marxism-Leninism. We acted in this way both when Khrushchev was in power and when he was brought down and replaced by the Brezhnev clique. Our party had no illusions, but on the contrary, was quite certain that Brezhnev, Kosygin, Suslov, Mikoyan, etc, who had been Khrushchev's closest collaborators, who had jointly organized and put into practice the revisionis counter-revolution in the Soviet Union, would persist in their former line.

They eliminated Khrushchev with the aim of protecting Khrushchevism from the discredit which the master himself was bringing upon it with his endless buffoonery, eliminated the "father" with the aim of implementing the complete restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union with greater intensity and effectiveness.

In this direction Brezhnev and company have proved to be "worthy pupils" of their ill-famed teacher. Within the Soviet Union they established and strengthened the dictatorial fascist regime, while they turned the foreign policy of their state into a policy of great-state chauvinism, expansion and hegemonism. Under the leadership of the Brezhnev Khrushchevites, the Soviet Union has been turned into an imperialist world power and, like the United States of America, aims to rule the world. Among the bitter evidence of the utterly reactionary policy of Soviet social-imperialism are the tragic events in Czechoslovakia, the strengthening of the domination of the Kremlin over the countries of the Warsaw Treaty, the deepening of their all-round dependence on Moscow and the extension of the tentacles of Soviet social-imperialism to Asia, Africa and elsewhere.

The correct assessments and forecasts of our party about the reactionary internal and foreign policy of Brezhnev have been and are being constantly confirmed. The most recent example is Afghanistan, where the Brezhnev Khrushchevites undertook an open fascist aggression and now are trying to quell the flames of the people's war with fire and steel in order to prolong their social imperialist occupation.

> The fact that Albania did not suffer the fate of those who are now languishing under imperialist and social-imperialist slavery is the best testimony to the correctness of the principled, courageous and consistent line of the PLA.

The fact that our small homeland and people have not suffered the tragic fate of all those who are now languishing under imperialist or social-imperialist slavery is the best testimony to the correctness of the consistent, courageous and principled line which our Party of Labour has always followed.

The merit for this correct course belongs to the whole party and, in particular, to its leadership, the Central Committee, which, imbued with and loyal to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, our guiding theory, has always led the party and the people correctly. In the great tests which we have had to withstand, the unity of the party with its leadership and the unity of the people around the party have been brilliant and have become further tempered. This steel unity gave the party support and strength in the difficult but glorious struggle against the Khrushchevite revisionists, too. This unity has been and is the foundation of the stability and confidence with which Albania has marched and is marching forward, withstanding the pressure and blackmail, the blandishments and demagogy of enemies of all hues.

As a communist and leader of the party, I, too, have had to take part actively and make my contribution to all this heroic struggle of our party. Charged by the party and its leadership, since the liberation of Albania, and especially during the years 1950-1960, I have headed delegations of the party and the state many times in official meetings with the Soviet leaders and with the main leaders of other communist and workers' parties. Likewise, many times we have exchanged reciprocal visits, I have taken part in consultations and international meetings of communist parties at which I have expressed and defended the correct line, decisions and instructions of the party. In all these meetings and visits I have become closely acquainted with glorious, unforgettable leaders, like Stalin, Kimitrov, Gottwald, Bierut, Pieck and others, and likewise, I have had to enter into contact with and know the Khrushchevite traitors, who, through a long and complicated process, gradually usurped power in the Soviet Union and in the former countries of people's democracy respectively.

The relations with them and the stands maintained by our party during this period have been reflected in the documents of the party, in my writings which are being published by decision of the central committee, as well as in other documents which are found in the central archives of the party. Now I am handing over these notes for publication as my reminiscences andimpressions from the many contacts and clashes with the Khrushchevites, which cover the period from 1953, after the death of Stalin, to the end of 1961, when the Khrushchev group broke off diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of Albania. Taken together with other published materials and documents covering that period, these notes, too, I believe, will serve to acquaint the communists and working masses better, both with the counter-revolutionary activity of the Soviet revisionists inside and outside the Soviet Union, and with the always correct and consistent struggle of our party in defence of Marxism-Leninism, the people and our socialist homeland.

[10 Oct 80]

[Text] Tirana, 10 Oct (ATA)--At the beginning of his new book "The Khrushchevites (Memoirs)" Comrade Enver Hoxha speaks of his impressions from the contacts with the Soviet leaders who came to power following Stalin's death, pointing out the lack of unity between them and the in-fighting, Krushchev's sudden and quick advent to power. Through facts he also shows that the new Soviet leaders were ill-disposed towards Albania.

Comrade Enver Hoxha writes:

In-Fighting Among the Top Soviet Leaders

> Stalin dies. Next day the top Soviet leadership divides up the portfolios. Khrushchev climbs the steps to power. Disillusionment from the first meeting with the "new" Soviet leaders in June 1958. Ill-intentioned criticism from Mikoyan and Bulganin. The end of Beria's short-lived reign. The meeting with Khrushchev in June 1954: "You helped in the exposure of Beria." Khrushchev's "theoretical" lecture on the roles of the first secretary of the party and the prime minister. The revisionist Mafia spins its spider's web inside and outside the Soviet Union.

The way in which the death of Stalin was announced and his funeral ceremony was organised, Comrade Enver Hoxha stresses in his memoirs, created the impression amongst us, the Albanian Communists and people, and others like us, that many

members of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union had been awaiting his death impatiently.

> Hidden hands had prepared the plot long before for the destruction of the Bolshevik Party and socialism in the Soviet Union.

One day after Stalin's death on 6 March 1953 the Central Committee of the party, the council of ministers and the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR were summoned to an urgent joint meeting. On occasions of great losses, such as the death of Stalin, urgent meetings are necessary and indispensable. However, the many important changes which were announced in the press one day later showed that this urgent meeting had been held for no other reason but...the sharing out of posts. Stalin had only just died, his body had not yet been placed in the hall where the final homage was to be paid, the program for the organization of paying homage and the funeral ceremony was still not worked out, the Soviet Communists and the Soviet people were weeping over their great loss, while the top Soviet leadership found the time to share out the portfolios. Malenkov became premier, Beria became first deputy-premier and minister of internal affairs, and Bulganin, Kaganovich, Mikoyan, Molotov shared the other posts. Major changes were made in all the top organs in the party and the state within that day. The presidium and the bureau of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the party were merged into a single organ, new secretaries of the Central Committee of the party were elected, a number of ministries were amalgamated or united, changes were made in the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, etc.

These actions could not fail to make profound and by no means favourable impressions on us. Disturbing questions arose automatically: How were all these major changes made so suddenly with one day, and not just any ordinary day, but on the first day of mourning! Logic compels us to believe that everything had been prepared in advance. The lists of these changes had been worked out long before in suspicious secrecy and they were simply waiting for the occasion to proclaim them in order to satisfy this one and that one...

It is never possible to make such extremely important decisions within a few hours, even on a completely normal day.

However, if at the start these were only doubts which shocked and surprised us, later developments, the occurrences and the facts which we were to learn about subsequently, made us even more convinced that hidden hands had prepared the plot long before and waited the opportunity to commence the course of the destruction of the Bolshevik Party and socialism in the Soviet Union.

The lack of unity in the Presidium of the Central Committee was made quite obvious at Stalin's funeral, too, when there was strife among the members over who would take pride of place and who would speak first. Instead of displaying unity at a time of misfortune before the peoples of the Soviet Union and all the communists of the world, who were deeply shocked and immensely grieved by the sudden death of Stalin, the "comrades" were competing for the limelight. Khrushchev opened the funeral ceremony, and Malenkov, Beria and Molotov spoke before the Lenin Mausoleum. Khrushchev and the conspirators behaved hypocritically over Stalin's coffin and rushed to get the funeral ceremony over as quickly as possible in order to shut themselves up in the Kremlin again to continue the process of the division and redivision of the posts.

The way in which Khrushchev rose was astonishing and suspect.

We, and many like us, thought that Molotov, Stalin's closest collaborator, the oldest and the most mature Bolshevik, with the greatest experience and best known inside and outside the Soviet Union would be elected first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. But it did not turn out so. Malenkov was placed at the head, with Beria in second place. Behind them in those days, a little more in the shade, stood a "panther" which was preparing itself to gobble up and liquidate the former two. This was Nikita Khrushchev.

The way in which he rose was truly astonishing and suspect: He was appointed only as chairman of the central commission to organize the funeral ceremony for Stalin, and on 7 March when the division of posts was made public, he had not been appointed to any new post, but had simply been freed from the task of first secretary of the Party Committee of Moscow, since "he was to concentrate on the work in the Central Committee of the party." Only a few days later, on 14 March 1953, Malenkov, "at his own request," was relieved of the post of secretary of the Central Committee of the party and Nikita Khrushchev was listed first in the composition of the new secretariat elected that same day.

Stalin has fought consistently for the Marxist-Leninist unity of the C.P. of the Soviet Union.

After his death the Khrushchevites encouraged the split.

Such actions did not please us at all, although they were not our responsibility. We were disillusioned in our opinions about the stability of the top Soviet leadership, but we explained this with our being totally uninformed about the situation developing in the party and the leadership of the Soviet Union. In the contacts which I had had with Stalin himself, with Malenkov, Molotov, Khrushchev, Beria, Mikoyan, Suslov, Voroshilov, Kaganovich, and other main leaders, I had not seen even the smallest division or discord amongst them.

Stalin has fought consistently for and was one of the decisive factors of the Marxist-Leninist unity of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. This unity in the party for which Stalin worked was not created by means of terror, as Khrushchev and the Khrushchevites claimed later, continuing the slanders of the imperialists and the world capitalist bourgeoisie, who were striving to destroy and overthrow the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union, but was based on the triumphs of socialism, on the Marxist-Leninist line and ideology of the Bolshevik Party and on the indisputably great personality of Stalin. The trust which all had in Stalin was based on his justice and the ability with which he defended the Soviet Union and Leninism. Stalin waged the class struggle correctly, dealing merciless blows at the enemies of socialism (and he was quite right to do so). The concrete daily struggle of Stalin, the Bolshevik Party and the whole Soviet people proves this squarely, as do the political and ideological writings of Stalin, the documents and decisions of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and also the press and the mass propaganda of those times against the Trotskyites, Bukharinites, Zinovievites, the Tukhachevskies, and all other traitors. This was a stern political and ideological class struggle to defend socialism, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the party and the principles of Marxism-Leninism. For this Stalin has great merits.

Stalin proved himself to be an outstanding Marxist-Leninist with clear principles, with great courage and cool-headedness, and the maturity and foresight of a Marxist revolutionary. If we just reflect on the strength of the external and internal enemies in the Soviet Union, on the manoeuvres and unrestrained propaganda they indulged in, on the fiendish tactics they used, then we can properly appreciate the principles and correct actions of Stalin at the head of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. If there were some excesses in the course of this just and titanic struggle, it was not Stalin who committed them, but Khrushchev, Beria and company, who for sinister hidden motives showed themselves the most zealous for purges at the time when they were not yet so powerful. They acted in this way to gain credit as "ardent defenders" of the dictatorship of the proletariat, as "merciless with the enemies," with the aim of climbing the steps in order to usurp power later. The facts show that when Stalin discovered the hostile activity of a Yagoda or a Yezhov, the revolutionary court condemned them without hesitation. Such elements as Khrushchev, Mikoyan, Beria and their apparatchiki hid the truth from Stalin. In one way or another, they misled and deceived Stalin. He did not trust them, therefore he had told them to their faces, "...when I am gone you will sell the Soviet Union." Khrushchev himself admitted this. And it turned out just as Stalin foresaw. As long as he was alive, even these enemies talked about unity, but after his death they encouraged the split. This process was being steadily extended.

From the visits which I made from time to time to the Soviet Union after 1953, for consultations over the problems of the political and economic situation, or over some problems of international policy which were raised by the Soviets, who allegedly sought our opinion, too. I saw more and more clearly the sharpening of contradictions among the members of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

> This behaviour of the new Soviet leaders was supposed to show the pride of the great state.

A few months after Stalin's death, in June 1953, I went to Moscow at the head of a party and government delegation to seek an economic and military credit.

It was the time when Malenkov seemed to be the main leader. He was chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union. Although Khrushchev had been listed first among the secretaries of the Central Committee of the party since March 1953, apparently he had not yet seized power completely, had still not prepared the putsch.

We normally made our requests in advance in writing, thus the members of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the party and government of the Soviet Union had long been aware of them and, indeed as it turned out, they had decided what they would give us and what they would not give us. They received us at the Kremlin. When we entered the room the Soviet leaders stood up and we shook hands with them. We exchanged the normal greetings.

I had met them all in the time of Stalin. Malenkov looked just the same--a heavy-built man with a pale, hairless face. I had met him years before in Moscow, during meetings I had with Stalin, and he had made a good impression on me. He worshipped Stalin and it seemed to me that Stalin valued him, too. At the 19th Congress

Malenkov delivered the report on behalf of the Central Committee of the party. He was one of the relatively new cadres who came into the leadership and who were liquidated later by the disguised revisionist Khrushchev and his associates. But now he was at the head of the table, holding the post of chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR. Beside him stood Beria, with his eyes glittering behind glasses and his hands never still. After him came Molotov, quiet and good-looking, one of the most serious and most honoured comrades for us, because he was an old Bolshevik from the time of Lenin and a close comrade of Stalin's. We still thought of Molotov in this way even after Stalin's death.

Next to Molotov was Mikoyan, his dark face scowling. This merchant was holding one of those thick pencils, half red half blue (something you could see in all the offices of the Soviet Union), and was keeping the "score." Now he had taken even greater authority into his hands. On 6 March, the day the posts were shared out, it was decided that the Ministry of Foreign Trade and that of Internal Trade should be combined in one, and the Armenian wheeler-dealer grabbed the portfolio.

Finally there was the bearded Marshal Bulganin, with white hair and pale blue eyes, sitting a little bit bemused at a corner of the table.

"Let us hear what you have to say," said Malenkov in a very grave tone. This was not at all a comradely beginning. This was to become the custom in talks with the new Soviet leaders, and no doubt this behaviour was supposed to show the pride of the great state. "Well, say what you have to say to us, we shall listen to you and pronounce our final opinion."

I did not know Russian well, I could not speak it, but I could understand it. The talk was conducted through an interpreter.

I began to speak about the problems that were worrying us, especially about military questions and the problems of the economy. First, I gave an introduction about the internal and external political situation of our country, which was causing us some concern. It was essential to give solid reasons for our needs, to back up our requests in both the economic and military sectors. In connection with the latter, the aid which they provided for our army was always insufficient and minimal, regardless of the fact that in public we always spoke very highly of the value of that small amount of aid which they granted us.

My concern was to make my expose as concrete and concise as possible. I tried not to go on at too great a length and I had been speaking for no more than 20 minutes, when I heard Beria, with his snake's eyes, say to Malenkov, who was sitting listening to me as expressionless as a mummy:

"Can't we say what we have to say and put an end to this?"

Without changing his expression, without shifting his eyes from me (of course, he had to maintain his authority in front of his deputies), Malenkov said to Beria:

"Wait."

I was so annoyed I was ready to explode internally, but I preserved my aplomb and, in order to let them understand that I had heard and understood what they said, I cut down my talk and said to Malenkov:

"I have finished."

"Pravilno." That's right (Russian in the original), said Malenkov and gave Mikoyan the floor.

Malenkov and Beria seemed to be the two "cocks of the walk."

Mikoyan made some vicious and venomous remarks.

Beria, pleased that I had finished, put his hands in his pockets and tried to work out what impression their replies were making on me. Of course, I was not satisfied with what they had decided to give us in response to the very modest requests we had made. I spoke again and told them that they had made heavy reductions in the things we had asked for. Mikoyan jumped in to "explain" that the Soviet Union itself was poor, that it had gone through the war, that it had to assist other countries, too, etc.

"When we drafted these requests," I told Mikoyan, "we took account of the reason you have just given, indeed we cut our calculations very fine, and your specialists who work in our country are witnesses to this."

"Our specialists do not know what possibilities the Soviet Union had. We who have told you our opinions and possibilities know these things," said Mikoyan.

Molotov was leaning on the table. He said something about Albania's relations with its neighbours, but he never raised his eyes. Malenkov and Beria seemed to be the two "cocks of the walk," while Mikoyan who was cold and bitter, did not say much, but when he did speak, it was only to make some vicious and venomous remark. From the way they spoke, the way they interrupted one another, the arrogant tone in which they gave "advice," the signs of discord among them were quite clear.

[11 Oct 80]

[Text] Tirana, 11 Oct (ATA)--Bulganin slanders against the cadres of the Albanian Army and requires that purges be carried out.

In continuation of his notes on the first meeting with the Soviet leadership in June 1953, after Stalin's death, Comrade Enver Hoxha quotes also Bulganin's slanders at this meeting, who said among the other things that he had been informed that many cadres of the Albanian Army were the sons of Beys and Aghas, of dubious origin and activity. "We must be certain about those into whose hands these weapons, with which we shall supply you, will be put, he went on, therefore we advise you to study this problem deeply and carry out purges..."

This made my blood boil, Comrade Enver Hoxha writes, because it was a slanderous accusation and an insult to the cadres of our army. I raised my voice and asked the marshal:

"What is the source of this information which you give me with such assurance, why do you insult our army?"

The atmosphere of the meeting became as cold as ice. They all lifted their heads and looked at me while I waited for Bulganin to reply. He found himself at a tight spot because he had not expected this cutting question, and he looked at Beria.

Beria began to speak, the movements of his hands and eyes revealing his embarrassment and irritation, and said that according to their information, we allegedly had unsuitable and dubious elements, not only in the army, but also in the apparatus of the state and in the economy. He even mentioned a percentage. Bulganin sighed with relief and looked around, not concealing his satisfaction. But Beria cut short his smile. He openly opposed Bulganin's "advice" about purges and stressed that the "elements with a bad past, but who have since taken the right road, must not be purged but should be pardoned." The resentment and deep contradictions which existed between these two were displayed quite openly. As it turned out later, the contradictions between Bulganin and Beria were not simply between these two persons, but were the reflection of deep contradictions, quarrels and opposition between the Soviet State Security Service and the intelligence organs of the Soviet Army. But we were to learn these things later. In this concrete case we were dealing with a grave accusation raised against us. We could never accept this accusation, therefore, I stood up and said:

"Those who have given you this information have committed slander, hence they are enemies. There is truth in what you said. All the cadres of our army have fought in the war, have emerged from the war, and not only do I not accept these accusations but I am telling you that your informers are deceiving you, are concocting slanders. I assure you that the weapons that we have received and will receive from you have been and will be in reliable hands. that the Party of Labour, and no one else, has led and still leads our peoples army. That is all I had to say." And I sat down.

When I had finished, Malenkov began to speak to close the debate. After stressing that he agreed with what the preceding speakers had said, he issued a load of "advice and instructions" for us, and then dwelt on the debate which we had with Bulganin and Beria about the "enemies" in the ranks of our army.

"As for undertaking purges in the army, I think that the problem should not be presented in this way," said Malenkov, opposing the "advice" which Bulganin gave me about purges. "People are not born ready-formed, and they make mistakes in life. We must not be afraid to excuse people for their past mistakes. We have people who have fought against us with weapons, but now we are bringing out special laws to pardon them for their past and in this way to give them the possibility to work in the army and even to be in the party. The term 'purge' of the army is not suitable," repeated Malenkov and closed the discussion.

Utter confusion: One said irresponsibly, "You have enemies" and "carry out purges," the other said, "We are bringing out laws to pardon them for their past."

However, these were their opinions. We listened to them carefully and openly expressed our opposition to those things over which we disagreed.

Meeting which showed that the leadership of the Soviet Union was ill-disposed towards our country.

The "changing of the guard" was taking place in the Kremlin.

My conclusion from this meeting was unpleasant. I saw that the leadership of the Soviet Union was ill-disposed towards our country. The arrogant way they behaved during the meeting, their refusal to give those few things that we sought, and their slanderous attack on the cadres of our army were not good signs.

From this meeting I observed also that there was no unity in the Presidium of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union: Malenkov and Beria were predominant, Molotov hardly spoke, Mikoyan seemed to be on the outer and spouted venom, while what Bulganin said was bullshit.

It was apparent that the in-fighting had begun among the leaders in the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. However hard they tried to avoid giving the impression outside that the "changing of the guard" was taking place in the Kremlin, they were unable to hide everything. Changes had been and were being made in the party and the government. After he kicked out Malenkov, leaving him only the post of prime minister, Khrushchev made himself first secretary of the Central Committee in September 1953. It is evident that Khrushchev and his group of close cronies hatched up the intrigue in the Presidium carefully, by setting their opponents at loggerheads and eliminating Beria and apparently "taming" the others.

The version on Beria's liquidation resembles the detective films.

There are many versions about the arrest and execution of Beria. Amongst others it was said that men from the army, headed by General Moskalenko, arrested Beria right in the meeting of the Presidium of the CC of the party. Apparently Khrushchev and his henchmen charged the army with this "special mission," because they did not trust the state security, since Beria had had it in his hands for years on end. The plan had been hatched up in advance: While the meeting of the Presidium of the CC of the party was being held, Moskalenko and his men got into a nearby room unobserved. At the given moment, Malenkov pressed the bell and within a few seconds Moskalenko entered the office where the meeting was being held and approached Beria to arrest him. It was said that Beria reached out to take the satchel he had nearby, but Khrushchev, who was sitting "vigilant" by his side, was "quicker" and seized the satchel first. The "bird" could not fly away, the action was crowned with success precisely as in a detective film, but this was no ordinary film: The actors of this one were members of the Presidium of the CC of the CPSU.

This is what, was said, took place and Khrushchev himself admitted it. Later, when a general, who I believe was called Sergatskov, came to Tirana as Soviet military adviser he also told us something about the trial of Beria. He told us that he had been called as a witness to declare in court that Beria had allegedly behaved arrogantly towards him. On this occasion Sergatskov told our comrades in confidence: "Beria defended himself very strongly in the court, accepted none of the accusations and refuted them all."

Khrushchev's clownish nature in the treatment of problems.

In June 1954, a few months after Khrushchev's elevation to the post of first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, together with Comrade Hysni Kapo, we had to go to Moscow where we sought a meeting with the Soviet leaders to talk about the economic problems over the solution of which they were proving uncooperative. Khrushchev received us, together with Malenkov, who was still prime minister, in the presence of Voroshilov, Mikoyan, Suslov and one or two others of lower rank.

Having mentioned that he had met Khrushchev once or twice in Ukraine before the death of Stalin, Comrade Enver Hoxha continues: Khrushchev's unexpected and rapid rise to power did not make a good impression on us. Not because we had anything against him, but because we thought that the role and figure of Khrushchev was not so well-known either in the Soviet Union or in the world, that he could so rapidly take the place of the great Stalin as first secretary of the Central Committee of the party. Khrushchev had never appeared at any of the meetings we had had for years on end with Stalin, although nearly all the top leaders of the party and Soviet state took part in most of those meetings. However, we did not express this and never mentioned our impression about this promotion of Khrushchev so high. We considered this an internal matter of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, thought that they knew what they were doing, and wished with all our heart that things would always go well in the Soviet Union, as in the time of Stalin.

And now the day had come for us to meet Khrushchev face to face in our first official meeting.

I spoke first. I briefly presented the economic, political and organizational situation of the country, the situation in the party and our people's state power.

Khrushchev spoke immediately after me and right from the start displayed his clownish nature in the treatment of problems:

"We are informed about your situation and problems from the materials we have studied," he began. "The report which Comrade Enver gave us here made matters clearer to us, and I describe it as a 'joint report,' yours and ours. But," he continued, "I am still a bad Albanian and I am not going to speak now either about the economic problems or about the political ones, which Comrade Enver raised, because, for our part, we have still not exchanged opinions and reached a common view. Therefore, I am going to speak about something else."

And he began to give us a long talk about the importance of the role of the party.

He spoke in a loud voice with many gestures of his hands and his head, looking in all directions without concentrating on any one point, interrupted his speech here and there to ask questions, and then, often without waiting for the reply, went on with his speech, hopping from branch to branch.

"The party leads, organizes, controls," he theorized. "It is the initiator and inspirer. But Beria wanted to liquidate the role of the party." And after a moment of silence he asked me: "Have you received the resolution which announced the sentence we passed on Beria?"

"Yes," I replied.

He left his discourse about the party and started to speak about the activity of Beria, he accused him of almost every crime and described him as the cause of many evils. These were the first steps towards the attack on Stalin. For the time being, Khrushchev felt that he could not rise against the figure and work of Stalin, therefore, in order to prepare the terrain he started with Beria. At this meeting, moreover, to our astonishment, Khrushchev told us:

"When you were here last year, you assisted in the unmasking and exposure of Beria."

I stared in amazement, wondering what he was leading up to. Khrushchev's explanation was this:

"You remember the debate which you had last year with Bulganin and Beria over the accusation they made against your army. It was Beria who had given us that information, and the strong opposition which you put up in the presence of the comrades of the Presidium helped us by supplementing the doubts and the facts which we had about the hostile activity of Beria. A few days after your departure for Albania we condemned him."

Malenkov was the "scapegoat."

However, in that first meeting with us Khrushchev was not concerned simply with Beria. The "Beria" dissier had been closed. Khrushchev had settled accounts with him. Now he had to go further. He dealt at length with the importance and the role of the first secretary or general secretary of the party.

"To me it is of no importance whether he is called 'first' secretary of 'general' secretary," he said in substance. "What is important is that the most able, qualified person with the greatest authority in the country must be elected to that post. We have our experience," he continued. "After the death of Stalin we had four secretaries of the Central Committee but we had no one in charge, and thus we had no one to sign the minutes of meetings."

After going all round the question from the aspect of "principle," Khrushchev did not fail to launch a few gibes which, of course, were aimed against Malenkov, although he mentioned no names.

"Imagine what would occur," he said in his cunning way, "if the most capable and authoritative comrade were elected chairman of the Council of Ministers. He would have everyone on his back, and thus there would be a danger that the criticism put forward through the party would not be taken into account and hence the party would take second place and be turned into an organ of the Council of Ministers."

While he was speaking I glanced several times at Malenkov who sat motionless while his whole body seemed to be sagging, his face an ashen hue.

Voroshilov, his face flushed bright red, was watching me, waiting for Khrushchev to finish his "discourse." Then he began. He pointed out to me (as though I did not know) that the post of prime minister was very important, too, for this or that reason, etc.

"I think," said Voroschilov in an uncertain tone, as though he did not know with whom to side and whom to oppose, "that Comrade Khrushchev did not intend to imply that the Council of Ministers does not have its special importance. The prime minister, likewise..."

Now Malenkov's face had become deathly pale. While wanting to soften the bad impression which Khrushchev had created, especially about Malenkov, with these words, Voroshilov brought out more clearly the tense situation which existed in the Presidium of the CC of the party. Klim Voroshilov went on with this lecture about the role and importance of the prime minister for several minutes.

Malenkov was the "scapegoat" which they displayed to me to see how I would react. In these two lectures I saw clearly that the split in the Presidium of the CC of the CPSU was growing deeper, that Malenkov and his supporters were on the way out. We were to see later where this process would lead.

The green lights were given for all the revisionist elements in the other parties too.

At this same meeting Khrushchev told us that the other sister parties had been told of the Soviet "experience" of who should be first secretary of the party and who prime minister in the countries of people's democracy.

"We talked over these questions with the Polish comrades before the congress of their party," Khrushchev told us. "We thrashed matters out thoroughly and thought that Comrade Bierut should remain chairman of the Council of Ministers and Comrade Ochab should be appointed first secretary of the party..."

Hence, right from the start Khrushchev was for pushing Bierut aside in the leadership of the party (and later for his elimination), since he had insisted that Ochab, "a very good Polish comrade," as he stressed to us, should be elected first secretary. Thus they were giving the green light for all the revisionist elements, who, up till yesterday, were wriggling and keeping a low profile, awaiting the opportune moments. Now these moments were being created by Khrushchev who, with his actions, stands and "new ideas," was becoming the inspirer and organizer of "changes" and "reorganizations."

Bierut was completely eliminated by a sudden "cold" caught in Moscow.

However, the Congress of the Polish United Workers' Party did not fulfill Khrushchev's desires. Bierut, a resolute Marxist-Leninist comrade, of whom I have very good memories, was elected first secretary of the party, while Cyrankiewicz was elected prime minister.

Khrushchev "reconciled" himself to this decision because there was nothing he could do about it. However, the revisionist Mafia, which had begun to stir, was thinking about all the ways and possibilities. It was creating its spider's web. And although Bierut was not removed from the leadership of the party in Warsaw, as Khrushchev wanted and dictated, later he was to be eliminated completely by a sudden "cold" caught in Moscow.

[12 Oct 80]

[Text] Tirana, 12 Oct (ATA)--By vividly presenting the facts in his book "The Krushchevites (Memoirs)," Comrade Enver Hoxha analyses the factors that brought about the great tragedy in the Soviet Union. He stresses the correctness of J.V. Stalin's line and the counter-revolutionary role of Krushchev, Mikoyan, etc. He writes:

Khrushchev's Strategy and Tactics Within the Soviet Union

> The roots of the tragedy of the Soviet Union. The stages through which Khrushchev passed towards seizing political and ideological power. The Khrushchevite caste corrodes the sword of the revolution. What lies behind Khrushchev's "collective leadership." Khrushchev and Mikoyan--the head of the counterrevolutionary plot. The breeze of liberalism is blowing in the Soviet Union. Khrushchev and Voroshilov speak openly against Stalin. Khrushchev builds up his own cult. The enemies of the revolution are proclaimed "heroes" and "victims."

One of the main directions of Khrushchev's strategy and tactics, writes Comrade Enver Hoxha, was to seize complete political and ideological power within the Soviet Union and to put the Soviet Army and the state security organs in his service.

The Khrushchev group would work to achieve this objective step by step. At first, it would not attack Marxism-Leninism, the construction of socialism in the Soviet Union and Stalin frontally. On the contrary, this group would base itself on the successes achieved and, moreover, would exalut them to the maximum, in order to gain credit for itself and create a situation of euphoria, with the aim of destroying the socialist base and superstructure later.

First of all, this renegade group had to get control of the party in order to eliminate the possible resistance of those cadres who had not lost their revolutionary class vigilance, to neutralize the waverers and win them over by means of persuasion or threats, as well as to promote to the key leading positions bad, anti-Marxist, carreerist, opportunist elements of whom, of course, there were some in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the apparatus of the Soviet state.

After the great patriotic war some negative phenomena appeared in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The difficult economic situation, the devastation and destruction, the great human losses which occurred in the Soviet Union, required a total mobilization of the cadres and the masses for its consolidation and progress. However, instead of this, a falling-off in the character and morale of many cadres was noticed. On the other hand, through their conceit and boasting about the glory of the battles won, through their decorations and privileges, with their many vices and distorted views, the power-seeking elements were overwhelming the vigilance of the party and causing it to decay from within. A caste was created in the army which extended its despotic and arrogant domination to the party, too, altering its proletarian character. The party should have been the sword of the revolution, but this caste corroded it.

Stalin's correct line was distorted and sabotaged by the enemy elements.

Khrushchev and his collaborators acted under cover.

I am of the opinion that even before the war, but especially after the war, signs of a deplorable apathy appeared in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. This party had a great reputation, and had achieved colossal successes in the course of its work, but at the same time it had started to lose the revolutionary spirit and was becoming infected by bureaucracy and routine. The Leninist norms, the teachings of Lenin and Stalin had been transformed by the apparatichiki into stale platitudes and hackneyed slogans devoid of operative worth. The Soviet Union was a vast country, the people worked, produced, created. It was said that industry was developing at the necessary rates and that the socialist agriculture was advancing. But this development was not at the level it should have been.

It was not the "wrong" line of Stalin which held up the progress. On the contrary, this line was correct and Marxist-Leninist, but it was frequently applied badly and even distorted and sabotaged by enemy elements. Stalin's correct line was distorted also by the disguised enemies in the ranks of the party and in the organs of the state, by the opportunists, liberals, Trotskyites and revisionists, as the Khrushchev,s Mikoyans, Suslovs, Kosygins, etc. eventually turned out to be.

Before the death of Stalin, Khrushchev and his close collaborators in the putsch were among the main leaders who acted under cover, who made preparations and awaited the appropriate moment for open action on a broad scale. It is a fact that these traitors were hardened conspirators, with the experience of various Russian counter-revolutionaries, the experience of anarchists, Trotskyites and Bukharinites. They were also acquianted with the experience of the revolution and the Bolshevik Party, although they learned nothing of benefit from the revolution, but learned everything they needed to undermine the revolution and socialism, while escaping the blows of the revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. In short, they were counter-revolutionaries and double-dealers. On the one hand, they sang the praises of socialism, the revolution, the Bolshevik Communist Party, Lenin and Stalin, and on the other hand, they prepared the counter-revolution.

Hence, all this accumulated scum carried out sabotage with the subtlest methods, which they disguised by praising Stalin and the socialist regime. These elements disorganized the revolution while organizing the counter-revolution, displayed "severity" against internal enemies in order to spread fear and terror in the party, the state and the people. It was they who created a situation full of euphoria which they reported to Stalin, but in reality they destroyed the base of the party, the base of the state, caused spiritual degeneration and built up the cult of Stalin to the skies in order to overthrow him more easily in the future.

This was a diabolical hostile activity which had a stranglehold on the Soviet Union, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Stalin, who, as the historical facts showed, was surrounded by enemies. Almost none of the members of the Presidium and the Central Committee raised their voices in defence of socialism and Stalin.

If a detailed analysis is made of the political, ideological and organizational directives of Stalin in the leadership and organization of the party, the war and the work, in general, mistakes of principle will not be found. But if we bear in mind how they were distorted by the enemies and applied in practice, we will see the dangerous consequences of these distortions and it will become obvious why the party began to become bureaucratic, to be immersed in routine work and dangerous formalism which sapped its strength and strangled its revolutionary spirit and enthusiasm. The party became covered by a heavy layer of rust, by political apathy, thinking mistakenly that the head, the leadership, operates and solves everything on its own. From such a concept the situation was created that in every instance and about everything they would say, "this is the leadership's business." "The Central Committee does not make mistakes." "Stalin has said this, and that's all there is to it," etc. Stalin might not have said many things, but they were covered with his name.

The apparatus and the officials became "omnipotent," "infallible" and operated in bureaucratic ways under the slogans of democratic centralism and Bolshevik criticism and self-criticism, which were no longer Bolshevik in reality. There is no doubt that in this way the Bolshevik Party lost its former vitality. It lived on with correct slogans, but they were only slogans. It carried out orders, but did not act on its own initiative. With the methods and forms of work which were used in the leadership of the party, the opposite results were achieved.

> A worker aristocracy made up of bureaucratic cadres was being created in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

In such conditions bureaucratic administrative measures began to predominate over revolutionary measures. Vigilance was no longer operative because it was no longer revolutionary, regardless of all the boasting about it. From a vigilance of the party and the masses, it was being turned into a vigilance of bureaucratic apparatus and transformed, in fact, if not completely from the formal viewpoint, into a vigilance of the state security organs and the courts.

It is understandable that in such conditions, non-proletarian, non-working class feelings and views began to take root and to be cultivated in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and in the consciousness of many of the communists, careerism, servility, charlatanism, unhealthy cronyism, anti-proletarian morality, etc. began to spread. These evils eroded the party from within, smothered the feeling of class struggle and sacrifice and encouraged seeking the "good life," with comforts, with privileges, with personal gains and the least possible work and effort. Thus, a worker aristocracy made up of bureaucratic cadres was being created in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Regrettably, such a process of degeneration developed under the "joyful" and "hopeful" slogans that "everything is going well, normally, within the laws and norms of the party," which in fact were being violated, that "the class struggle is still being waged," that "democratic centralism is safeguarded," "criticism and self-criticism continues as beofre," that "there is steel unity in the party," "there are no more factional, anti-party elements," "the time of Trotskyite and Bukharinite groups is passed," etc, etc. Generally speaking, even the revolutionary elements considered such a distorted concept of the situation to be a [word indistinct] reality and, this is the essence of the drama and the fatal mistake.

Therefore, it was considered that there was nothing to be alarmed about. Hence, according to them, life was proceeding normally, and thus it was reported to Stalin: "Everything is going normally." We are convinced that if Stalin, as the great revolutionary he was, had known the reality of the situation in the party, he would have struck a crushing blow at this unhealthy spirit and the entire party and the Soviet people would have risen to their feet to support him because, quite correctly, they had great trust in Stalin.

Not only did the apparatuses misinform Stalin and bureaucratically deform his correct directives, but they had created such a situation among the people and in the party that even when Stalin went among the masses of the party and the people, to the extent that his age and health permitted, they did not inform him about the shortcomings and mistakes which were occuring, because the apparatus had implanted the opinion amongst the communists and the masses that "we must not worry Stalin."

> The great hullabaloo the Khrushchevites made about the so-called cult of Stalin was a bluff.

The great hullabaloo the Khrushchevites made about the so-called cult of Stalin, writes Comrade Enver Hoxha further on, was really only a bluff. It was not Stalin, who was a modest person, who had built up this cult, but all the revisionist scum accumulated at the head of the party and the state which apart from anything else, exploited the great love of the Soviet peoples for Stalin, especially after the victory over fascism. If one reads the speeches of Khrushchev, Mikoyan and all the other members of the Presidium, one will see what unrestrained and hypocritical praises these enemies poured on Stalin as long as he was alive. It is sickening to read these things when you think that behind all this praise they were hiding their hostile work from the communists and the masses who were deveived, thinking that they had to do with leaders loyal to Marxism-Leninism and comrades loyal to Stalin.

Even for some time after Stalin's death, the "new" Soviet leaders, and Khrushchev above all, still did not speak badly about him. Indeed they described him as a "great man," a "leader of indisputable authority," etc. Khrushchev had to speak in this way to gain credit inside and outside the Soviet Union in order to create the idea that he was "loyal" to socialism and the revolution, a "continuer" of the work of Lenin and Stalin.

Khrushchev and Mikoyan were the bitterest enemies of Marxism-Leninism and Stalin. These two headed the plot and the putsch which they had prepared long before, together with anti-Marxist, careerist elements of the Central Committee, of the army, and leaders at the base. These putschists did not show their hand immediately after the death of Stalin, but, when it was necessary and to the extent it was necessary, continued to administer the poison along with their praises for Stalin. It is true that Mikoyan, in particular, in the many meetings I have had with him, never boosted Stalin, irrespective of the fact that in speeches and discourses the putschists heaped praises and glory on Stalin on every occasion. They fostered the cult of Stalin in order to isolate him as much as possible from the masses, and, hinding behind this cult, they prepared the catastrophe.

Khrushchev and Mikoyan worked to a plan and after the death of Stalin found an open field for their activity, also because of the fact that Malenkov, Beria

Bulganin and Voroshilov proved to be not only blind, but also ambitious, and each of them struggled for power.

They and others, old revolutionaries and honest communists, had now turned into typical representatives of that bureaucratic routine, of that bureaucratic which developed, and, when they made a feeble attempt to use this against the obvious plot of the Khrushchevites, it was already too late.

Khrushchev and Miloyan, in complete unity, knew how to manoeuvre amongst them and to set one against the other. In a few words, they applied this tactic: Split and divide in the Presidium, organize the forces of the putsch outside, continue to speak well about Stalin in order to have the millions strong masses on their side, and thus bring closer the day of the seizure of power, the liquidation of opponents, and of a whole glorious epoch of the construction of socialism, the victory of the patriotic war, etc. All this feverish activity (and we sensed this) was aimed to create the popularity of Khrushchev inside the Soviet Union and outside it.

Under the umbrella of the victories which the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union had scored under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin, Khrushchev did his utmost to make the Soviet peoples and the Soviet communists think that nothing had changed, one great leader had died, but a "greater" leader was rising, and what a leader he was. As principled a Leninist as the former, if not more so, but liberal, popular, smiling, all humour and jokes.

> Revisionist viper pours out its poison about the figure and work of Stalin.

Meanwhile the revisionist viper, which was becoming active, started to pour out its poison about the figure and work of Stalin. At first this was done without attacking Stalin by name, but attacking him indirectly.

In one of the meetings which I had with Khrushchev, in June 1954, in an allegedly principled and theoretical way he began to expound to me the great importance of "collective leadership," and the great damage which comes about when this leadership is replaced by the cult of one person, and mentioned isolated excerpts from Marx and Lenin, so that I would think that what he was saying had a Marxist-Leninist basis.

He said nothing against Stalin, but he fired off all his batteries at Beria, accusing him of real and non-existent crimes. The truth is that in this initial stage of Khrushchev's revisionist assault, Beria was the appropriate card to play to advance the secret plans. On the pretext of the struggle against the damage caused by Beria, Khrushchev, on the one hand, established himself in the leadership of the party and state and took control of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and on the other hand prepared public opinion for the open attack which he was to undertake later on Joseph Vissarinovich Stalin, and on the real work of the Bolshevik Communist Party of Lenin and Stalin.

Many of these surprising actions and changes made an impression on us, but it was too early to be able to grasp the true proportions of the plot which was being carried out. Nevertheless, even at that time we could not fail to notice the

contradictory nature of various actions and opinions of this "new leader" who was taking over the reins in the Soviet Union. This same Khrushchev who was now parading before us as a "disciple of collective leadership" a few days earlier in a meeting which we had with him, when he spoke to us about the role of the first secretary of the party and the prime minister, presented himself as an ardent supporter of the "role of the individual" and the "firm hand."

After Stalin's death it seemed that an allegedly collective leadership was established by these "adherents to principle." The collective leadership was publicized to show that "Stalin had violated the principle of collective leadership," that he "had degraded this important norm for Leninist leadership," and that the "leadership of the party and the state had been transformed from collective leadership into individual leadership." This was a big lie, publicized by the Khrushchevites to prepare the ground for themselves. If the collective leadership principle had been violated, the blame for this must be laid not on the correct ideas which Stalin expressed on different problems, but on the hypocritical flattery of those others and on the arbitrary decisions which they themselves took, distorting the line in the various sectors which they led.

In the campaign allegedly for the establishment of the collective leadership Khrushchev was trying to perform a slight-of-hand trick, under cover of a deafening clamour about the struggle against the cult of the individual. There were no more photographs of Khrushchev on the daily press, no more big headlines boosting him, but another stale tactic was used: all the newspapers were filled with his public speeches, his discourses, reports about his meetings with foreign ambassadors, his nightly attendances at diplomatic receptions, his meetings with delegations of communist parties, his meetings with American journalists, businessmen and senators and Western millionaires, who were friends of Khrushchev.

Khrushchev's and Varoshilov's slanderous tale.

I was in Moscow on the occasion of a meeting of the parties of all the socialist countries. I think it was January 1956, when a consultative meeting was held about the problems of economic development of the member countries of COMECON. It was the time when Khrushchev and the Khrushchevites were advancing in their hostile activity. We were together with Khrushchev and Voroshilov in a villa outside Moscow, where all the representatives of the sister parties were to have lunch. The others had not yet arrived. I had never heard the Soviet leaders openly speak ill of Stalin, and I, for my part, continued as before to speak with affection and deep respect for the great Stalin. Apparently these words of mine did not sound sweet in Khrushchev's ears. While waiting for the other comrades to come, Khrushchev and Voroshilov said to me:

"Shall we take some air in the park?"

We went out and strolled around the paths of the park. Khrushchev said to Klim Voroshilov:

"Do tell Enver something about Stalin's mistakes."

I pricked up my ears, although I had long suspected that they were crooks. And Voroshilov began to tell me that "Stalin made mistakes in the line of the party, he was brutal, and so savage that you could not discuss anything with him."

Voroshilov went on, "He even allowed crimes to be committed, and he must bear responsibility for this. He made mistakes also in the field of the development of the economy, therefore it is not right to describe him as the 'architect of the construction of socialism'. Stalin did not have correct relations with the other parties..."

Voroshilov went on and on pouring out such things against Stalin. Some I understood and some I didn't, because, as I have written above, I did not understand Russian well, but nevertheless I understood the essence of the conversation and the aim of these two and I was revolted. Khrushchev was walking ahead of us, carrying a stick with which he hit the cabbages that they had planted in the park. (Khrushchev had planted vegetables even in the parks in order to pose as an expert in agriculture.)

As soon as Voroshilov ended his slanderous tale I asked him:

"How is it possible that Stalin could make such mistakes?"

Khrushchev turned to me, his face flushed, and replied.

"It is possible, it is possible Comrade Enver, Stalin did these things."

"You have seen these things when Stalin was alive. But how is it that you did not help him to avoid these mistakes, which you say he made?" I asked Khrushchev.

"It is natural that you ask this question, Comrade Enver, but you see this kapust (cabbage Russian in the original). Here Stalin would have cut off your head just as easily as the gardener will cut this kapusta," and Khrushchev hit the cabbage with his stick.

"Everything is clear." I said to Khrushchev and said no more.

We went inside. The other comrades had arrived. I was seething with anger.

> Unrestrained demagogy and efforts to build up the cult of charlatan, clown and blackmailer of Khrushchev.

Khrushchev was advancing more rapidly towards the seizure of power, writes Comrade Enver Hoxha further on. He was creating the figure of a "popular" Moujik leader, who was opening the prisons and concentration camps, who not only did not fear the reactionaries and the condemned enemies in the prisons in the Soviet Union, but by releasing them, wanted to show they had been condemned even when they were "innocent."

Everyone knows what Trotskyites, conspirators and counter-revolutionaries Zinoviev, Kameniev, Rykov, and Pyatokov were, what traitors Tukhachevsky and the other generals, agents of intelligence service or the Germans, were. But to Khrushchev and Mikoyan they were all fine people and a little later, in February 1956, they were to present them as innocent victims of the "Stalinist terror." This was being built up slowly, public opinion was being carefully prepared. The "new" leaders, who were the same as in the past, with the exception of Stalin, were posing as liberals in order to say to the people: "Breathe freely, you are free,

you are in genuine democracy because the tyrant and the tyranny have been eliminated. Now everything is proceeding on Lenin's road. Plenty has been created. The markets will be so full that we won't know what to do with all the products."

Khrushchev, this disgusting, loud-mouthed individual, concealed his wiles and manoeuvres under a torrent of empty words. Nevertheless, in this way he created a situation favourable to his group. Khrushchev let no day go by without indulging in unrestrained demagogy about the development of agriculture, transferring people and changing methods of work and making himself the only "competent boss" of agriculture, the one who undertook such personal "reforms."

Khrushchev had even "inaugurated" his elevation to the post of the first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union with a long report on the problems of agriculture, which he delivered at a plenum of the Central Committee in September 1953. This report, which was described as "very important," contained those Khrushchevite ideas and reforms which, in fact, damaged Soviet agriculture so severely that their catastrophic consequences are being felt to this day. All the boastful clamour about the "virgin lands" was empty advertising. The Soviet Union has bought and is still buying millions of tons of grain from the United States of America.

However, the "collective leadership" and non-publication of Khrushchev's photographs in the newspapers did not last long. The cult of Khrushchev was being built up by the tricksters, the liberals, the careerists, the lick-spittles and the flaterers. The great authority of Stalin, based on his immortal work, was undermined inside and outside the Soviet Union. His place and authority was usurped by that charlatan, clown and blackmailer.

[13 Oct 80]

[Text] Tirana, 13 Oct (ATA)--In continuation of the book "The Khrushchevites (Memoirs)," Comrade Enver Hoxha describes the difficult talks on economic matters with the new Soviet leaders and their stand of hucksters in the relations with Albania. He discovers the efforts of the Khrushchevites to hinder the development of Albanian economy.

In continuation of the book "The Khrushchevites (Memoirs)," Comrade Enver Hoxha describes the difficult talks on economic matters with the new Soviet leaders and their stand of hucksters in the relations with Albania. He discovers the efforts of the Khrushchevites to hinder the development of Albanian economy.

Comrade Enver Hoxha also points out the discontent and quarrels among the revisionist chiefs in COMECON.

Not Marxist-Leninists but Hucksters

> Mikoyan, a cosmopolitan huckster and inveterate anti-Albanian. Difficult talks in June 1953 on economic matters--the Soviet leaders are bargaining over aid for Albania. Khrushchev's "advice" one year later: "You don't need heavy industry," "We shall supply you with oil and metals," "Don't worry about bread grain, we'll supply you with all you want." Quarrels with Mikoyan. Discontent in COMECON from the revisionist chiefs. Ochab, Dej, Ulbricht. The June 1956 COMECON consultation in Moscow--Khrushchev: "...we must do what Hitler did." With Khrushchev again. His "advice:" "Albania should advance with cotton, sheep, fish and citrus fruit."

We were determined to carry on and develop even further the practice, which was begun at the time when Stalin was alive, writes Comrade Enver Hoxha, of exchanging opinions with and seeking the aid of the Soviet leadership over our economic problems. We felt the need for continual consultation with our friends, and first of all with the leaders of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Likewise we felt the need for some material aid and credits from them. These we never considered as charity and never sought them as such.

However, in this field of our relations and contacts with the post-Stalin Soviet leadership, too, we very soon saw the first sign that things were no longer going as before. There was something wrong, there was no longer that former atmosphere, when we would go to Stalin and open our hearts to him without hesitation and he would listen and speak to us just as frankly from his heart, the heart of an internationalist communist. More and more each day, in his successors, instead of communists we saw hucksters.

To Mikoyan, Albania was a "geographical notion."

Mikoyan, in particular, was the most negative, the most dubious element and the greatest intriguer among the members of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. This huckster, who was constantly grinding and clicking his false teeth, was also ruminating on diabolical anti-Marxist, conspiratorial, putschist plans, as was proved later. This individual, with an unpleasant face and a black heart, behaved in a very menacing way, especially towards us Albanians. Our relations with this tight-fisted dealer and money-changer were economic and commercial. Everything in connection with Albania, both in according credits, and in commercial exchanges, this individual looked at simply from the angle of a trader. The friendly, internationalist socialist feelings had been wiped out as far as he was concerned.

To Mikoyan, Albania was a "geographical notion," a country with a people of no value. I never heard him say one word about our war, our people, or the efforts we made in the struggle with the great difficulties for the revival of the country and our economy ruined by the war. He who had visited nearly every country, never once said that he would like to come to Albania. It seemed that the Soviet leadership based itself on the "great economic experience" of this cosmopolitan huckster, who, as history showed, plotted with Nikita Khrushchev against Stalin, whom they had decided to murder. He admitted this with his own mouth to Mehmet and me in February 1960. After the putsch they linked up with American imperialism, and set about the destruction to its foundations of the great work of Lenin and Stalin, socialism in the Soviet Union. It was Mikoyan who decided what aid the Soviet Union would provide for Albania, as for the other countries.

In relations with us Mikoyan was not only the most miserly but also the most insulting. This anti-Albanian line of his was permanent, even when Stalin was alive.

With all our economic delegations Mikoyan behaved like the hard-faced trader he was.

After the death of Stalin the anti-Albanian nuances in the attitude of the wheeler-dealer minister of the Soviet Union became a permanent line. However, now he was no longer on his own. His pencil, which always tended rather to mark crosses and write "no's" to our modest requests, now found backing and support among the others. I have spoken above about the meeting in June 1953 with Malenkov, Beria,

Mikoyan, and others in Moscow. Apart from other things, from the way they behaved towards us and how they handled the economic problems which we raised, I felt that now it was not only the body of the unforgettable Stalin that was missing in the Kremlin, but also his generous humane spirit, his attentive, friendly behaviour and his outstanding Marxist-Leninist thought.

Ill-intentioned stands.

Describing in detail the difficult talks with the Soviet leaders in June 1953 on economic matters, Comrade Enver Hoxha mentions also these words by Mikoyan:

"You are building a hydro-power station in Mat. We ask you: Where are you going to use the electric power? We do not see where you will use it. You have no need for so much electric power."

His reasoning seemed very astonishing to me, and I objected, writes Comrade Enver Hoxha.

"When it is finished, the hydro-power station on the Mat River will provide about 25,000 kw. Does this seem a large and unnecessary amount to you? Bear in mind, Comrade Mikoyan, not only that we need electric power just now, but also that the planned development of our economy in the future cannot be guaranteed without taking timely measures to ensure the necessary supply of electric power."

"The hydro-power station is costing you an enormous amount and you won't know what to do with the current," he persisted. "Likewise you have planned to build unnecessary factories, like those for steel, timber-processing, paper, glass, linseed, bread, etc. Does Albania need all these factories? Why are you building the refinery? (this refers to the oil refinery which was going up in Cerrik at that time). Have you enough oil or will you build this refinery to have it lie idle? Have a good look at these things and remove what is unnecessary. The question of agriculture is very critical, therefore reduce your investments in industry and strengthen agriculture."

I listened to him saying this, continues Comrade Enver Hoxha, and for a moment it seemed to me that I was facing not a member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet deputy prime minister, but Kidric, Tito's envoy, who with his associates, 7 to 8 years earlier, had done everything possible to convince us to abandon industry and not set up any industrial project. "Agriculture, agriculture," insisted the men of Belgrade. "Agriculture, only agriculture," I was hearing them advise me now, in Moscow in 1953...

This whole meeting, which set out to examine our economic problems, continued in this spirit to the end.

A few days later, we sat down again with Mikoyan and one or two other Soviet officials and again "thrashed out" the economic problems. Seeing the unhelpful pre-disposition of the friends, we ourselves cancelled many of our requests.

Although the least that could be said about our impressions from this trip to the Soviet Union is that they were not good. Still we continued to preserve our feelings of friendship with and love for the great land of the Soviets, for the

homeland of Lenin and Stalin. Those things in their actions and gestures which had an unpleasant sound to us we kept strictly to ourselves, discussed them anxiously with one another, but in our hearts we did not want things there to take a wrong direction. We said to one another that the Soviet comrades themselves had great economic difficulties in their own country, the loss of [figure indistinct] undoubtedly confused them a little, it was not so easy for them to take over the work of leadership completely, and we ardently hoped that these would be transient manifestations that would be put right in time.

A few months later, however, we again experienced something unpleasant and not correct on their part.

Disdainful and insulting tone of the new Soviet leadership.

On 22 December 1953, we sent the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union a long letter in which, after speaking about the measures we had taken for the strengthening of the people's power, our economic development, the improvement of life in the village and the progress of agriculture, we also presented a series of problems for consultation and some modest requests for aid and credits for our coming five-year plan. We had drafted this letter according to their instructions, based on an extensive study we had carried out over several months and our opinion was that its requests were very well founded and accurate.

The Soviet specialists and advisers who had come to our country in the framework of the aid and collaboration between our two countries were of the same opinion.

No more than 5 to 6 days after we sent our letter to Moscow, the reply of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union arrived in Tirana. The whole letter consisted of 15 or 20 lines. "You have not presented the situation well," "you have viewed the situation hastily," "you have not gone into things deeply," "you have not taken the necessary measures," "prepare the plan better and write to us again." This was the entire content of those few lines signed by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The disdainful and insulting tone of the new Soviet leadership could not fail to hurt us. We could not fail to ask in astonishment: "How can those people in Moscow know whether we have presented our problems rightly or wrongly, when it is we who live and work in Albania and not they?"

However, the earlier meetings, especially with Mikoyan, had already taught us what should be done to make our letter pleasing to the Soviets: we cut out many of the requests we had presented, removed from the draft of the future plan some of the things we had envisaged and proposed, especially in the field of industry, and sent a second "edited," or more accurately, mutilated letter. We were not mistaken: they informed us they were awaiting us in Moscow to "consult with and help us."

As to the opinions and "directions" which he gave us for the development of our economy, we could not agree with Khrushchev at all.

We held the first meeting with the Soviet leaders on 8 June 1954. It was precisely that meeting at which Khrushchev did not want to speak about our economic problems, since he was still "a bad Albanian," as he told us, but gave us a lecture about the role of the first secretary of the party and the prime minister.

Nevertheless, at the end of his lecture, Khrushchev also spoke about economic problems, in general, allegedly in the form of orientation and advice, especially about the line we should follow in our economic policy.

"In the development of your economy," he said, "you must be careful with your calculations. Let us take oil, for example. Is it in your interest to invest so much for oil? he asked.

I understood immediately what he was getting at. Despite the "instructions" that they had given us previously that we should give up prospecting for and extraction of oil in Albania, in the second letter which we sent them, we persisted in our opinions and asked them to assist us in this sector. Now, since he raised the matter, I took the opportunity to put forward our opinion once again.

Then Comrade Enver Hoxha dwells on the reasons he presented to Khrushchev concerning the prospecting and extraction of oil.

"Very well, very well," said Khrushchev, "the thing is that calculations must be made well, in detail and you must see whether it is worthwhile."

After giving me a good lecture with figures about the "profitability" and "non-profitability" of the extraction of oil, with the aim that I "should not make mistakes" like Stalin, Khrushchev came round to the point:

"Hence we must make our reckoning on economic questions very carefully, both in our country and in yours, and if you have profitable sources of oil, fine, we give you credits. However, reckoning things this way, it turns out that it is more profitable for us to supply you from our oil...

"We must have regard for profitability in everything," continued Khrushchev. "Let us take industry. I am of the same opinion as you that Albania should have its own industry. But what sort of industry? I think that you ought to develop the food industry, such as preserving and processing fish, fruit, vegetable oil, etc. You want to develop heavy industry, too. This should be looked at carefully," he said and after mentioning that we could set up some engineering plant for repair work and spare parts, he added:

"As for the mineral-processing industry, for the production of metals, this is unprofitable for you. We have metals and we can supply you with what you want. If we give you one day's production from our industry, your needs will be fulfilled for the whole year."

"Likewise in agriculture. In Albania, too, those crops which do best and yield the greatest production, such as cotton, citrus fruit, olives, etc., should be developed. In this way Albania will become a beautiful garden and we will fulfill each other's needs."

"One of the main directions of the development of agriculture in our country," I said, "is that of increasing bread grain production. Bread has always been and still is a great problem for us."

"Don't worry about growing bread grain," interjected Khrushchev immediately. "We shall supply you with all the wheat you want, because even one day's overfulfillment of the plan in the Soviet Union is sufficient for Albania to live on for 3 years. We are advancing rapidly in agriculture," he continues. "Let me read you some of the statistics about the fulfillment of the plan of the spring sowing in our country: the planting has been fulfilled...percent...hectares of land more than last year have been planted...million hectares above the plan...." And he went on to stuff us with figures, which he rattled off, one after the other, to give us the impression that we were dealing not with any sort of leader, but with one that had the situation at his fingertips.

As for his figures, we had no reason to doubt their accuracy, therefore we were pleased and wished the Soviet Union the greatest possible progress. As to the opinions and "directions" which he gave us for the development of our economy, however, we could not agree with Khrushchev at all. I do not want to say that as early as this first official meeting with him, in June 1954, we managed to realize that we were facing the future chief of modern revisionism. No, we were to realize this later, but at this meeting we noticed that his ideas, both about oil and the orientation of industry and agriculture in our country, were not correct, did not respond to the needs of our country, and were not compatible with the basic principles of the construction of socialism in a country or with the teachings and experience of Lenin and Stalin. Therefore, we decided to oppose his ideas and defend our own views.

At this meeting, however, Khrushchev left no room for debate.

"I expressed these opinions so that you will bear them in mind," he said in conclusion. "As to the discussion of the concrete questions you raised here in connection with the development of your economy, for our part we have appointed a group of comrades headed by Mikoyan. Finally, we shall meet again and make the decision jointly."

[14 Oct 80]

[Text] Tirana, 14 Oct (ATA)--Limited credits, arrogant criticism with lashings of "advice."

For several days on end, writes Comrade Enver Hoxha, we battled with Mikoyan, who now set to work with his pruning shears. In order to reject our requests for the development of industry, which were modest enough, but on which we insisted, he and his comrades, as usual, repeated the same old refrain:

"Why do you need industry? Don't you see the state of your countryside?"

Naturally we knew the situation in our countryside much better than they, knew the backwardness of our agriculture inherited from the past, and precisely because we knew these things well we had always devoted special attention to the progress of agriculture and to the raising of the standard of living in the countryside. But you can't achieve everything overnight. Moreover, we were well aware of the Marxist-Leninist truth, and we felt it in our daily practice, that agriculture could never advance without the development of industry, without the creation and strengthening of those basic branches which would favour the harmonious development of the whole of our people's economy. Therefore in these meetings with the Soviet leaders we stuck to our opinions and persisted in our requests.

"Despite all the progress it has made," we told them among other things, "today our industry produces only a limited range of products and is quite unable to fulfill the needs of the working people. In many cases, too, securing our products depends on the delivery of many goods from abroad, such as fuel, steel, rolled steel, tyres, chemicals, chemical fertilizers, spare parts, instruments and many other things.

"The Central Committee of the party and our government think that the existing situation cannot be altered, except by developing industry along with agriculture, the industry which, step by step, will relive us of that great burden of imports, which we are obliged to cope with at present," we told them.

In the end Mikoyan and his group gave way.

"All right," he said, "we shall refer those things on which we have not reached agreement to the leadership and decide on them jointly at the final meeting."

At the final meeting of this visit, which was held 2 or 3 days before we left for Albania, Khrushchev's behaviour was more friendly and more open. After our insistence on those things we were seeking (undoubtedly Mikoyan had informed him of the debates we had had), Khrushchev showed himself "more generous," repeated several times, "We will assist little Albania," and agreed that some of our requests for credits and aid would be fulfilled.

At this meeting he spoke well about our party, the Central Committee and me, and as usual, was unsparing in his "boastful promises." We were soon to understand why he acted like that: It was still the beginning of the elevation of him and his group and for this he needed popularity, good opinion, the idea within the Soviet Union and abroad that we had to do with a jolly good fellow, a warm-hearted, skillful and wise leader, who knows how to put up opposition, but can also back down, who is not tight-fisted, but prudent and a consummate accountant.

Thus, it was the time when Khrushchev was "making investments" in favour of his secret action, and to this end, according to the occasion, he had to appear "generous," "friendly" and "humane." However, behind this fine, "friendly" facade, the guard of the Mikoyans and other functionaries of commerce was extremely active, and both with us and with others, they behaved like real hucksters in the talks over economic problems. They were Khrushchev's men who, with his knowledge and on his instructions, employed all kinds of pressure and trickery during "working meetings" and "the concrete examination of matters" to prune our requests and to "smooth" matters over in such a way that when we finally met Khrushchev all that remained for him to do was to smile, flatter and propose toasts.

Once we had a bitter wrangle with Mikoyan in connection with granting us a credit for mass consumer goods. There is no need here to dwell on what a grave situation we had during those years for such goods, or on the urgent needs which our country had in this direction. The Soviet leadership was aware of the situation. But, in support of our request for the credit I mentioned, we had written it a letter in which we gave a brief outline of how we fulfilled the needs of the population. However, before beginning the examination of our request, Mikoyan levelled the following charge against us:

"You are using up the credits we have granted you for the development of the economy in other sectors. You buy mass consumer goods with them."

I replied: "We have had and still have very great needs for consumer goods, but I am not aware of what you charge us with. We have never permitted the credit for the development of industry or agriculture to be used to purchase commodities."

"Yes, you have." repeated Mikoyan. "You have used up...million rubles," and he mentioned a figure which I don't remember precisely, but which amounted to more than 10 million.

"I'm hearing this for the first time," I said, "nevertheless we shall look into the matter."

"I shall convince you." said Mikoyan in a stern and angry tone and ordered one of the nearby functionaries to bring in the documents.

A little later he came in, looking pale, and laid the accounts before Mikoyan.

"There is no violation," he said. "The Albanian side has bought the goods you mentioned with the credit which our side accorded it precisely for consumer goods."

Mikoyan, in a tight spot, muttered something between his teeth, and then, in connection with our request for a new credit for the purchase of consumer goods, he replied:

"We can no longer give you such credits because we make deals over these things: you give us something, we give you something in return."

"What else do you want us to give you?" I replied. "We supply you and the countries of people's democracy with the chrome, oil and copper we extract. Do you expect us to give you the bread from the mouths of our people, who still have insufficient food? I do not consider your reasoning in order," I told the Armenian, "and I ask you to re-examine the matter."

They did re-examine it, but they accepted our requests after making big cuts. They gave us some limited credits, but they gave us arrogant criticism wholesale with lashings of "advice."

> Sincerity, the genuine internationalist spirit was lacking among the COMECON countries.

All these stands, and others like these, in our relations with them, continued up to the time of the meeting of the 81 parties, which was held in Moscow in November 1960.

During this time we had many bilateral meetings with the Soviet leaders, at which we discussed economic problems with them and sought some aid and credits, and we also had many contacts with them in the meetings, talks and consultations which were organized in the framework of the Council of Mutual Economic Aid.

The way in which these meetings were organized and our friends behaved towards us, towards the problems we raised and the difficulties we had, more and more impelled us to ask ourselves, are we dealing with Marxist-Leninists or hucksters? Ulbricht, Nomotny, Ochab, Dej, Kadar, Gomulka, Cyrankiewicz, Zhivkov, and the others were at one another's throats. Each of them complained that he was in dire straits, they all called for "more aid" from their friends, because they had "pressure from below," they tried to elbow one another out, presented all kinds of "arguments" and figures, they tried to dodge their obligations and to grab as much as possible at the expense of others. Meanwhile Khrushchev or his envoys would get up, deliver lectures on the "socialist division of labour," support one or the other, according to their own interests in a given situation, and demand "unity" and "understanding" in the "socialist family." And in all this wrangling Albania went almost unmentioned, as if it did not exist for them.

The talks and consultations went on for 2, 3 or 4 days on end, whole dossiers were filled with speeches, requests, decisions, balances, but socialist Albania was treated with disdain by the others as if we were a nuisance. We were well aware of the situation in our country, were conscious that our economic potential was nowhere near that of the other countries, we knew also that these countries had their own big problems and difficulties, but these should never have served as a reason for them to underrate and ignore us. With great efforts, after many meetings and talks, we managed occasionally to squeeze some aid or credit out of them. We thanked them wholeheartedly for what they gave us, thanked the fraternal peoples, first of all, and for our part, not only did we fully repay the credits on time, but with what we had, we honestly fulfilled every other obligation of ours towards our friends. It was precisely sincerity, the genuine internationalist spirit, that was lacking amongst them. When it came to practical fulfillment of their commitments to provide aid for our country, each of them would make excuses:

"We have shortages and needs ourselves," said Ulbricht, "we have pressure from Federal Germany, therefore we are unable to help Albania."

"The counter-revolution caused us damage," was Kadar's justification. "Cannot fulfill our commitment about aid."

All of them, one after the other, acted in this way. And in the end the "solution" was found:

"The Council of Mutual Economic Aid recommends to the Albanian comrades that the problems raised by them here should be solved with the Soviet Government through bilateral meetings."

> Contradictions in the COMECON. The "demons" which Khrushchev released from the bottle were stirring and poking out their tongues to their liberator. Khrushchev waves the whip of bread.

Among many such meetings of the COMECON countries, the one that was held in Moscow in June 1956 has stuck in my mind. Now Khrushchev was going headlong down his road of betrayal, but the others, too, were galloping after him.

The 20th Congress of the CPSU, about which I shall speak later, was having its effect. Lack of unity, division and contradictions are the natural outcome and concomitants of revisionism.

This was apparent at this meeting, 3 or 4 months after the 20th Congress.

Ochab, who had become first secretary of the Polish United Workers' Party, got up and declared:

"We have not fulfilled the obligations with which we have been charged for coal and are not going to do so. We cannot fulfill the plan, its targets are set too high and must be reduced. The coal workers live badly, they work to exhaustion."

As soon as he finished, Gero, Ulbricht and Dej got up, one after the other, and levelled every kind of charge against the Poles. The atmosphere was very heated.

"If you want coking coal, invest in Poland," replied Ochab. "We must improve the standard of living. Things have reached such a state that the Polish workers are about to go on strike and abandon the mines...."

"Where should we invest first?" replied the others. "In the steel plants of the Soviet Union or in your coal mines?"

"We must examine these things," said Khrushchev, trying to cool the tempers. "As for the question of workers, if you Poles have insufficient, or those you have walk out, we can bring workers from other countries."

At this Ochab jumped up.

"It is not fair," he shouted, "you must help us. We are not going back to Poland without settling this matter. Either reduce the plan or increase the investment..."

"Once taken, the decisions must be carried out," interposed Dej.

"The decisions are not being carried out," said Gero, adding fuel to the flames. "We have several factories in which we have been told to produce arms and special equipment, but no one is buying the products from us."

"They don't take them from us, either," said Ochab, jumping up again. "What are we to do with them?"

"Let us not speak here like factory managers," said Khrushchev to Ochab. "Things can't be discussed in this way. You must look at the profitability. We, too, have changed direction in many plants. For example," continued Khrushchev, "we have turned some arms plants into plants producing water pumps. I have some suggestions about these problems," continued Khrushchev, and he began to bring out those "gems" which he had on the tip of his tongue:

"In regard to a number of special products of industry," he said among other things, "we must do as Hitler did. At that time Germany was alone and he produced all those things. We must study this experience and we, too, must set up joint enterprises for special products, for example, weapons."

We could not believe our ears. Could it be true that the first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union wanted to learn from the experience of Hitler and even recommended it to others? But this is what things were coming to. The others listened and nodded approval.

"You must provide us with designs," said Ochab.

"You don't deserve to get them," shouted Khrushchev angrily, "because the West steals them from you. We gave you the patent of an aircraft and the capitalists stole it from you."

"That occured," admitted Ochab, and pulled in his horns a little.

"We gave you the secret report of the 20th Congress and you printed it and sold it at 20 zloty a copy. You don't know how to keep secrets."

"Right." whispered Ochab, and drew in his horns even further.

"We have given you another four top secret documents and they have flown from you," added Bulganin, numbering them off one by one to his face.

"Yes," said Ochab, and now his voice could hardly be heard. "Someone stole them from us and fled to the West."

"The situation in Poland is not good," continued Khrushchev. "You are following an opportunist policy towards the Soviet Union and the countries of people's democracy, let alone within your own country."

"In the context of collaboration," interjected Ulbricht, "we must collaborate with all, especially with the Social-Democrats."

For a moment Khrushchev was at a loss for words. "Collaboration with all," rehabilitations, a gentle policy towards enemies, were his ideas, the continuation of his opportunist and pacifist policy, the very policy which he was following in the Soviet Union. The others were not lagging behind, indeed, some of them were trying to outstrip him.

"Agreed, collaboration," shouted Khrushchev, "but not to rise against the Soviet Union and our camp. This is what is happening in Poland." He turned to Ochab and Cyrankiewicz, who during the whole time had sat smoking French gauloises, without saying a single word. "You must improve the situation. You must build up the people's trust in you."

"We have released all the imprisoned Social-Democrats," said Ochab.

"You should have kept some of them," said Saburov ironically. "To whom are we going to drink the toast today, to the Social-Democratics?"

Khrushchev provided the answer:

"Let us drink to collaboration."

It was quite obvious that things in the camp were taking the wrong road. The "demons" which Khrushchev released from the bottle were stirring and poking out their tongues even at their liberator. He tried to manoeuvre, to get them on side, to set the others on to one (this time Ochab was in the dock), and then, when he saw that the quarrel was not dying down, he poured out threats and warnings to all.

And as the inveterate trickster he was, he knew how to find the best means of pressure. This time he used the weapon of bread. One of the Soviet Chinovniki (bureaucratic functionaries of Czarist Russia, Russian in the original), of COMECON reported briefly on the state of agriculture in the camp and sounded the alarm about the deficits in bread grain.

Khrushchev got up at once and exploited the opportunity:

"Bread is a vital problem," he said in a grave tone, in which both the pressure and the threat were clear. "We have given you what we had to give. Now we have no more to give you. Therefore, think well about bread, there is no other way..."

After continuing for several minutes to wave the whip of bread, suddenly his face brightened and he hopped with great pleasure to his favourite theme--maize. I cannot remember any of the meetings I have had with him, even those purely for political and ideological problems, in which Khrushchev did not eulogize the plant so dear to his heart.

"In recent years," he said, "we have given importance to maize and have achieved marvellous results. With maize," he continued, "we solved the problem of meat, milk and butter."

"Without meat, milk and butter there is no socialism," put in Mikoyan to sweeten up his "chief."

"No, there is not" replied Khrushchev and continued, "every leader must give importance to maize. Look, I took my native village under my patronage, and allow me to report to you the results: I found 60 pigs in the first year, increased them to 250 2 years ago, and now there are 600 of them."

And after this "colossal" report, imagine how befitting this was in the mouth of the number one leader of the Soviet Union, he hurled criticism at all of them--Ulbricht, Hegedus, Cyrankiewicz in turn.

"As to Albania," he added, "I have nothing to say because I do not know it."

I seized the opportunity and interjected:

"Come for a visit and get to know it."

"I can't give you an answer now, we shall meet separately," he said, and pressed on with his lecture, afraid that the inspiration might escape him.

He spun out the problem at great length, brought up examples, made criticism, and finally added:

"In regard to Bulgaria and Albania, which are countries with a large peasantry, but especially about Albania, we must think somewhat more deeply and help them."

As usual, the council decided that we should solve the problems we raised there with the Soviets.

Khrushchev's "gems" about "the construction of socialism" in Albania.

A few days later we met Khrushchev and talked for about an hour.

"First of all," I said, "we would like you to visit Albania. Your visit will have great importance for enhancing the authority and prestige of our country."

"I, too, would like to come," he told me, "but there are certain difficulties. How far is Albania from Moscow?"

He deserved to be told, "Just another 20 minutes beyond Belgrade," since he had become accustomed to that line long ago, but I bit my tongue. I told him that on a TU-104 the flight from Moscow to Tirana would take about 3 hours, and added:

"Let us establish this line."

"But the TU-104 has many seats. Would there be enough passengers to fill it?" he asked me, quick to catch at the "profitability."

"Our comrades and yours are always travelling from Moscow to Tirana and back and there is no reason for the aircraft to travel empty," I said.

"I would like to come," he repeated to excuse himself. "Indeed I told Tito that I wanted to visit Albania, but first I must take a holiday."

"You can have your holiday in our country," I said. "We have very fine beaches, as well as mountains."

"Oh, if I come I won't be able to rest." he said to close this question.

There was no reason for me to persist any further.

"As you wish," I said, and went on into economic matters. I gave him a brief outline of the situation and presented some of the problems, which were causing us most concern.

"The problem is," said Khrushchev, "that from now on we must think how to find sources of income so that Albania can advance. This is how the friends, also, should look at this problem. The question of Albania has great importance," he continued, "because by means of your country, we want to attract the attention of Turkey, Greece and Italy, that is, to have them take you as an example. Now this matter must be well thought out and we must find the proper ways."

He was silent for a moment, apparently in order to find one of these roads, and I thought that he would come up with Maize. But I was wrong.

"Do you grow cotton?" he asked me, "what area do you employ for this crop? What yield do you get?"

I replied to his questions.

"That is nothing," he said to me, and went on: "We think that you should develop the cotton crop, and in such a way that it will become a great asset, because it brings in a handsome income for you and our friends, for the countries of people's democracy which do not have cotton. Hence, you have great possibilities to profit from cotton. This is the first thing," he said, and raised one finger.

"Secondly," he continued, "the question of sheep raising is a problem for you," and he asked me about the number of sheep, the yield of wool, milk, meat, etc. After my replies he continued:

"Sheep must become another great asset for you. You must breed fine-wooled sheep. You have pastures and the sheep can be developed. Therefore you must find the most suitable breed, commence artificial insemination on a broad scale, and increase them."

After giving us his "second road" of development, Khrushchev began on the "third road" that would lead us to salvation. This had to do with fish.

"Fish," he said, "is another great asset for you. In the Scandinavian countries, in Norway, for example, they have created such a great wealth with fish, that not only do the people eat plenty of it, but they also export large quantities. They catch fish not only in their territorial waters, but also in the open seas. This is what you must do, too," instructed Khrushchev, "so that fish becomes a great asset for Albania. You must do these things without fail, and we shall help you, and send you specialists, a fishing fleet, etc."

Since the first three "roads" were leaving my mind boggling, all curiosity, I awaited a "fourth road" and he did not fail to make this clear to me also.

"The question of citrus fruit is important for you," he said. "They, too, should become a great asset for you, became lemons, grape fruit, oranges, etc, are in great demand."

These were his instructions for the "construction of socialism" in Albania. Finally he added:

"Thought must be given to other assets, too, for instance to minerals, but the main ones are those I mentioned.

"We will assist you to develop cotton, fishing, citrus fruit and sheep. Both you and we must study these things" he concluded, "and we are convinced that in this way Albania will quickly become an example for Greece, Turkey and Italy."

It was useless to enter into discussion about the "gems" of wisdom he presented to us. I thanked him for his "advice" and we parted.

Now everything was becoming more clear. The Council of Mutual Economic Aid recommends that we solve the economic problems with Khrushchev, Khrushchev recommends that we solve them with cotton, sheep and with...the miracle of fish."

All these stands and actions, seen in the compexity of political, ideological, military and other problems, were making us more than ever convinced that in our

camp, first of all in the Soviet Union, things were on the decline. Other events were to follow and we, living through them intensively, would learn and would prepare ourselves more for the coming battles.

[15 Oct 80]

[Text] Tirana, 15 Oct (ATA)--In continuation of his book "The Khrushchevites (Memoirs)," Comrade Enver Hoxha exposes Khrushchev's attempts to rehabilitate the Yugoslav revisionists. At the same time he reflects the determined stand of the PLA in regard to this question.

The Touch-Stone

> Khrushchev has his eyes on Yugoslavia. The first sign of the flirtation: The Soviet letter of June 1954, Khrushchev blames the information bureau for the Yugoslav leadership's betrayal. Intense exchange of cordial correspondence between Khrushchev and Tito. Khrushchev decides to rehabilitate the renegades. Our clear-cut opposition: The letters of May and June 1955. Talk with Ambassador Levichkin: "How can such decisions be taken so lightly and in a unilateral way?" Insistent invitation to go to the Soviet Union "on holiday." Meeting with Suslov. Mikoyan telephones at midnight: "Meet Tempo, iron out your disagreements." The meeting with S.V. Tempo.

All these things which occurred in the Soviet Union after the death of Stalin worried our party and its leadership, writes Comrade Enver Hoxha. Of course at that period, especially before the 20th Congress, our suspicions were based on isolated facts, which the Soviet leaders covered up with torrents of demagogy. Nevertheless, the stands they maintained in their meetings with us, their actions at home and abroad made us wary. Khrushchev's flirtations with Tito were particularly unpleasant for us. We, for our part, continued to fight Titoite Yugoslav revisionism with the greatest severity and defended the correct Marxist-Leninist stands of Stalin and the information bureau towards the Yugoslav revisionist leaders. We did this not only while Stalin was alive, but also in the transitional period that the Soviet Union went through after Stalin's death, when Khrushchev triumphed with his putsch and made the law there, as well as after Khrushchev fell. And this is the stand we shall always maintain towards Yugoslav revisionism until it is completely destroyed ideologically and politically.

We watched every action of Khrushchev's with great vigilance and attention. On the one hand, we saw that in general nothing was being said against Stalin, that there was talk of the unity of the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union, that Khrushchev spoke against American imperialism in "strong" terms and made some superficial criticism of Titoism, while on the other hand, he waved the white flag of reconciliation and submission to them. In this situation we followed the course of friendship with the Soviet Union, struggled to safeguard and strengthen this friendship and this was not a tactic, but a matter of principle for us. Nevertheless, we did not allow wrong actions and deviations in line to go uncriticized when they appeared.

> Khrushchev wanted at all cost, if not to subjugate the Yugoslav leadership, to line it up on his side.

For us, stresses Comrade Enver Hoxha the struggle against American imperialism and Yugoslav Titoism was a touch-stone to assess the stands of Khrushchev and the

Khrushchevites with the Marxist eye. In fact Khrushchev prattled against capitalism and Ameircan imperialism, but we did not like those half dozen daily meetings and priyoms, (receptions (Russian in the original)) with all kinds of American senators, multi-millionaires and businessmen. Khrushchev became a clown who performed all day and every day, lowering the dignity of the Soviet Union.

On the Yugoslav question, which was clear to us, and that is why we did not shift from our stand, the Khrushchevites chopped and changed, and ebbed and flowed like the tide. The Khrushchevites sometimes abused and sometimes kissed the Yugoslav leaders. When they were abusing the Titoites, the Soviet revisionists said we were right, when they were kissing them, they tried to make us soften our stand towards the Titoite revisionists.

Comrade Enver Hoxha underlines that Khrushchev had his eyes fixed on the leadership of Yugoslavia and wanted at all costs, if not to subjugate it, to line it up on his side. Of course, in Tito he was seeking both an ideological ally and a leader whom he could take under his wings as the "big brother" he was. In other words, Tito was very dear to Khrushchev, because he was the first to attack Stalin and reject Marxism-Leninism. In this direction they were in complete accord, but while the Belgrade chief operated openly, Khrushchev wanted to retain his disguise. In the international arena, Tito had become the "communist" dear to American imperialism and world capitalism, which lavished credits and aid on him, so that he would howl against the Soviet regime and the Soviet state and at the same time sell Yugoslavia to foreign capital.

After pointing out that Khrushchev wanted to manoeuvre Tito in his favour, Comrade Enver Hoxha writes that, Tito, for his part, had long dreamed of shifting the epicentre of the leadership of this alleged communism from Moscow to Belgrade, and that Belgrade should replace Moscow in eastern and south-eastern Europe. Tito's scheme had made no progress from the time he fell out with Stalin, who detected and sternly attacked the diabolical work of this renegade. Having the assistance of the Americans, Tito brought out this plan again when he saw that Nikita Khrushchev and his group were smashing the work of Lenin and Stalin.

Khrushchev distorts the historical truth.

During the days of our stay in Moscow, the Soviet leadership handed us a long letter, signed by Khrushchev, addressed to the central committees of the sister parties, in which they informed us about the conclusions which the Soviet leadership had reached on the Yugoslav question.

Distorting the historical truth, Khrushchev and company had reached the conclusion that Yugoslavia's breaking away from the socialist camp and the "isolation of the Yugoslav working class from the ranks of the international workers' movement" were entirely due to the "breaking off of relations between the CPY and the international communist movement" in 1948. According to them, the stand that was taken in 1948 and 1949 towards the Yugoslav party was wrong. Exposing Khrushchev's reasoning according to which this stand allegedly "forced the leading circles of Yugoslavia to make approaches to the USA and etc, Comrade Enver Hoxha writes:

According to this logic of Khrushchev's when our Party of Labour came into open confrontation and broke off contact with Khrushchevite revisionism, it would have

to sell itself and the country to imperialism, because otherwise it could not exist. And we heard this later from Khrushchev's own mouth when he accused us of selling ourselves "to imperialism for 30 pieces of silver."

This was nothing but an anti-Marxist, capitalist logic. Our party opposed Khrushchevite revisionism heroically, just as it had opposed Yugoslav revisionism earlier, and just as it fought resolutely against any other variant of revisionism, but it did not sell out and never will sell out to imperialism or anyone else, because as long as a party considers itself and respects itself as a genuine Marxist-Leninist party, whatever the conditions and situations it is in, it never allows itself to be bought or sold, but resolutely pursues its course, the course of uncompromising struggle against imperialism, revisionism and reaction.

In the letter which he handed us, Nikita Khrushchev went so far as to say openly that "many of the problems which served to cause differences between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of Yugoslavia did not constitute serious reasons for dispute and even the misunderstandings that had arisen could have been settled." Nothing could have pleased Tito and the Yugoslav leadership more. With one stroke of his pencil, Khrushchev cancelled out major problems of principle which had been the basis of the struggle against Yugoslav revisionism, described them as "not serious reasons" and "misunderstandings," and hence, begged the traitors' pardon because they had allegedly been attacked over trifles.

But who were to blame for these "misunderstandings?" In his letter Khrushchev did not attack the information bureau, Stalin, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, or the other parties which supported the information bureau decisions of 1949 by name. Apparently, he considered it still too early to make these attacks. And those who were to blame were found to be Beria among the Soviets, who with his actions had caused "justifiable dissatisfaction among the Yugoslav leadership," and Djilas among the Yugoslavs (who had been condemned by Tito in the meantime), who "openly propagated liquidationist views," was "an active partisan for the orientation of Yugoslavia towards the Western countries," etc.

Thus, according to Khrushchev, the problem turned out to be very simple. The breach with Yugoslavia was based not on real reasons but on fabricated pretexts, so "we wronged you for nothing and the culprits have been found: Beira on our side, and Djilas on yours. Now we both have condemned these enemies, therefore, all we have to do is to kiss and make up and forget the past. What is more, in this letter, which disturbed us profoundly, Khrushchev vowed that everything he did was "in favour of Marxism-Leninism and socialism."

Unchangable stand of the PLA to wards the Yugoslav leadership.

Speaking about the reply in writing the PLA sent to the Soviet leadership, Comrade Enver Hoxha writes:

In this reply, without openly opposing Khrushchev, we stressed our permanent stand towards the revisionist leadership in Belgrade, emphasized the importance of the information bureau decisions of 1948 and 1949 and did not permit any allusion to the re-examination of the stand adopted previously towards the deviations in line of the Yugoslav leadership.

In our written reply we countered Khrushchev's idea that the "breaking off of relations drove the Yugoslav leaders into the lap of imperialism," with the thesis that it was the Yugoslav leaders themselves who betrayed Marxism-Leninism and set their people and their homeland on the course of enslavement and under the dictate of Anglo-American imperialists, that it was their anti-Marxist line which was the factor that gravely damaged the vital interests of the peoples of Yugoslavia, that it was they who took Yugoslavia out of the socialist camp, who changed the Yugoslav party into a bourgeois party and isolated it from the world movement of the proletariat.

While clearly pointing out these truths, we went on to stress that we agreed that efforts should be made by the communist parties to help resuce the peoples of Yugoslavia from enslavement and poverty, but we stressed once again that in our opinion the Yugoslav leaders had gone a long way down their anti-Marxist road, the road of submission to American and British imperialists.

With this we told Khrushchev indirectly that we did not agree with the hopes and illusions which he nurtured towards the Yugoslav leaders and especially towards "Comrade Tito," as he began to call him. I expressed these opinions to Khrushchev, also, in the next talk I had with him on 23 June 1954. However, he pretended not to notice the different stands each of us adopted over the Yugoslav problem. Perhaps he did not want to create conflicts with us in the first official meetings we had with him. Perhaps he underrated us and did not bother his head about our opposition. I remember that he was all euphoria and spoke with the assurance of some one who has everything running smoothly. He had just returned from a lightning visit to Czechoslovakia (he was a master of every kind of visit: lightning, incognito, official, friendly, much publicized, secret, day, night, announced and unannounced, short, long, with his suite or quite alone, etc.).

"In Prague," he told me, "I took up the Yogoslav problem again with representatives of several sister parties who were there. They were all fully in agreement with me and considered the efforts of our party very important."

Then looking me right in the eye, he added:

"Recently we, the Hungarians, the Bulgarians, Romanians, and others have taken good steps towards the normalization of relations with Yugoslavia..."

I sensed why he stressed this. He wanted to say to me: "See, we are all agreed. Hence you Albanians should join us, too."

I told him briefly that there is a very long history of our relations with the Yugoslav party and state, that the Yugoslav leadership itself was to blame for ruining our relations, and that if the Albanian-Yugoslav state relations were at a very low ebb, this was no fault of ours but a consequence of the unceasing and anti-Albanian stands and actions of the leaders in Belgrade.

"Konechno, konechno." (of course, of course (Russian in the original)), said Khrushchev jumping up and I understood that he did not want me to go any further with the discussion of this problem.

"We have taken all measures," he said. "Tomorrow our ambassador in Yugoslavia goes to meet Tito in Brioni. We think that there are great possibilities of achieving our objective. If nothing is achieved," he said in conclusion, "then we still have other methods."

This is how the romance of the Khrushchev-Tito love affair began. A few days later Khrushchev handed his opinions or "conclusions" about the "new analysis" of the Yugoslav problem in writing to Tito.

Tito's conditions for the relations with Khrushchev.

After leaving Khrushchev on tenterhooks for some time, in order to play on the strings which were out of tune, Tito finally replied to him by the middle of August 1954, also in writing.

The essence of the letter from the revisionist in Belgrade was more or less this: I am pleased that you, Nikita Sergeyevich, are proving to be a reasonable and broad-minded man, but go a bit further, come out more clearly for the new course of reconciliation and embraces. We Yugoslavs agree that we should be reconciled, Tito told Khrushchev, but as you know, we have taken up with new friends with whom we have strong and deep links. Therefore reconciliation with you "must develop in the direction which responds to our policy of international cooperation," that is to say, the Yugoslav's links with imperialism must not be damaged but must be further strengthened.

Likewise, in dictatorial tones, Tito did not fail to set Khrushchev a series of other conditions for their future relations:

First, Tito demanded that the Soviet side should work harder to eliminate the "negative elements" and remove the obstacles which had exerted an influence on the break in 1948 and obviously, with this the "master" in Belgrade was openly demanding that the whole correct and principled line followed by the information bureau, Stalin and the other communist parties in 1948, should be revised.

Second, the coming reconciliation, dictated Tito, must not imply "complete unanimity in our assessment of and stand towards events." Hence, let us be reconciled, but let each of us act on his own account, according to his own ideas.

Third, the road I follow and the road you follow for the construction of "socialism" is a matter for each of us to decide and must not influence the normalization of relations. Hence, I shall build "specific socialism" and you must accept this without any quibble.

Fourth, the causes of the conflict, said Tito, are neither Beria nor Djilas. The causes go deeper, therefore you, the Soviets, and the others united with you, must completely abandon the line of the time of Stalin, abandon your former principles, because in this way the true causes of the conflict are automatically overcome.

Finally, Tito rejected Khrushchev's proposal on a bilateral top-level meeting, making this conditional "on the achievement of preliminary successes in the direction of normalization." The implication was quite plain: If you want to meet me

and come to terms with me, you must take further steps on the course on which you have set out, must act more quickly and boldly within the Soviet Union and other countries and parties to spread and extend this "new" course, which had been and was his old course.

And Khrushchev, sometimes apparently resentful and sometimes enthusiastic in his actions, began to submit to and zealously apply Tito's conditions and orders.

> Khrushchev's stands were leading the Soviet Union on an anti-Marxist course the PLA condemned Khrushchev's going to Belgrade.

Amongst us who followed this process with attention and concern, underlines Comrade Enver Hoxha, suspicions increased that these stands were leading the Soviet Union on an anti-Marxist course. Day by day we were becoming more convinced that Khrushchev was covering up a diabolical game with his clowning. We saw that he was lowering the prestige of the Soviet Communist Party and state by bending the knee to Tito. We watched this with regret, but, after all, the improvement of the relations between the Soviets and the Yugoslavs was their internal problem and we had no reason to oppose it. However, we were not and could never be in agreement with his efforts to wipe out the past and to treat the causes and reasons for the condemnation of the Yugoslav revisionists as something quite different from what they were in fact. Likewise, we could not agree to become Khrushchev's partners in this dubious and dangerous ideological and political gamble. What the Romanians, the Hungarians and the Bulgarians did was their affair. For our part, we were not going to kiss and make up with the Titoites.

Apart from his own revisionist convictions, Khrushchev was undoubtedly urged by Tito to take this anti-Marxist step. He did not want to bend the knee to Khrushchev, therefore he persisted in his demand that Khrushchev should come and bend the knee to him in Belgrade, should go to make a self-criticism in Canossa (Belgrade). And this is what was done. Khrushchev could hardly wait to rush off to Belgrade, where he kissed and embraced Tito, made a self-criticism and "resolutely wiped off the accumulations of the past," and opened the "epoch of friendship between the two peoples and the two parties."

Our party condemned Khrushchev's going to Belgrade and especially his decision to cleanse the uncleansable Tito. Just 2 or 3 days before he set out for "Canossa," Khrushchev informed us of the step he was about to take, but we had expected this, because the waters into which Khrushchev had plunged were bound to carry him to that mill. To go or not to go to Belgrade, that was his affair, let him do as he wished, writes Comrade Enver Hoxha. What revolted and profoundly disturbed us was the announcement he made in the same letter that he had decided to annul as unjust the decision of the information bureau of November 1949, in connection with the condemnation of the Yugoslav leadership, to communicate this new decision of his to Tito and to publish a communique about it in the organ "For Lasting Peace, for People's Democracy." In this communique, Khrushchev said that the communist and workers' parties, that were members of the information bureau, had allegedly reexamined the question of the third resolution of the meeting of the information bureau on the Yugoslav problem adopted in November 1949 and had decided that the accusations contained in that resolution against the leadership of the Yugoslav Communist Party should be considered as without foundation and the resolution of the information bureau on the Yugoslav question should be annulled.

We wrote a letter to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on this and protested sternly. Such a decision about an enemy of international communism, that had been condemned jointly by all the parties, could not be taken unilaterally by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union without consulting the other parties, including ours. The other parties submitted to the decision of Khrushchev and the desire of Tito that, after Khrushchev, the leaders of the parties of the socialist camp should go to Belgrade, kiss Tito's hand and beg his forgiveness. Dej and company went there, but we did not. We continued the struggle against the revisionists. It was in vain for Levichkin, the Soviet ambassador in Tirana, to come and try to convince us to withdraw our opposition.

[16 Oct 80]

[Text] Tirana, 16 Oct (ATA)--We continue to transmit extracts from the book by Comrade Enver Hoxha "The Khrushchevites(Memoirs)."

We continue to transmit extracts from the book by Comrade Enver Hoxha "The Khrushchevites (Memoirs)."

> Sudden changes in the stand of the Soviet leadership towards the Yugoslav question.

I received Levichkin--writes Comrade Enver Hoxha--and once again put forward in principle to him what we had written in the letter to the Soviet leadership.

Comrade Enver Hoxha writes that he told Levichkin that in connection with the Yugoslav question there are many differences between the content of earlier letters of the Soviet leadership and that of the last letter, confirming this with the content of letters.

In connection with this Comrade Enver Hoxha writes:

"Let us see," I said, and took the letters of the Soviet leadership. "Here for example, in the letter of 4 June 1954, your leadership writes: 'Reexamining the materials which have to do with the history of the breaking-off of relations between the Yugoslav Communist Party and the communist and workers' parties, as well as Yugoslavia's subsequent leaving the democratic camp, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union holds that the leading nucleus of the Yugoslav Communist Party has undoubtedly made serious departures from Marxism-Leninism, has slipped into the positions of bourgeois nationalism and launched attacks against the Soviet state. The leaders of the Yugoslav Communist Party also extend their hostile policy, in regard to the Soviet Union, to the countries of people's democracy, towards which, up till before the break of relations, they maintained a boastful and disdainful stand, while seeking for themselves recognition of priorities and special merits which they did not have.'

"That letter also stresses," I told Levichkin, "that 'the criticism which the communist and workers' parties made of the nationalist deviations and other deviations from Marxism-Leninism of the leaders of the Yugoslav Communist Party was necessary and completely correct. It contributed to tempering the communist and workers' parties from the Marxist aspect, to sharpening the vigilance of communists and to their education in the spirit of proletarian internationalism'."

"That is true," murmured Levichkin.

"Even after the initial efforts of the Soviet leadership to improve relations with Yugoslavia," I continued, "the Yugoslav leadership persisted in its former course and stands and, only 2 or 3 months ago, in February this year, the Soviet comrades wrote to us that 'the leadership of the Yugoslav party is seriously entangled with the capitalist world in its political and economic relations'."

"That is true, that is true," repeated Levichkin in a low voice.

"Then how did the opinion and stand of the Soviet leadership towards these very important problems change so surprisingly and suddenly?" I asked. "And how can they so readily take a unilateral decision such as that to throw out the 1949 decision of the information bureau?

"Our political bureau discussed the problems which are raised in your letter of 23 May with great attention and concern and in our reply we openly and sincerely expressed a series of opinions to Comrade Khrushchev.

"First, we think that the general line, the main content and principle of the November 1949 resolution of the meeting of the information bureau is correct and the content of this resolution should not be taken separately from the resolution of July 1948. The daily experience of our party in our relations with the Yugoslavs, both before the break with them in 1948 and to this very day, confirms this correctness.

"Second, the procedure, which is proposed to follow for the cancellation of the November 1949 resolution of the meeting of the information bureau, does not seem to us correct. It seems to us that the very short time allowed the communist and workers' parties, members of the information bureau, to express their views in connection with the content of your letter is inadequate to decide such an important matter as that which is raised in the letter. In our opinion, such a hasty decision on a matter of major importance of principle, without first making a thorough analysis, together with all the parties interested in this question, and moreover, the publication of this decision in the press and its announcement in the Belgrade talks, would not only be premature, but would cause serious harm in the general orientation in connection with Yugoslavia.

"In regard to our Party of Labour, for 7 years it has been fighting to implement its general line in regard to Yugoslavia, which is founded on the resolutions of the information bureau and endorsed by the 1st Congress of our party. We are convinced that the general line of our party in connection with relations with Yugoslavia is correct, but even if we thought for one moment that there is something to be changed in this line, for this the congress of the party would have to be called together, or at least a conference of the party, and the change could be made only after first thoroughly analysing the general line of all the communist and workers' parties in regard to Yugoslavia as well as the decisions and conclusions of the information bureau.

"Therefore," I said to Levichkin in conclusion, "we propose that the matters which are raised in the recent letter of the Soviet leadership should be analysed at a meeting of the parties which participate in the information bureau, in which our party, too, could possibly take part and have its say. Only there can a joint decision on this question be taken."

Levichkin, who had gone pale as he listened to me, tried to convince me to change my opinion, but when he saw my insistence he retreated:

"I shall report what you have said to me to the leadership of the party."

"We have written everything I told you in our letter to Comrade Khrushchev," I concluded, "but I repeated it to you, too, to make clear to you what impelled us to adopt this stand."

> Stalin and information bureau acted with great care and wisdom. Khrushchev and company trampled with both feet over the most elementary rules of relations between parties.

Our opposition, writes Comrade Enver Hoxha further on, was completely correct and within the Marxist-Leninist norms of relations between parties. We were well aware how correct, substantiated and well based were the analyses and decisions of the information bureau and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in connection with the Yugoslav problem during the years 1948 and 1949. When the decision was taken to condemn the anti-Marxist activity of the Yugoslav leadership, we were not members of the information bureau. However, during that period, Stalin, the CPSU and the other parties that were members of the information bureau frequently consulted us and listened carefully to what we had to say in connection with our relations with the Yugoslav leadership. Stalin and his comrades did this, not only because ours were sister parties and, according to the Leninist norms, there should be wide-ranging and exhaustive exchanges of opinions, but also due to the important fact that, because of the special links we had had since the wartime years with the Yugoslav leadership, we had a lot to say about it.

Among the many meetings and consultations on this problem was my incognito meeting with Vyshinsky in Bucharest, at which Dej was also present. There we exchanged opinions about the common stand we should adopt towards the treacherous activity of the Yugoslav leadership. The many incontestable arguments and facts which I brought to that meeting were valued very highly by Vyshinsky and Dej, who described them as a valuable contribution which our party made to better knowledge of the hostile and anti-Marxist activity of the Belgrade leaders. This is not the place to speak at length about that meeting, from which I have many memories. I mention it only to show with what great care and wisdom Stalin and the information bureau acted at that time in the analyses they made and the decisions they took.

Now quite the opposite was occurring with Khrushchev and the other Soviet leaders. Precisely those who were now condemning the information bureau and Stalin for allegedly having acted and judged matters in an incorrect way, were trampling with both feet over the most elementary rules of relations between parties, were posing as indisputable masters who did not deign to seek the opinion of others. This could not fail to dismay and worry us.

> The PLA in open opposition to the Khrushchevites.

Levichkin came to see us several other times during those days. Apparently they were urgently demanding from the centre that he convinced us to give up our opinions and reconcile ourselves to Khrushchev's stands. Those were very difficult and grave moments. From what we could see, Khrushchev must have reached agreement in advance with the leaderships of other parties over what he was going to do in Belgrade. Thus our proposal that the information bureau should meet to examine

the problem in detail, would fall on deaf ears. After we discussed the matter at length in the political bureau, we decided that I should summon Levichkin once more to make our stand clear to him. I met him on 27 May, one of the days on which Khrushchev was in Belgrade, and the things which I told Levichkin were also written in a second letter to the Soviet leadership. Later, Khrushchev used this letter of ours as an "argument" allegedly to prove that we were wrong in our first letter of 25 May, and that 2 days later we allegedly made a "self-criticism" and "retreated" from our former opinion. But the essence of the truth is not as Khrushchev and company said.

Both in the meeting with Levichkin on 27 May, and in the second letter to the Soviet leadership, we explained once again why we were in open opposition to them on this occasion.

In this letter we again stressed to the Soviet leadership that although we had been and were agreed that every effort must be made to solve the disagreements over principles with Yugoslavia in a Marxist-Leninist way, we were still convinced that the Yugoslav leaders would neither recognize their grave mistakes, nor abandon their course.

We have been and continue to be particularly sensitive on the Yugoslav question and especially towards the anti-Marxist activity of the leadership of the Yugoslav Communist Party, we said in the letter, because this hostile activity against the Soviet Union, the countries of people's democracy and the whole movement of the proletariat has been carried out in a specially ferocious way against our party and the sovereignty of our homeland.

Seeing the problem in this way, we continued, when we read that part of your letter which says that eventually it might be communicated to the Yugoslavs that the resolution of the information bureau of November 1949 should be revoked and that a communique about this would be published in the organ "For Lasting Peace, for People's Democracy," we were profoundly shocked and said that if this were done it would be a very grave mistake. We considered that resolution should not be revoked, because it reflects the logical development of the hostile and anti-Marxist activity of the leadership of the Yugoslav Communist Party in practice.

This is how we reason: If this resolution is annulled, all that has been written there is cancelled out, and the trials of Rajk in Hungary and Kostov in Bulgaria, for example, are also annulled. By analogy the trial of the traitor gang headed by Koci Xoxe and company ought to be annulled, too. The hostile activity of the traitor gang of Koci Xoxe had its source in and was linked with the anti-Marxist, liquidationist and bourgeois-nationalist work of the leadership of the Yugoslav Communist Party. The just and principled struggle against this hostile activity was one of the directions of the line of our party at its 1st Congress.

"We will never budge from this correct line," we stressed in the letter. Hence, we thought that if this resolution is annulled as wrong, not only will the truth be distorted but a grave situation will be created for our party, confusion will be created, anti-party and enemy elements will be encouraged to become active against our party and state, as well as against Soviet Union. We can never allow such a situation to be created.

We went on to say to the Soviet leadership: "We have been in a grave situation and we regret that, on this point, we cannot be of the same opinion as you."

That was the essence of the content of our second letter to the Soviet leadership.

If there is any room to use the word "retreat" in regard to this, the only such thing on our part was the non-repetition of the proposal that a meeting of the information bureau should be organized first. By this time this proposal would have been valueless, because Khrushchev had made the whole affair a fait accompli and had left for Belgrade. On the other hand, although we expressed our opinion in defence of principles, we could not come out openly against the Soviet leadership and the others at a time when the problem was still developing. However, we made our vigilance even sharper and kept our eyes even wider open. For us, both in the past and even after this, the stand towards the revisionists of Belgrade has been and still is the touch-stone to prove whether a party is following a sound Marxist line or a wrong anti-Marxist line. In the future, we were to put Khrushchev and the Khrushchevites to this test.

The most pressing invitation to go "for a holiday in the Soviet Union."

Not long after this event, writes Comrade Enver Hoxha in the summer of 1955, I received a most pressing invitation to go "for a holiday in the Soviet Union."

In Stalin's time I went there for work and very rarely for a holiday. In Khrushchev's time they began to put such pressure on us to go for holidays that it was difficult to refuse, because the Soviets, for their part, put the matter forward on the political plane. However, I did not like to go because, in fact, I could not rest there.

Once in Moscow the meetings with the Soviet leaders would begin, but these meetings were no longer pleasant like those with Stalin. Now they were held sometimes with smothered anger, sometimes with open flare-ups.

This is what occurred on this occasion. As soon as I arrived in Moscow I had two meetings with Suslov.

In his opening words he told me that we would talk about the Yugoslav problem and stressed in a dictatorial tone:

"The leadership of your party must take careful account of this question. It must not look at the Yugoslav problem in a rigid way."

I did not take my eyes off him as I listened. Sensing my displeasure, he back-pedalled a little.

"Their mistakes remain mistakes," he said, "but our objective is to become friends and to advance the friendship with Yugoslavia. At its last meeting, our Central Committee once again analysed our relations with Yugoslavia," he continued, "and we shall give the report delivered there to you personally, because it is top secret."

He was silent for a moment, trying to assess what impression his words were making on me, and then went on:

"The main problem is that the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has examined the Yugoslav question in a realistic light, bearing in mind the traitorous work of Beria, and we made self-criticism about this. Our central committee came to the conclusion that the breaking off of relations with Yugoslavia was a mistake, that is, we were hasty."

"In what way, hasty?" I said. "At that time, thorough analyses were made, long and thorough discussions were held and the true ideological and political causes of the existing disagreements were uncovered."

"The main cause for this break," continued Suslov, "was not the ideological issues, although they were making mistakes, and they have been pointed out openly to the Yugoslavs. The main cause lies in the slanders that were made against the Yugoslav leaders and in our lack of patience. The Yugoslavs' mistakes of principle should have been discussed, backed up by facts, and ironed out. This was not done.

"From all the facts examined," he continued, "it turns out that there is no basis at all for saying that the Yugoslav comrades have deviated and have sold Yugoslavia, just as it does not turn out that the Yugoslav economy is dependent on foreigners."

"Pardon me," I said, "but let us not go back to those things we have analysed and decided in 1948 and 1949. Let us take only your correspondence with the Yugoslav leadership during the last 2 years. Not only in several of your letters, but the Yugoslavs themselves in their letters, admit that they have created strong links with the West. What are we to think now of your opposite assessment of these matters?"

"A number of mistakes have been made, but they must be examined carefully," said Suslov, and started to list a series of "arguments" to convince me that the Yugoslav leaders were allegedly not on a wrong road. Naturally he also tried to lay the blame on Beria and Djilas and the efforts of imperialism "to attach Yugoslavia to itself."

"Molotov, too, has maintained a very sectarian stand on this problem," continued Suslov. "He personally made mis s in state relations with Yugoslavia while insisting that it was the Yugoslav comrades that made the mistakes. However, the Central Committee demanded that Molotov proved where the Yugoslavs had been wrong, and we criticized him severely for his stand. Finally he, too, expressed his solidarity with the Central Committee."

I began to speak and gave a detailed presentation of our relations with the Yugoslav leadership, beginning from the years of the national liberation war. I mentioned their main activities as an anti-Albanian agency, which they had undertaken and were undertaking against us continually, and I concluded by saying:

"It is these and many other facts, one more grave than the other, which convince us that the Yugoslav leadership has not been and is not on the right road. Nevertheless, we have always been and still are in favour of developing state relations with them normally."

"Agreed, agreed," said Suslov. "We must act with open hearts. This is in the interest of our camp, we must not allow the imperialists to take Yugoslavia from us."

At the end of this meeting, as though in passing, he said to me:

"During past years you have condemned many enemies, accused of links with the Yugoslavs. Have a look at their cases and rehabilitate those that ought to be rehabilitated."

"We have never accused and condemned anyone for nothing," I said bluntly, and as we parted, he instructed me to be "more broadminded."

Manoeuvres of the Khrushchevites in their course of betrayal.

It was clear, writes Comrade Enver Hoxha, why they had invited me to come for a holiday. However, the Khrushchevites did not content themselves just with this. They had hatched up diabolical plans to compel our party, too, to follow their course of conciliation with the revisionists of Belgrade.

Comrade Enver Hoxha writes how Mikoyan had phoned him after midnight, saying:

"Comrade Enver, Comrade Svetozar Vukmanovic-Tempo is here in Moscow and I was with him till now. You know him and it would be good if you were to meet, he is ready to meet you tomorrow."

For a time I remained silent on the telephone, while Mikoyan, who had no intention of asking, said: "Tomorrow then, you agree," in a tone as if he were giving an order to the party secretary of an oblast (region--Russian in the original).

"How could I agree to this, Comrade Mikoyan," I said. "I talked with Comrade Suslov, and expressed the view of our party about the position of Yugoslavia and Tito."

Mikoyan began to deliver a standard monologue about "socialist Yugoslavia," about Tito who was "a fine chap," about Beria's mistakes and the sins they had allegedly committed (the Soviet Union and the information bureau), and then he concluded:

"You ought to take this step, Comrade Enver. You know Tempo, talk with him and try to iron out your differences, because this is in your interest and in the interest of the camp. You, too, must help ensure that Yugoslavia does not go over to the imperialist camp...So, you agree, tomorrow."

"All right, I agree, tomorrow," I replied, clenching my teeth in rage. I went back to bed but I was so disgusted over these backstage manoeuvres and faits accomplis which the Khrushchevites were hatching up in the course of their betrayal that I could not sleep. I had met Tempo twice in Albania during the time of the war and both times we had quarrelled, because he was arrogant and a real megalomaniac. He made unfounded accusations against our war and the people who led it, or made absurd proposals about the "Balkan staff," without mentioning how this staff was to function in those conditions, when we could communicate from one zone to the other within the country only with difficulty, let alone mentioning the ulterior

motives hidden behind the organization of this "staff." [Sentence as received] What was I to say to Tempo now, after all those things which Tito, Rankovic, their envoys Velimir Stoynic, Nijaz Dizdarevic and their agents Koci Xoxe and Co., had done to us? Must we swallow this too? I tossed and turned sleepless all night thinking about what should be done. The time had not come yet to settle accounts with the Khrushchevite revisionists.

The next day we met Tempo. I began to speak about those things that had occurred.

"Let bygones be bygones," he said and began to speak about the situation in Yugoslavia. He told me that they had made progress in the sector of industry but were short of raw materials.

"Our agriculture is in a very bad state," he said, "we are very far behind, therefore, we think we should devote more forces to it. The mistakes we have made in agriculture have left us hard pressed."

He went on to tell me about the difficulties they had had and said that they had been obliged to accept aid at heavy interest rates from the Western countries.

"Now the Soviet Union is helping us and our agreement with the Soviets is going well," he concluded.

I, too, spoke about the progress which our country had made during this time and the difficulties which we had had and still had. I spoke about the commission on the Ohri Lake, in which the discussions were being dragged on by their side, but he told me he knew nothing about it because "these were the plans of the Macedonians."

"Nevertheless, we must look more carefully at the question of the Shkodra Lake where the benefits will be greater for both sides, especially for your side," he added.

And that is how the meeting which the Soviets had arranged between Tempo and me, passed. After this meeting, when I met Mikoyan and Suslov, they both said to me:

"You did well to meet Tempo because the ice has been broken."

According to them, the moutain of ice created between us and the Titoite revisionists could be broken with one chance meeting or contact, but this was not our opinion. There would be no "spring thaw" in the ideological field in our relations with Yugoslavia and we had no intention of plunging into the murky waters of the Khrushchevites and the Titoites.

[17 Oct 80]

[Text] Tirana, 17 Oct (ATA)--In the pages of his book "The Khrushchevites (Memoirs)," Comrade Enver Hoxha exposes and condemns through numerous facts the attempts of Krushchev for hegemony in the world communist movement, his attacks on the COMINTERN and the information bureau, his feverish activity to eliminate the revolutionary leaders and to bring anti-Marxist elements in the leadership of other parties.

The "Mother Party" Wants to Be the Conductor

> Khrushchev seeks hegemony in the world communist movement. His attack on the COMINTERN and the information bureau. The Khrushchevites extend their tentacles to other parties. The sudden deaths of Gottwald and Bierut. Unforgettable memories from the meeting with Dimitrov and Kolarov. Correct but formal relations with Romania. The opportunist zig-zags of the Romanian leadership. Pleasant impressions from Czechoslovakia. Wandering at will and visits to historical sites. Suffocating atmosphere everywhere in the Soviet Union. The Chinovniki surround us everywhere. Our relations with the East Germans.

I spoke earlier about the "lecture" which Khrushchev gave me on the role of the first secretary of the party and the "opinion" which he had expressed to the Polish comrades about the replacement of Bierut by Ochab in this post. This fact, writes Comrade Enver Hoxha, not only astounded me but seemed to me completely unacceptable, as a tactless undertaking (to put it mildly) towards a sister party.

Further developments were to make clear to us and convince us that such "undertakings" were Khrushchev's normal forms of "work" to put the international communist movement under his personal domination.

> The opinion of Khrushchev and other modern revisionists against the COMINTERN was in complete accord with the monstruous accusations of capitalism and the reactionary bourgeoisie throughout the world.

This activity did not lack its demagogic cloak. The essence of this demagogy was: "Stalin kept the communist and workers' parties in his grip through force, through terror, and dictated actions to them in the interests of the Soviet Union and to the detriment of the world revolution." Khrushchev was for struggle against the COMINTERN, except, allegedly, for the period when Lenin was alive. For Khrushchev and the other modern revisionists, the COMINTERN operated simply as a "Soviet agency in the capitalist countries." Their opinion, which was not expressed openly, but was implied, was in complete accord with the monstruous accusations of capitalism and the reactionary bourgeoisie throughout the world, that fought the betrayal by social-democracy and the second international.

By means of the COMINTERN, Lenin and later Stalin consolidated the communist and workers' parties and strengthened the struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and the rising fascist dictatorship. The activity of the COMINTERN was positive and revolutionary. The possibility that some mistakes may have been made is not ruled out, but it is necessary to bear in mind the difficult circumstances of illegality in which the parties and the leadership of the COMINTERN itself were obliged to work, as well as the fierce struggle waged against the communist parties by imperialism, the bourgeoisie and reaction. The true revolutionaries never forget that it was the COMINTERN which assisted to set up and strengthen the communist parties after the betrayal by the second international, just as they never forget that the Soviet Union of Lenin and Stalin was the country in which hundreds of revolutionaries found refuge to escape the reprisals of the bourgeoisie and fascism and carry on their activity.

In his incorrect assessment of the work of the COMINTERN and Stalin, Khrushchev also had the support of the Chinese.

In his assessment of the work of the COMINTERN and Sta , Khrushchev also had the support of the Chinese, who continue to make criticism, although not publicly, in this direction. When we have had the opportunity, we have expressed our opinion about these incorrect assessments of the overall work of the COMINTERN and Stalin to the Chinese leaders. When I had the opportunity to talk with Mao Zedong during my only visit to China in 1956, or in the meetings with Zhou Enlai and others in Tirana, I have expressed the well-known viewpoint of our party about the figure of Stalin and the COMINTERN. I do not want to extend on these matters because I have written about them at length in my political diary and elsewhere.

The decisions of the COMINTERN and Dimitrov's direction-giving speech in July 1935 have gone down in the history of the international communist movement as major documents which mobilized the peoples, and first of all the communists, to create the anti-fascist front and to organize themselves for armed struggle against Italian fascism, German Nazism and Japanese militarism. In this struggle, the communists and their parties were in the forefront everywhere.

Therefore, it is a crime to attack the great work of the COMINTERN and the Marxist-Leninist authority of Stalin, which played a major role in the creation and the organizational, political and ideological consolidation of the communist and workers' parties of the world. For its part, the Bolshevik Party was a powerful aid for those parties, and the Soviet Union, with Stalin at the head was a great potential in support of the revolution in the international arena.

Imperialism, the capitalist bourgeoisie and its fascist dictatorship fought the Soviet Union, the Bolshevik Party and Stalin, with all their might, waged a stern struggle against the COMINTERN and the communist and workers parties of every country and ruled the working class with terror, bloodshed and demagogy.

When Nazi Germany attacked the Soviet Union, the communist and workers' parties of various countries took up arms, united with the other patriots and democrats in their own countries and fought the fascist invaders. Because of this natural struggle, the enemies of communism said: "The communist and workers' parties have put themselves in the service of Moscow." This was a slander. The communist and workers' parties fought for the liberation of their own peoples, fought for the working class and people to take power. In the great alliance of the anti-fascist war, the sympathies of these parties were with the Soviet Union because it was the most reliable guarantee for the victory.

It was Stalin himself, who, on behalf of the executive committee of the COMINTERN, announced the decision for the disbanding of the COMINTERN and the reason given was that no further need was felt for its existence. This stand was completely correct, because by that time the communist and workers' parties had become mature and militant, had been tempered in class battles and in the great war against fascism and had gained colossal experience. Now, each party could march on its own feet and had Marxism-Leninism as its unerring guide.

> The information bureau of the communist and workers' parties was necessary. Khrushchev took his unilateral decision and liquidated the information bureau, without asking anyone about it. The big Indian reactionary, Nehru heard the news of the breakup of the information bureau before our communist parties.

After the second world war the information bureau of communist and workers' parties was formed. It was necessary to create this, becuase the parties of socialist countries and those of capitalist countries, especially of Europe, needed to exchange their very valuable experience. The exchange of experience between our parties was especially necessary in the unsettled period immediately after the war, when American and British imperialism wanted to interfere by any means in the internal affairs of the countries which had won their freedom.

The book reads further on: The "Marxist" Tito made a major issue of the Venezia Giulia Province, claiming that the Soviet Union was not assisting him to take this province, which he described as entirely Yugoslav, while this same "Marxist" not only did not raise the issue of Kosovo, which was truly Albanian, in order to give it to Albania to which it belonged, but did his utmost to prevent any talk about it. The Belgrade clique massacred people from Kosovo, alleging that they were Ballists, and later also attempted to gobble up the whole of Albania and turn it into the seventh republic of Yugoslavia.

The information bureau uncovered the treachery of the Yugoslav revisionists and this was one of its historic deeds and a tribute to the revolutionary vigilance of Stalin. Tito was exposed and condemned with ample, incontestable facts and subsequent events completely confirmed his betrayal. In this just action, which came after a patient stand, first with comradely explanation, then with rebuke and finally, with condemnation, all the communist and workers' parties took part, not because they "submitted to the arbitrary decision of Stalin" as has been slanderously alleged, but because they were convinced by the true facts which were brought out about the betrayal of the Yugoslav chiefs. Later, all these parties, apart from the Party of Labour of Albania, ate the very words which they themselves had said and endorsed against Tito and Titoism. One after another, the chiefs of these parties made self-criticism, went on pilgrimages to him, kissed his hand, begged his forgiveness and declared that he was a "genuine Marxist-Leninist," while according to them, Stalin was "an anti-Leninist, a criminal, an ignoramus and a dictator."

Khrushchev's plan, as all his work and his successive actions showed, was to rehabilitate Tito by going to Belgrade and denouncing Stalin for the "crime" and the [as received] which he had allegedly committed in this direction. In order to carry this problem through to the end Khrushchev took his unilateral decision and liquidated the information bureau, without asking anyone about it. He dropped this on us as a fait accompli (French in the original) at one of the meetings which was organized in the Kremlin over a problem which had nothing at all to do with the information bureau.

Khrushchev announced the decision, and while administering the last rites to the information bureau said: "When I informed Nehru of this, he was pleased and told me that it was a wise decision which everybody would approve." The big Indian reactionary heard the news of the breakup of the information bureau before our

communist party. This fact, too, apart from others, showed what this renegade, this revisionist-Trotskyite, who had come to the head of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, was.

> Khrushchev aimed to get control of the whole world communist movement. The sound leaders were eliminated through intrigues, putsches or even assassinations.

With cunning Trotskyite forms and methods, such as flattery, balckmail, criticism and threats, Khrushchev aimed to get control of the whole world communist movement, to have all the other parties under his "conductor's baton." And they, without his telling them openly, were to proclaim the Communist Party of the Soviet Union the "mother party," and moreover to think, as Liri Belishova, a secret agent of the Soviet revisionists whom we exposed later, put it, that "Khrushchev is our father." This is the direction in which Khrushchev and the Khrushchevites worked.

Of course, the Khrushchevites had begun this work when Stalin was still alive, behind his back. We base this conviction on the experience of our relations with the Soviet leaders, the arrogant, huckster's stand of Mikoyan and some others.

After Stalin's death, their attack to destroy socialism in the other countries mounted continuously. Both in the Soviet Union and in Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Romania, and Hungary, as well as in Albania, Khrushchev began to incite the disguised and undisguised anti-Marxist elements. Wherever these elements were in the leadership, Khrushchev and company struggled to get these elements under his control, and where they were not in the leadership, to put them there by eliminating the sound leaders through intrigues, putsches or even assassinations, as they wanted to do with Stalin (and it is very likely they did this).

Immediately after the death of Stalin, Gottwald died. This was a sudden, surprising death. It had never crossed the minds of those who knew Gottwald that this strong, agile, healthy man would die...of a flu or a chill allegedly caught on the day of Stalin's funeral ceremony.

I knew Gottwald. When I went to Czechoslovakia and met him in Prague, we talked at length about our problems. He was a modest, sincere comrade, not a man of many words. I felt I could talk to him freely, he listened to me attentively, puffing away at his pipe and spoke with much sympathy about our people and our fight, and promised me that they would help us in the building of industry. He promised me neither mountains nor miracles, but a very modest credit which Czechoslovakia accorded us.

"This is all we can do," he said. "Later, when we have our economy going, we shall re-examine matters with you."

Gottwald, an old friend and comrade of Stalin and Dimitrov, died suddenly. This grieved us, but also surprised us.

Later came the equally unexpected death of Comrade Bierut, not to mention the earlier death of the great George Dimitrov. Dimitrov, Gottwald and Bierut, all died in Moscow. What a coincidence--the three of them were comrades of the great Stalin.

Edward Ochab replaced Bierut in the post of first secretary of the party. Thus Khrushchev's old desire was realized. Later, however, Khrushchev "fell out" with Ochab, apparently because he did not fulfill Khrushchev's demands and orders as he should have done. That is why Khrushchev later launched attacks on Ochab at those meetings at which we, too, were present.

Ochab came and went like a shadow, without being a year in that position.

It is clear that with the death of Bierut the road to the throne of Poland was opened to the reactionary Gomulka. This "communist," brought out of prison, after a number of ups and downs and writhings of a heterogeneous leadership, in which agents of Zionism and the capitalist powers were not lacking, was to be brought into the leadership by his friend Nikita Khrushchev.

Poland was the "big sister" of the Khrushchevite Soviet Union. Then came Bulgaria, with which the Khrushchevites played and are still playing their game shamelessly, to the point that they have turned it into their "obedient daughter."

Further on Comrade Enver Hoxha writes about his reminiscences from the meetings with Dimitrov and Kolarov.

I met Dimitrov and Kolarov, these outstanding Bulgarian communists only once in my life, but they left an indelible impression on my memory. After Dimitrov, Kolarov became prime minister and was one of the initiators of the condemnation of the Titoite agent, Kostov. But only a few months later Kolarov died. His death, too, grieved me greatly.

Comrade Enver Hoxha also writes about the changes which were made in the leaderships of the parties of other countries of people's democracy underlining also the relations of Albania with these countries.

In continuation of his book Comrade Enver Hoxha describes the heavy sense of isolation he felt in Moscow after Khrushchev took over the reins. As soon as we arrived in Moscow, he writes, they allocated us a dacha (country villa, Russian in the original) on the outskirts of the city, where we remained isolated for whole days. Officials such as Lesakov, Moshatov, Petrov and some other minor functionaries of the apparatus of the Central Committee of the party would be there or would come and go, usually to accompany us, but also to eat and drink. They were all peoples of the security service, dressed as functionaries of the Central Committee, i.e., people of the apparatus.

I was never free, I always had an escort. They were all Khrushchev's men, informers for the Central Committee and the Soviet security service, without taking account here of the official guards and the bugging devices with which they filled the various villas in which we stayed. But that is another story. Let us pass over the devices and concentrate on the people.

These Soviet employees tried to find our our nastroyenie (humor, Russian in the original), in order to learn what we were seeking, what we would raise, with whom we would raise it, what the situation was in our country, what we thought about the Yugoslavs, about the leaders of the Greek Communist Party, or any other matter. They knew why they came and we knew who sent them and why they were sent, therefore

both sides were friendly, we talked about what interested us and waited for news to come from the Central Committee about when we were to meet. The Chinovniki did not talk about politics, no doubt because they had orders about this, but even if they had wanted to open some conversation they did not dare, because they knew that every word would be recorded. We talked especially against the Titoite revisionists. You could not visit any collective farm or state farm, or make contact with the comrades or the people without giving 2 or 3 days notice. And if you did go on a visit, they would sit you down at a table laden with drinks and fruit and you would see nothing, no cattle stall or collective farmer's house.

Comrade Enver Hoxha stressed further on in his book that the Khrushchevites wanted to have not only the countries of people's democracy, but also the whole international communist movement, under their direction.

I shall speak elsewhere about the revisionist and opportunist views and stands of such leaders as Togliatti, Thorez, etc, but I want to stress here that, after the death of Stalin both Togliatti and the others began to express their revisionist views more openly, because they sensed that Khrushchev and his circle were their ideological and political allies, because they saw Khrushchev's opportunist line towards the Titoites, the Social-Democrats, the bourgeoisie, etc. This line which Khrushchev was building up suited Togliatti and Co, who, to one degree or another, had long been following the line of collaboration with the bourgeois parties and the bourgeois governments of their own countries and fighting and dreaming that they would become the sponsors of marriages of convenience and take seats in those governments. These tendencies were latent at first, were displayed hesitantly, but after the 20th Congress they bloomed into "theories," like Togliatti's famous "polycentrism," or his "Italian road to socialism."

Of course, within the world communist movement, the Khrushchevites did not come out with a completely open revisionist platform right from the start. Just as within the Soviet Union, they tried to adopt a flexible line, in order to avoid arousing an immediate reaction in either their own party of the others. The "Leninism" of which they spoke, the odd good word dropped here or there about Stalin, their noisy advertisement of "Leninist principles in the relations among the socialist countries," served to disguise the plots they were hatching up, and to gradually prepare the ground for their subsequent frontal attack. This they launched at the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. There they laid their cards on the table, because Khrushchev and Co. had worked for a long time to paralyze any possible reaction inside or outside the country.

[18 Oct 80]

[Text] Tirana, 18 Oct (ATA)--Further on Comrade Enver Hoxha writes in his book about the preparations and the holding of the ill-famed 20th Congress of the CPSU which legalized the thoroughly anti-Marxist theses of Khrushchev, about the "secret" report of Khrushchev against Stalin, about the liquidation of the opponents of Khrushchev in the leadership of the CPSU and about the constant pressure on the PLA to divert it from its principled and correct stand.

The Official Proclamation of Revisionism

> The 20th Congress of the CPSU. Khrushchev's theses--the charter of modern revisionism. The "secret" report against Stalin. Togliatti demands recognition of his "merits." Tito in the Soviet Union.

> Molotov is dismissed from the task of foreign minister. Abortive attempt of the "anti-party group." The end of the career of Marshal Zhukov. Another victim of the Khrushchevites' backstage manoeuvres: Kirichenko. May 1956: Suslov demands that we rehabilitate Kock Xoxe and company. June 1956: Tito and Khrushchev are displeased with us. July 1957: Khrushchev arranges a dinner in Moscow so that we meet Rankovic and Kardelj.

The betrayal at the top of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and of the country where the October socialist revolution was carried out, writes Comrade Enver Hoxha, was an all-round attack on the name and great teachings of Lenin, and especially on the name and work of Stalin.

> The "striving" and the big expenditure of imperialism to force Khrushchev and company to go further and further down the road of capitulation and betrayal were not in vain.

In the framework of its post-Second World War strategy, imperialism headed by American imperialism, when it saw the first vacillations and retreats of the new Soviet leadership, further intensified its all-round attacks and pressure to force Khrushchev and company to go further and further down the road of capitulation and betrayal. The "striving" and big expenditure of imperialism in this counter-revolutionary direction were not in vain. Having set out on their course of concession and betrayal, Khrushchev and his henchmen were continually justifying the long-standing efforts and the old desires of imperialism.

> The 20th Congress officially legalized the thoroughly anti-Marxist, anti-socialist theses of Khrushchev and his collaborators.

When they thought that they had strengthened their positions, had control of the army through the marshals, had turned the security force to their course, had won over the majority of the Central Committee, Khrushchev, Mikoyan and the other Khrushchevites prepared the notorious 20th Congress held in February 1956, at which they delivered the "secret" report against Stalin.

This congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has gone down in history as the congress which officially legalized the thoroughly anti-Marxist, anti-socialist theses of Nikita Khrushchev and his collaborators, as the congress which flung the doors open to the penetration of alien, bourgeois-revisionist ideology in a series of communist and workers' parties of the former socialist countries and the capitalist countries. All the distortions of the major issues of principle, such as those about the character of our epoch, the roads of transition to socialism, peaceful coexistence, war and peace, the stand towards modern revisionism and towards imperialism, etc, etc, which later became the basis of the great, open polemic with modern revisionism, have their official beginning in Khrushchev's report to the 20th Congress.

> Many were misled by the demagogy of the Khrushchevite traitors. However, the Party of Labour of Albania was not misled.

From the time Stalin died to the 20th Congress, the Khrushchevite conspirators manoeuvred cunningly with "bureaucratic legality," "the rules of the party,"

"collective leadership" and "democratic centralism" shed crocodile tears over the loss of Stalin, thus step by step preparing to torpedo the work of Stalin, his personality and Marxism-Leninism. This is a period full of lessons for the Marxist-Leninists, because it brings out the bankruptcy of "bureaucratic legality," which represents a great danger to a Marxist-Leninist party, brings out the methods which the revisionists used to profit from this "bureaucratic legality," brings out how leaders, who are honest and experienced but who have lost the revolutionary class spirit fall into the traps of intriguers and give way, retreat before the blackmail and demagogy of revisionist traitors disguised with revolutionary phraseology. In its transition period we saw how the Khrushchevites, in order to consolidate their power, operated allegedly with "a great party spirit," "free from the fear of Stalin" "with truly democratic and Leninist forms," about which they set up a great clamour, while they worked actively to organize the filthiest slanders which only the bourgeoisie has been able to concot against the Soviet Union, Stalin and the entire socialist order. All these monstrous calumnies of the Khrushchevite revisionists, all their destructive activity, were intended to "prove," allegedly with legal documents, with "arguments" and "analyses in the new," the slanders which the reactionary bourgeoisie had been spreading for many years against Marxism-Leninism, the revolution and socialism.

Every good thing of the past was distorted, allegedly in the light of the "new situations," "new developments," "new roads and possibilities," in order to go ahead.

Many were misled by this demagogy of traitors. However, the Party of Labour of Albania was not misled. It has made a detailed principled analysis of this question and has had its say in defence of the Marxist-Leninist truth long ago.

> The liberal spirit pervaded the whole atmosphere, the Soviet press and propaganda like an ominous cloud during the days of the 20th Congress.

Together with Comrades Mehmet Shehu and Gogo Nushi, I was appointed by our party to take part in the proceedings of the 20th Congress. The opportunist "new spirit," which Khrushchev was arousing and activating, was apparent in the way in which the proceedings of this congress were organized and conducted. This liberal spirit pervaded the whole atmosphere, the Soviet press and propaganda of those days like an ominous cloud, it prevailed in the corridors and the congress halls, it was apparent in people's faces, gestures and words.

The former seriousness, characteristic of such extremely important events in the life of a party and a country, was missing. Even non-party people spoke during the proceedings of the congress. In the breaks between sessions, Khrushchev and company strolled through the halls and corridors, laughing and competing with one another as to who could tell the most anecdotes, make the most wisecracks and show himself the most popular, who could drink the most toasts at the heavily laden tables which were placed everywhere.

With all this, Khrushchev wanted to reinforce the idea that the "grave period," the "dictatorship" and "gloomy analysis" of things were over once and for all and the "new period" of "democracy," "freedom," the "creative examination" of events and phenomena, whether inside or outside the Soviet Union, was officially beginning.

> The bourgeoisie and reaction gave exceptional publicity to Khrushchev's "new developments."

In fact, the first report delivered by Khrushchev at the congress, which was trumpeted loudly as a "colossal contribution" to the fund of Marxism-Leninism and a "creative development" of our science, constitutes the official charter of modern revisionism. From those days on, the bourgeoisie and reaction gave exceptional publicity to Khrushchev's "new development," spoke openly about the radical changes which were occurring in the Soviet Union and in the political and ideological line of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

While they gleefully welcomed Khrushchev's great and radical about-turn, reaction and the bourgeoisie, at the same time did not fail to describe this turn on some occasions as "more dangerous" to their interests than the line of the time of Stalin. Khrushchev and the Khrushchevites used these "criticisms" by the bourgeoisie as arguments to convince the others that the "new line" was "correct" and "Marxist," but in fact, the fear of the international bourgeoisie had another source: in Khrushchev and his "new policy" it saw not only a new ally, but also a new and dangerous rival for spheres of influence, plunder, wars and invasions.

> The report against Stalin was with catastrophic consequences for the Soviet Union and the communist and worker movement.

On the last day, the congress proceeded behind closed doors because the elections were to be held, and we were not present at the sessions. In fact that day, besides the elections, a second report by Khrushchev was read to the delegates. It was the notorious, so-called secret report against Stalin, but which had been sent in advance to the Yugoslav leaders, and a few days later it fell into the hands of the bourgeoisie and reaction as a new "gift" from Khrushchev and the Khrushchevites. After it was discussed by the delegates to the congress, this report was given to us and all the other foreign delegations to read.

Only the first secretaries of sister parties taking part in the congress read it. I spent all night reading it, and extremely shocked, gave it to Mehmet and Gogo to read. We had known in advance that Khrushchev and company had cancelled out the glorious work and figure of Stalin and we saw this during the proceedings of the congress in which his name was never mentioned in favourable terms. But we could never have imagined that all those monstruous accusations and calumnies against the great and unforgettable Stalin could have been put on paper by the Soviet leaders. Nevertheless, there it was in black and white. It had been read to the Soviet Communists, who were delegates to the congress, and had been given to the representatives of other parties taking part in the congress to read. Our hearts and minds were deeply and gravely shocked. Amongst ourselves we said that this was a villany which had gone beyond all bounds, with catastrophic consequences for the Soviet Union and the movement, and that in those tragic circumstances, the duty of our party was to stand firm on its own Marxist-Leninist positions.

After we had read it we immediately returned the terrible report to its owners. We had no need for that package of filthy accusations which Khrushchev had concocted. It was other "communists" who took it away to give to reaction and to sell by the ton in their book-stalls as a profitable business.

We returned to Albania heart-broken over what we had seen and heard in the homeland of Lenin and Stalin, but at the same time we returned with a great lesson that we must be more vigilant and more alert towards the activities and stands of Khrushchev and the Khrushchevites.

> The black smoke of the ideas of the 20th Congress began to spread very quickly: the revisionist elements, who up till yesterday had kept under cover, now came out openly.

Only a few days later the black smoke of the ideas of the 20th Congress began to spread everywhere.

Palmiro Togliatti, our near neighbour, who had shown himself to be the most remote and unapproachable towards us, was among the first to come out in his party beating his breast. Not only did he praise to the skies the new "prospects" which the congress of the Soviet revisionists opened, but he demanded that his merits should be recognized as the precursor of Khrushchev in regard to many of the new theses and as "an old fighter" for those ideas. "In regard to our party," declared Togliatti in March 1956, "it seems to me that we have acted courageously. We have always been interested in finding our own way, the Italian way, of development towards socialism."

The revisionists of Belgrade rejoiced and aroused themselves as never before, while the other parties of the countries of people's democracy began, not only to envisage the future, but also to re-examine the past, in the spirit of Khrushchev's theses. Revisionist elements, who up till yesterday had kept under cover while they poured out their poison, now came out openly to settle accounts with their opponents. The wave of rehabilitations of condemned traitors and enemies erupted, the doors of prisons were opened and many of those who had been condemned were placed directly in the leadership of the parties.

> Khrushchev fulfilled the condition set by Belgrade: Molotov was removed from the post of the foreign minister of the Soviet Union.

The Khrushchev clique was the first to set the example. At the 20th Congress, Khrushchev boasted that more than 7,000 persons condemned in the time of Stalin had been liberated from the prisons of the Soviet Union and rehabilitated. This process was to continue and be deepened.

Khrushchev and Mikoyan began to liquidate, one by one, and finally all together, those members of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the party whom they were to describe as an "anti-party group." After they brought down Malenkov, replacing him temporarily with Bulganin, Molotov's turn came. This took place on 2 June 1956. That day the newspaper "PRAVDA" carried a huge photograph of Tito on the front page and the dobro pazhalovat (welcome, Russian in the original) to the head of the Belgrade clique arriving in Moscow, and page four ended a report of daily events with the "news" about the removal of Molotov from the post of foreign minister of the Soviet Union. The report said that Molotov had been released from this position "at his own request," but in fact he was released because this was a condition laid down by Tito for his coming to the Soviet Union for the first time since the breaking off of relations in 1948-1949. And Khrushchev and company immediately fulfilled the condition set by Belgrade for Tito's satisfaction, since

Molotov, together with Stalin, had signed the letters which the Soviet leadership had sent the Yugoslav leadership in 1948.

> Polyansky's admissions on the dismissal of Khrushchev in the summer of 1957 and how Khrushchev was restored to power.

The positions of the revisionist reactionaries were becoming stronger and their opponents in the Presidium, Malenkov, Molotov, Kagenovich, Voroshilov and others, now began to see more clearly the revisionist intrigue and the diabolical plans which Khrushchev hatched up against the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat. At a meeting of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the party in the Kremlin in the summer of 1957, after many criticisms Khrushchev was left in the minority, and, as Polyansky told us from his own mouth, Khrushchev was dismissed from the task of the first secretary and was appointed minister of agriculture, since he was an "expert on kukuruza" (maize, Russian in the original). However, this situation did not last more than a few hours. Khrushchev and his supporters secretly gave the alarm, the marshals surrounded the Kremlin with tanks and soldiers and gave orders that not even a fly was to leave the Kremlin. On the other hand, aircraft were sent to the four corners of the Soviet Union to gather up the members of the plenum of the CC of the CPSU. "Then," said Polyansky, this product of Khrushchev, "we entered the Kremlin and demanded admission to the meeting. Voroshilov came out and asked what we wanted. When we told him that we wanted to enter the meeting, he cut us short. When we threatened to use force he said: 'What does all this mean?' But we warned him: 'Mind your words, otherwise we shall arrest you.' We entered the meeting and changed the situation." Khrushchev was restored to power.

Thus, after this forlorn attempt, these former co-fighters of Stalin's, who had associated themselves with the slanders made against his glorious work, were described as an "anti-party group" and received the final blow from the Khrushchevites. No one wept over them, no one pitied them. They had lost the revolutionary spirit, were no longer Marxist-Leninists, but corpses of Bolshevism. They had united with Khrushchev and allowed mud to be thrown at Stalin and his work. They tried to do something, but not on the party road, because for them, too, the party did not exist.

All those who opposed Khrushchev, in one way or another, or were no longer necessary to him, were to suffer the same fate.

> The Khrushchevites liquidated Zhukov from the political scene after having exploited him for their own ends.

For years on end the "great merits" of Zhukov were publicized, his activity during the great patriotic war was used to throw mud at Stalin, and as minister of defence his hand was used for the triumph of Khrushchev's putsch. But later, we suddenly learned that he had been discharged from the functions he held. During those days Zhukov was on a visit to our country. We welcomed him warmly as an old cadre and hero of the Stalinist Red Army, talked about problems of the defence of our country and the socialist camp, and did not notice anything disturbing in his opinions. On the contrary, since he had come from Yugoslavia, where he had been on a visit, he told us: "With what I saw in Yugoslavia, I

don't understand what sort of socialist country it is." From this we sensed that he was not of one mind with Khrushchev. On the very day that he left, we learned that he had been removed from the post of minister of defence of the USSR for "mistakes" and "grave faults" in his application of the "line of the party," for violations of the "law in the army," etc, etc. I cannot say whether or not Zhukov was guilty of mistakes and faults in these directions, but it is possible that the reasons went deeper.

In one meeting at Khrushchev's their attitude towards Zhukov had made an impression on me. I can't remember what year it was, but it was summer and I was on holiday in the south of the Soviet Union. Khrushchev had asked me to lunch. The local people there were Mikoyan, Kirichenko, Nina Petrovna (Khrushchev's wife), and some others. Apart from me, Ulbricht and Grotewohl were there as foreign guests. We were sitting outside, eating and drinking on the veranda. When Zhukov came, Khrushchev invited him to sit down. Zhukov seemed out of sorts. Mikoyan got up and said to him:

"I am the tamada, (master of ceremonies, Russian in the original). Fill your glass."

"I can't drink" said Zhukov, "I am not well."

"Fill it, I say," insisted Mikoyan in an authoritarian tone. "I give the orders here, not you."

Nina Khrushcheva intervened:

"Don't force him when it harms him, Anastasiy Ivanovich," she said to Mikoyan.

Zhukov said nothing and did not fill his glass. Khrushchev changed the subject by cracking jokes with Mikoyan.

Can it be that the contradictions with Zhukov had begun to arise as early as that. And that they had begun to insult him and to show him that others were giving the orders and not he? Perhaps Khrushchev and company had begun to fear the power which they themselves had given Zhukov in order to seize state power, and that is why they accused hig of "bonapartism" later? Could it possibly be that information about Zhukov's views on Yugoslavia reached Khrushchev before Zhukov returned to the Soviet Union? In any case, Zhukov was eliminated from the political scene despite his four "hero of the Soviet Union" stars, a series of orders of Lenin, and countless other decorations.

[19 Oct 80]

{Text} Tirana, 19 Oct (ATA)--Kirichenko also was slapped down by Khrushchev.

After the 20th Congress, Khrushchev elevated Kirichenko to the top and made him one of the main figures of the leadership. I had met him in Kiev many years before, when he was first secretary of the Ukraine. This big florid-faced man who did not make a bad impression on me, did not welcome me haughtily or as a mere formality. He did not fail to respond to my love for Stalin with the same terms and expressions of admiration and loyalty. However, since he was from the Ukraine, Kirichenko did not fail to speak about Khrushchev, too, about his "wisdom, ability, energy," etc. I did not see anything wrong with these expressions which seemed natural to me at that time.

In the Kremlin I frequently had occasion to sit at the table beside Kirichenko and talk to him. After Stalin's death, many banquets were organized, because at that period it was usually only at banquets that one met the leaders of the Soviet Union. The tables were set day and night, laden with food and drink to the point of revulsion. When I saw the Soviet comrades eating and drinking, I was reminded of Gargantua of Rabelais. These things occurred after the death of Stalin, when Soviet diplomacy was carried out through priyoms, and Khrushchevite "communism" was illustrated, apart from other things, with banquets, with caviar, and the wines of the Crimea.

At one of these priyoms, when I was sitting near Kirichenko, I said to Khrushchev in a loud voice:

"You must come to visit Albania some time, because you have gone everywhere else."

"I shall come," replied Khrushchev.

Kirichenko jumped in at once and said to Khrushchev:

"Albania is far away, so don't promise when you will go and how many days you will stay."

Of course, I did not like this intervention of his and asked:

"Why are you ill-disposed towards our country?"

He feigned regret over the incident, and to explain his gesture, said to me:

"Nikita Khrushchev is not well at present. We must look after him."

This was just a tale. Khrushchev was as healthy as a pig, and ate and drank enough for four.

Another time (at a reception, of course, as usual), I happened to be seated near Kirichenko again. Nexhmije was with me, too. It was July 1957, the time when Khrushchev had fixed things up with the Titoites and was flattering them, as well as exerting pressure on them. The Titoites seemed to like the flattery, while as to the pressure and the stabs in the back, they gave as good as they got. Khrushchev had informed me the night before, "In order to get my permission," that he was going to ask me to this dinner at which Zhukov and his wife, as well as Rankovic and Kardelj, with their wives, would be present. As was his custom, Khrushchev cracked jokes with Mikoyan. This is the way they combined their roles, with Khrushchev accompanying his arrows, trickery, wiles, lies, and threats with jibes at "Anastasiy" who played the "king's jester."

When he finished his introduction with jokes with the "king's jester," Khrushchev, in proposing a toast, started to give us a lecture about the three-sided friendship that ought to exist between Albania, Yugoslavia and Bulgaria, and the four-sided friendship between the Soviet Union, Albania, Yugoslavia and Bulgaria.

"The relations of the Soviet Union with Yugoslavia have not proceeded in a straight line," he said. "At first they were good, then they were cool, then they were

broken off, and later, following our visit to Belgrade it seemed they were put right. Then the rocket went up (he was referring to events of October-November 1956 in Hungary), and they were ruined again, but now the objective and subjective conditions have been created for them to improve. Meanwhile the relations of Yugoslavia with Albania and Bulgaria have not yet been improved, and as I told Rankovic and Kardelj earlier, the Yugoslavs must stop their undercover activity against those countries."

"It is the Albanians who do not leave us in peace," interjected Rankovic.

Then I intervened and listed for Rankovic the anti-Albanian actions, sabotage, subversion, and the plots which they organized against us. That night we had Khrushchev "on our side," but he soft-pedalled his criticism of the Yugoslavs.

"I don't understand this name of your party, the 'League of Communists of Yugoslavia'," said Khrushchev, waving his glass. "What is this word 'league'? Besides, you Yugoslavs don't like the term 'socialist camp'. But tell us, what should we call it, the 'neutral camp'. The 'camp of neutral countries'? We are all socialist countries, or are you not a socialist country?"

"We are, of course, we are," said Kardelj.

"Then come and join us, we are the majority," replied Khrushchev.

Khrushchev was on his feet throughout all this discourse, interspersed with shouts and gestures, and full of "criticism" of the Yugoslavs, which he delivered in the context of his efforts to stand over Tito, who never agreed to consider Khrushchev as the "head" of the council.

Kirichenko, who was beside me, listened in silence. Later he asked me in a low voice:

"Who is this woman beside me?"

"My wife, Nexhmije," I replied.

"Couldn't you have told me earlier? I have been keeping my mouth shut, thinking that she is the wife of one of them," he told me, indicating the Yugoslavs. He exchanged greetings with Nexhmije and then began to abuse the Yugoslavs.

Meanwhile Khrushchev continued his "crigicisms" of the Yugoslavs and tried to convince them that it was me (of course, under the name of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Communist Party), and no one else who ought to be at the "head." He was getting at Tito, who, for his part, tried to place himself and the Yugoslav party above everyone.

"It would be ridiculous," he told them, "for us to be at the head of the camp if the other parties did not think us worthy, just as it would be ridiculous for any other party to consider itself at the head when the others do not consider it so."

Kardelj and Rankovic replied coolly making great efforts to appear calm, but it was very easy to understand that internally they were boiling. Tito had instructed them to defend his positions well and they wanted to do their master's bidding.

The dialogue between them was dragging on, frequently interrupted by the shouts of Khrushchev, but I was no longer listening. Apart from the reply I gave Rankovic, when he made the accusation that we had interfered in their affairs, I exchanged not one word with them. I talked the whole time with Kirichenko, who left nothing unsaid against the Yugoslavs and described the whole stand of our party towards the revisionist leadership of Yugoslavia as very correct.

But, this Kirichenko, also, was slapped down by Khrushchev later. Although foreign observers for a time considered him to rank second after Khruschev, he was sent to a small remote town of Russia, without doubt, virtually in exile. One of our military students told us when he returned to Albania:

"I was travelling on a train and a Soviet passenger came and sat down beside me, pulled out the paper and began to read. After a while he laid down the paper and, as is customary, asked me: 'Where are you going?' I told him. Noticing the accent with which I spoke Russian, he asked me: 'What is your nationality?' 'I am an Albanian,' I said. The traveller was surprised, but pleased, looked at the door of the carriage, turned to me, and shook my hand warmly, saying: 'I admire the Albanians.' I was surprised by his stand," siad our officer, "because at this time the fight with the Khrushchevites had begun." It was the period after the meeting of 81 parties. "'Who are you?' I asked," related the officer. "'I am Kirichenko,' he told me. When he told me his name, I realized who he was," our officer told us, "and I prepared myself to talk to him, but he straight away said: 'Shall we play dominoes?' 'All right,' I replied, and he pulled the box of dominoes out of his pocket and we began the game. I quickly understood why he wanted to play dominoes. He wanted to tell me something and to cover his voice with the rattle of the dominoes on the table. And he began: 'Good for your party, which exposed Khrushchev. Long live Enver Hoxha. Long live socialist Albania.' And in this way we continued a very friendly talk, covered by the rattle of the dominoes. While we were talking, other people entered the compartment. He placed the last domino saying: 'Don't yield, give Enver my best wishes.' And took the newspaper and started to read it as if we had never met," said our officer in conclusion.

> Khrushchev and company did the utmost to spread and cultitate their anti-Marxist and putschist actions and methods in all the other communist and workers' parties.

Speaking about the efforts made by Khrushchev and company to spread and cultivate their anti-Marxist and putschist actions and methods in all the other communist and workers' parties, Comrade Enver Hoxha writes in his book that the process of large-scale rehabilitations, disguised as the "correction of mistakes made in the past," was transformed into an unprecedented campaign in all the former countries of people's democracy. The doors of the prisons were opened everywhere, the chiefs of other parties were competing with each other as to who would be quickest to release the most condemned enemies from the prisons, and who would give them the most positions right up to the head of the party and the state. Every day the newspapers and magazines of these parties published communiques and reports about this spring of the revisionist Mafia, the pages of the press were filled with the speeches of Tito, Ulbricht and other revisionist chiefs, while "PRAVDA" and TASS hastened to report these events and to spread them as "advanced examples."

Plots against and open pressure on the Party of Labour of Albania.

We saw what was occurring and felt the pressure mounting against us from all sides, but we did not waver a fraction from our course and our line.

This could not fail to anger Tito and company, first of all, because, exalted by the decisions of the 20th Congress and what was occurring in other countries, they expected a cataclysm in Albania, too. The activity of the Titoites who worked in the Yugoslav Embassy in Tirana, against our party and country, was stepped up.

Taking advantage of our correct behaviour and the facilities we had provided for them to carry out their task, the Yugoslav diplomats in Tirana, on orders and instructions from Belgrade, started to arouse and reactivate their old agents in our country, instructed them and gave them the signal to attack. The attempt to attack the leadership of our party at the Tirana conference in April 1956, an attempt which failed, was the work of the Belgrade revisionists but, at the same time, it was also the work of Khrushchev and the Khrushchevites. With their revisionist theses and ideas, the latter were the inspirers of the plot, while the Titoites and their secret agents were the organizers.

When they saw that this plot had failed, the Soviet leaders, who posed as our friends to the death and men of principle, did not fail to make demands and exert pressure on us openly.

On the eve of the 3rd Congress of our party, which was held at the end of May and the beginning of June 1956, Suslov quite openly demanded that our leadership should "re-examine" and "correct" its line in the past.

"There is nothing for our party to re-examine in its line," we told him bluntly. "We have never permitted serious mistakes of principle in our line."

"You should re-examine the case of Koci Xoxe and his comrades, whom you condemned earlier," Suslov told us.

"They were and still are traitors and enemies of our party and people, enemies of the Soviet Union and socialism," we replied bluntly. "If their trials were reviewed a hundred times, they would be described only as enemies a hundred times. Such was the nature of their activity."

Then Suslov began to speak about the things that were occurring in the other parties and the Soviet party in regard to looking at this problem with a "more generous," "more humane" eye.

"This has made a great impression on and has been welcomed by the peoples," he said. "This is what should occur with you too."

"If we were to rehabilitate the enemies and traitors, those who wanted to place the country in the chains of a new slavery, our people would stone us," we told Khrushchev's ideologist.

When he saw that he was getting nowhere with this Suslov changed his tack.

"All right," he said, "since you are convinced they are enemies, that is what they must be. But there is one thing you should do: You should refrain from speaking of their links with the Yugoslavs and should no longer describe them as agents of Belgrade."

"Here we are speaking of the truth," we said. "And the truth is that Koci Xoxe and his collaborators in the plot were downright agents of the Yugoslav revisionists. We have made known world-wide the links of Koci Xoxe with the Yugoslavs for hostile activities against our party and country and the great mass of facts which prove this. The Soviet leadership knows them very well. Perhaps you have not had the chance to acquaint yourself with the facts and, since you persist in your opinion, let us present some of them to you."

Suslov could hardly contain his temper. We calmly listed some of the main facts and finally stressed:

"This is the truth about the links of Koci Xoxe with the Yugoslav revisionists."

"Da, da," yes, yes (Russian in the original) he repeated impatiently.

"And how can we distort this truth?" we asked him. "Is it permissible for a party to conceal or distort what has been proved with countless facts, to please this or that person?"

Suslov snorted, "But there is no other way you can repair your relations with Yugoslavia."

Everything had become more than clear to us. Behind the "fraternal" intervention of Suslov lurked the Khrushchev-Tito deals. The Tito group, which had now gained ground, was certainly demanding as much as possible space, along with economic, military and political advantages. Tito had insisted with Khrushchev that the Titoite traitors such as Koci Xoxe, Rajk, Kostov, etc, be rehabilitated. While Tito achieved this aim in Hungary, Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia, he was quite unable to do so in our country. In those countries the traitors were rehabilitated and the Marxist-Leninist party leaderships were undermined. This was the joint work of Khrushchev and Tito. With our resolute and unwavering stand towards him, we were a thron in Tito's flesh. And if the enemies dared to undertake actions against us, we would counteract. Tito had long known this, and Khrushchev knew it and was becoming convinced of it, too. He, of course, was inclined to restrict Tito's roads and not allow him to graze in the "pastures" which Khrushchev considered his own.

Result of lack of principle in Khrushchev's political stand.

About 15 to 20 days after the 3rd Congress of our party, in June 1956, I was in Moscow for a consultation, about which I spoke above, in which the leaders of the parties of all the socialist countries took part. Although the purpose of the consultation was to discuss economic problems, Khrushchev, as was his custom, took the opportunity to raise all the other problems.

There, in the presence of all the representatives of the other parties, he admitted with his own mouth the pressure which Tito had exerted on him for the rehabilitation of Koci Xoxe and other enemies condemned in Albania.

"With Tito," said Khrushchev among other things, "we talked about the relations of Yugoslavia with the other states. Tito was pleased with the Poles, the Hungarians, the Czechs, the Bulgarians and the others, but he spoke very angrily about Albania, thumping his fist and stamping his feet. 'The Albanians are not in order, they are not on the right road,' Tito told me, 'They do not recognize the mistakes they have made and have understood nothing from all these things that are taking place'."

In fact, by repeating Tito's words and accusations Khrushchev found the opportunity to pur out all the spite and ire he felt against us, because at the congress we did not rehabilitate Koci Xoxe, "whom Tito described as a great patriot," stressed Khrushchev.

"When Tito spoke about the Albanian comrades he was trembling with rage, but I opposed him and said to him, 'These are the internal affairs of the Albanian comrades, and they will know how to solve them,'" said Khrushchev, continuing his "report," trying to convince us that he had had a great "quarrel" with Tito. However, we were now well aware of the meaning of the neverending kisses and quarrels between these two heralds of modern revisionism.

Up to his neck in treachery, Tito hatched up numerous plots against the socialist countries. However, when Khrushchev betrayed, he strutted like a "peacock" and posed as Khrushchev's "teacher." Tito was quite right to demand a great deal from him, and did not hang back in this direction. He aimed to make Khrushchev obey him and act according to his orders. Tito had the backing of American imperialism and world reaction, therefore Khruschev, for his part, followed the tactic of making approaches to Tito, in order to flatter him and win him over, to embrace him and eventually strangle him. However, he was dealing with Tito, who had his own tactic of making approaches to Khrushchev in order to impose himself on him and to submit to him, to dictate to him and not to take orders from him, to get the maximum possible unconditional aid and to compel Khrushchev to subjugate all Belgrade's opponents, first of all, the Party of Labour of Albania.

It is precisely for these reasons that we see many zig zags in Khrushchev's line towards Tito--sometimes they got on well, sometimes their relations were embittered, sometimes he attacked and cursed him and at other times he retracted only to criticize him again. This was the result of lack of principle in his political stand. Tito and Khrushchev were two revisionists, two agents of capitalism, who had things in common, but also contradictions, which were expressed in the zig zags and erratic behaviour of that time, which continue to this day between Tito and Khrushchev's heirs.

There was nothing Marxist-Leninist in their actions and stands. They were guided by counter-revolutionary aims and had assumed the leadership of revisionism, which is capitalism in a new form, the enemy of the unity of peoples, the inciter of reactionary nationalism, of the drive towards and establishment of the most ferocious fascist dictatorship which does not permit even the slightest sign of formal bourgeois democracy. Revisionism is the idea and action which leads the turning of a country from socialism back to capitalism, the turning of a communist party into a fascist party, it is the inspirer of ideological chaos, confusion, corruption, repression, arbirarity, instability and putting the homeland up for auction. This tragedy occurred in the Soviet Union and the other revisionist countries. Khrushchev and the Khrushchevites, incited and assisted by American imperialism and world capitalism, created this situation.

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20 November 1980

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1828

EXTRACTS FROM 'THE KHRUSHCHEVITES' BY ENVER HOXHA

Part 2

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

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EAST EUROPE REPORT

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EXTRACTS FROM 'THE KHRUSHCHEVITES' BY ENVER HOXHA

PART 2

Tirana ATA in English 0900 GMT 20-31 Oct 80

["Extracts From the Book by Comrade Enver Hoxha 'The Khrushchevites' (Memoirs) (Continues)"--ATA headline]

[20 Oct 80]

[Text] Tirana, 20 Oct (ATA)--In his book "The Khrushchevites" (Memoirs) Comrade Enver Hoxha further exposes the policy of the Soviet revisionist leadership to turn the socialist countries into dominions dependent on Soviet metropolis. Comrade Enver Hoxha also points out the influence the theses of the notorious 20th congress and especially the attack against Stalin had for the revival of the revisionist elements in the other parties.

Designing the empire

--Towards turning the socialist countries into Russian dominions. Changes in the Bulgarian leadership dictated by Moscow. Zhivkov's "clock" is wound up in Moscow. The Danubian complex and the Romanian's "fall-out" with the Soviets. The official elimination of the information bureau. The reformist illusions of the Italian and French parties--Togliatti, the father of "polycentrism." Unforgettable meeting with two beloved French comrades, Marcel Cachin and Gaston Monmousseau. The vacillations of Maurice Thorez. Destruction of the unity of the communist movement. A colossal service for world imperialism.

The theses of the 20th congress and especially the attack made on Stalin in Khrushchev's "secret" report, Comrade Enver Hoxha points out, enthused the revisionist elements, both in the parties of the socialist countries and

in the other parties. Following the example of the rehabilitation of the enemies of socialism in the Soviet Union, the "cases" of Rajk, Kostov, Gomulka, Slansky and other enemies, condemned by the dictatorship of the proletariat, were brought up again.

> Khrushchevite revisionism intended at creating its own colonial empire, part of which would be the countries of the socialist camp

All the counterrevolutionary subversion which the Khrushchevite clique carried out within the Soviet Union also served its aims in foreign policy. At first, its main aims in this direction were: to strengthen its domination in the parties and former countries of people's democracy, which it thought were under its control, and to clamp down on those parties and countries which still had not submitted to it: to place the communist and workers' parties of the capitalist countries completely in its service, to win the trust of American and world imperialism by attacking socialism in the Soviet Union and elsewhere, while propagating "creative Marxism" through a series of opportunist theses.

Khrushchev thought that by slandering Stalin he would make the Soviet Union and especially himself "acceptable" to everybody. He calculated that in this way world reaction would be satisfied, all the other parties would gather round him, Tito's heart would be softened and they would be reconciled, and together, like a reunited family, they would reach accord and join hands with imperialism and world capitalism on their course.

As I pointed out above, Khrushchev had to get rid of his opponents, not only in the Soviet Union but also in the countries of people's democracy. Those who believed in the Marxist-Leninist line of Stalin had to be culled from the party leaderships. Likewise, those who were against Tito, with whom Khrushchev had come to agreement, had to be urged, while those who had condemned Tito's agents in their own countries had to rehabilitate these traitors and themselves be removed from the leadership. Khrushchev used all methods: Gottwald died, Beirut died, Gomulka and Kadar were returned to power, Dej turned his coat, Rakosi and Chervenkov were liquidated. We were the only ones whom Khrushchev was unable to liquidate.

Of course, in seeking rapprochement with American imperialism, Khrushchevite revisionism intended to come out on the arena as its powerful partner, a country with developed industry and agriculture, able to compete with those of the United States of America (as was loudly proclaimed) and with its own colonial empire, part of which would be the countries of the socialist camp.

Khrushchev and company had begun their work for the making of this "empire" and now they continued it further. In some places this work went smoothly, in others there was friction, while in Albania these ambitions were never realized.

Bulgaria, for example, never caused the Soviet revisionists any trouble. After the deaths of Dimitrov and Stalin, apparently the "authority" of Velko Chervenkov could no longer be imposed on the Bulgarian Communist Party. He had become an obstacle in Khrushchev's way and, without doubt, the Soviet intrigues, the intrigues of Khrushchev, who seized power and did what he did, must have played a part in his liquidation.

Immediately after the 20th congress, Chervenkov, who was prime minister at that time, was attacked over the "cult of the individual," the "mistakes" he had committed, etc. However, Velko did not seem to have been one of those who created a cult around themselves. He was used more as a "scapegoat" in order to justify the "corrections" which were made with the rehabilitation of Kostov and company. Chervenkov made way without any fuss and left his post as prime minister in favour of Anton Yugov, who did not keep this position for long, either.

When Chervenkov was removed from the post of general secretary of the party, he was replaced by Zhivko, (ironical diminutive for Zhivkov) while Yugov remained where he was, as deputy prime minister. As the cunning devil he was, Khrushchev preferred Todor, who would do the work for him better. Khrushchev could not maneuvre with Yugov as he wanted.

One fine morning Yugov, too, was liquidated quietly like Chervenkov.

With his elimination, Khrushchev named Todor Zhivkov as the leader of Bulgaria or, more precisely, the "steward" of the Soviets in Bulgaria. Dimitrov raised the prestige of the Bulgarian Communist Party and of Bulgaria very high, but Todor Zhivkov completely reversed this process.

Bulgaria has become a bridge-head of the Russian social-imperialists against Albania and the other Balkan countries

By following the road and "advice" of Khrushchev, Zhivkov became a "personality" and, simultaneously with the build-up of his "personality" the Khrushchevite revisionists got everything in Bulgaria under their control. Every corner and sector of Bulgaria is run by the men of the Soviets. Nominally, the Bulgarian Government, party and administration exist, but, in fact everything is run by the Soviets. The Khrushchevites have turned Bulgaria into a dangerous arsenal. Bulgaria has become a bridge-head of the Russian social-imperialists against our country and the other Balkan countries. This is the work of Zhivkov and his team, who eat the bread of Bulgaria and serve Soviet social-imperialism.

Khrushchev's annexationist plan

As the facts of history show, Dej and his associates also, were and still are satellites of Khrushchev. They swung whichever way the wind blew. Khrushchev thought that he had Dej in his waistcoat pocket like the small ivory knife which he would bring out and toy with in meetings. He thought he would use Dej just like this knife. Judging that the situation was ripe, after 1960 Khrushchev brought up the annexation plan under which the Romanian territory from the province of Bucharest up to the border with the Soviet Union, would be united economically with the Soviet Ukraine in an "industrial-agricultural complex." This was a very clumsy idea. Dej has swallowed many other things, but this time he kicked out.

Only when Khrushchev trod on Romania's corns, did Dej silence the attacks on us, but even after this Dej never had sufficient civil decency, let alone the Marxist-Leninist courage, to make the slightest self-criticism over all the things he had said and done in regard to our party.

Even after the contradictions which the Romanians had with the Soviets, their state relations with us remained just the same--cold, stale, tasteless and unpleasant. We do not have party relations with the Romanian party and we will not have them, so long as that party does not publicly acknowledge the mistakes it has made in regard to our party.

> Why did the Khrushchevites eliminate and, moreover, blacken the information bureau?

The Soviet Khrushchevites replaced Marxist-Leninist trust and friendship with the domination of the great "socialist" state, in order to create the "socialist family," the "socialist community," in which Brezhnev and the Soviet marshals rule today with the iron fist by threatening any "wayward son" of the family with the bludgeon of the Warsaw Treaty.

Khrushchev and co. were intolerant of any kind of criticism or complaint from the others, opposed to any kind of discipline and mutual control, however formal. For them the joint meetings, statements and decisions were formal and null and void if they hindered them in their plans.

Why did the Khrushchevites eliminate and, moreover, blacken the information bureau? They did this because the information bureau had condemned Tito, because they considered it the offspring of Stalin, which had earned a "bad reputation" in the eyes of the imperialists. It is clear that here they were not concerned with the organisational forms, because, after all, what difference would there be, in form, between the information bureau and the "bureau of contacts," which Khrushchev proposed (and which was never created)? The aim was to rehabilitate Tito and please imperialism.

Later, however, at a consultation of the parties of the socialist camp, the proposal for this "bureau" was rejected, partly because the Khrushchevites had changed their minds about it and partly because it was opposed, especially by the Poles. They (Ochab and Cyrankiewicz) were very actively opposed to this idea. Indeed, even when it was decided to publish a joint organ, they said: "Well, then, let us have it eventually, because it seems we have to have it."

> The Italian Revisionist Party was in the forefront of the hostile work against international communism and socialist countries

From this fruitless meeting, I remember the enthusiasm with which Togliatti embraced Khrushchev's idea and there and then advanced it further, by insisting on the creation of two "bureaus of contacts"--one for the parties of the socialist countries and one for the parties of the capitalist countries. The future father of "polycentrism" took matters even further and proposed that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union should not take part in the latter, "although," added Togliatti, trying to sweeten the pill, "it will be our leadership."

The Italian Revisionist Party was in the forefront of the hostile work against international communism, against the communist and workers' parties and the countries of the socialist camp.

The Italian and French communists had great illusions about bourgeois democracy and the parliamentary road. In the period immediately after World War II, both these parties took part in the first bourgeois governments. And this was a tactic of the bourgeoisie to avoid strikes and chaos, in order to re-establish the economy and especially to strengthen not only its economic positions but also its military and police positions. This participation of communists in the bourgeois governments was a flash in the pan. The bourgeoisie threw the communists out of office, disarmed them, pushed them into opposition and promulgated such electoral laws that, despite the great number of votes the communists had received, the number of their deputies in parliament was reduced to the minimum.

As became clear later, even at that time, Tito and Togliatti ate from the one trough, and that is why the Italian party came to the aid of Tito's party, although not openly at first. Togliatti, who was a disguised inveterate revisionist, and all the leadership of the Italian Communist Party, which participated in the information bureau, were sorry that Tito was condemned. They voted for this condemnation along with the others, because they did not have the courage to come out openly against it, but time showed that the Italian revisionists were among the most ardent in their desire to kiss Tito.

Khrushchev's visit to Belgrade and his reconciliation with Tito opened the way for Togliatti and co., not only to go to Belgrade to meet the Titoites and make peace with them, but also to develop their disruptive revisionist views openly against Stalin and the Soviet Union, not only as a state but also as a system. Togliatti and his followers openly took the side of Tito and did not follow Khrushchev's zigzag tactics. On his part, Khrushchev manoeuvred with Togliatti, too. He praised him and gently reproved him, in order to keep him in check.

The leaders of the Italian party, such as Togliatti, Longo and company proved especially susceptible to the revisionist theses of the 20th congress and, in particular, to Khrushchev's slanders against Stalin. Shortly after this congress, in an interview given to the magazine NUOVI ARGUMENTI," Togliatti launched his attacks on the socialist system, the dictatorship of the proletariat and Stalin. Here he also launched his idea of "polycentrism," which was the idea of the fragmentation and splitting of the international communist movement.

Thorez's zig-zags. Thorez's missions charged by Khrushchev

As to the leaders of the French Communist Party, such as Thorez, Duclos and others, however, it is a fact that at first they were dismayed at Khrushchev's "secret" report against Stalin and did not accept it. After this report was published in the Western press, the Political Bureau of the French Communist Party made a statement in which it condemned this report and expressed its reservations about the attacks on Stalin. Thorez personally, told me in regard to this problem: "We sought explanations from the Soviet comrades, they gave them to us, but we are not convinced." I pointed out to Thorez, "You are not convinced, while we do not agree in the least." Thus Thorez and the French Communist Party had long been aware of our opinion of the 20th congress and of the Khrushchevites' slanders against Stalin.

The French and Italians were like cat and mouse. I had talked with Thorez and Duclos about the stands of the leaders of the Italian Communist Party against the Marxist-Leninist line, in defence of the Titoite revisionists and against our party. At first, they and the French as a whole seemed to behave well towards us. We stuck to our views and they to theirs. We continued our ceaseless attacks against the Titoites and they seemed to have no trust in Tito. We were on the same course in our stand towards the Italian leaders, too.

Prior to the events which brought the split, comrades Marcel Cachin and Gaston Monmousseau, two glorious veterans of communism, came to our country. Our whole party and people welcomed them with joy and affection. I had very open and cordial talks with them. They visited our country, spoke to me about it with great sympathy, and wrote in glowing terms about our party and people in L'HUMANITE. Monmousseau also published a very pleasant book about our country. Sitting with me in front of the fire, he told me about the visit he made to Korca and his participation with the cooperativists of Korca in the grape harvest. In the course of our talk, I asked the author of "Jean Becot," who is from Champagne, the place of famous wines:

"Comrade Monmousseau, what do you think of our wine?"

He replied pince-sans-rire: (dryly (French in the original).)

"Like vinegar."

I laughed heartily and said:

"You are right, but tell me, what should we do about it?"

Monmousseau went on to speak for a whole hour about wine and this helped me greatly. I listened with admiration to the old man whose cheeks were glowing and eyes sparkling with enthusiasm, who had the colour of the wine of his birthplace, Champagne.

Before we went to the 81 parties' meeting in Moscow, Maurice Thorez asked to come to our country for a holiday. We welcomed him with great pleasure. We thought (and we were not wrong) that he was sent by the Soviets to "soften us up."

When he was on holiday in Durres, I told Thorez about all the vile things the Soviets had done to us.

Maurice listened attentively. He was astounded because he did not know these things. They had hidden everything from him. I spoke about the Bucharest meeting and our stand at that meeting. He said that they had been informed about the stand of the Party of Labour of Albania at the Bucharest meeting by the delegation from their party, and since this stand had impressed them, he had set out for Albania with the intention of talking about this question with us. Thorez said that the Bucharest meeting was useful and did not pronounce himself at all on whether or not it was in order. He did not criticize our stand in Bucharest and when he had heard me out, all he said was:

"Comrade Enver, you must clear up these things they have done to you with the Soviet leadership."

As to the struggle against Titoism, Maurice Thorez approved everything. We saw him off by ship for Odessa.

In Moscow, before I spoke at the 81 parties meeting, Maurice Thorez invited us to dinner. This time it was obvious that he had come from Khrushchev to persuade us not to speak against the revisionist betray at the meeting, but he failed in his mission. We did not accept the mistaken "advice" he gave us.

Maurice Thorez criticized us in the meeting, but in moderate terms. However, after I had spoken, Jeannette Vermeersch, Thorez's wife, met me and said:

"Comrade Enver, where are you heading on this course you have begun? We do not understand you."

"You do not understand us today, but perhaps you will understand us tomorrow," I replied.

Everyone knows how things turned out for the French Communist Party. It, too, set out with determination on the revisionist road. It betrayed Marxism-Leninism and, with some nuances, followed the line of Khrushchev and Brezhnev.

Meanwhile Togliatti had no such zig zags as the French, and came out openly, like Tito, with his revisionist views, which he left as his behest to Longo and Berlinguer in his "testament." He is the father of "polycentrism" in the international communist movement. Of course "polycentrism" was not to the benefit of Khrushchev who aimed to wield the "conductor's baton," just as it is not to the benefit of the Khrushchevites who are ruling in the Soviet Union today. The followers of Togliatti countered, and still counter, the meetings of Khrushchev and Brezhnev with the "meetings" of communist parties of the capitalist countries of Europe, Latin America, etc. The French, who leaned towards Khrushchev, did not approve Togliatti's proposals and fought them. I shall say no more in this direction because I have written elsewhere about this theory and the anti-Marxist actions of these revisionists.

The Italian revisionists have never looked on socialist Albania or the Party of Labour of Albania with a kindly eye

The Italian revisionists, Comrade Enver Hoxha continues, have never looked on socialist Albania or the Party of Labour of Albania with a kindly eye. In the first years following liberation, for his own ends, the elderly Terracini came to Albania on a visit together with a young woman artist. He stayed one or two days and left as silently as he came. Later, Pajetta came. He stayed two days, decorated Mehmet and me with the "Garibaldi" order of the Spanish War and the resistance, and he too, departed just as silently. The Italian revisionists wrote almost nothing about socialist Albania in their organ L'UNITA. Perhaps they did not want to upset the Italian neo-fascists who were in power, whose armies we had smashed in the war, or perhaps it was because we exposed their comrade, Tito.

The Italian Communist Party, with a longstanding opportunist line, was openly a front to catch votes. There were continual squabbles in the leadership over positions, salaries, nomination of deputies and senators. One leader of that party, who was removed from his position by Togliatti, met us and complained to us, but immediately after this, as soon as they threw him a bone and made him a senator, he became as quiet as a lamb.

I remember a meeting I had in Karlovy Vary with one of them, a member of the leadership of Togliatti's Italian Communist Party.

"I am against Togliatti and his views," he told me.

"But why?" I asked.

He listed one or two "arguments," but in the end the true reason emerged:

"Togliatti does not allow publication of the speeches I make in parliament. Both Togliatti and Pajetta not only do not publish them in Italy, but also intervene with the Soviets to ensure that they are not published in Moscow, either. Please, Comrade Enver, intervene with Khrushchev about this."

Of course, I was astonished and told him there and then:

"How can I intervene? I could have an influence whether or not they are published in Albania, let us say, but in the Soviet Union?--you must address yourself to the Soviet comrades. They are hosts there and decide this."

After the break with the Khrushchevites he, too, had "contradictions" with the Italian revisionist leadership. But these were not a principled basis, they were nothing but squabbles over positions and money. As soon as he was made a senator he, too, quietened down and never raised his voice. This is what the Italian revisionists were and still are--collaborators with both the Italian and the international bourgeoisie.

> What world capitalism had been quite unable to do, the Khrushchevite clique did for it

All this revisionist activity ruined, destroyed the Marxist-Leninist cooperation and harmony which existed in the international communist movement. Khrushchev and the Khrushchevites rendered world imperialism an incalculable service and placed themselves directly in its service. Khrushchev and the Khrushchevites of every hue, wherever they were, consumated that work of sabotage which imperialism and its lackeys had been unable to achieve in whole decades. By slandering Stalin, the Soviet Union, socialism and communism, they lined themselves up with the capitalist slanderers and weakened the Soviet Union, and this was the dream and the aim of the capitalists. They disrupted that monolithic unity which the capitalists fought, raised doubts about the revolution and sabotaged it, a thing which the capitalists had always tried to do. They carried the quarrel and split into the ranks of various communist and workers' parties, bringing down or elevating to their leaderships cliques which would better serve the hegemonic interests shaken by the great earthquake. These enemies have attacked Marxism-Leninism in

every direction and in every manifestation and replaced it with the social-democratic reformist ideology, thus opening the way to liberalism, bureaucracy, technocracy, decadent intellectualism and capitalist espionage in the party, in other words, to degeneration. What world capitalism had been quite unable to do, the Khrushchevite clique did for it.

However, neither American imperialism nor world capitalism considered this collosal aid, this great sabotage which Khrushchev and the Khrushchevites carried out against Marxism-Leninism and socialism, sufficient. Therefore, the attack of the bourgeoisie and reaction began on the revisionist parties, in order to deepen the crisis to the maximum, not only to discredit Marxism-Leninism and the revolution, not only to deepen the split amongst the communist and workers' parties and to advance their rebellion against Moscow, but also, through all these activities to weaken, to subjugate and enslave the Soviet Union, as a great political, economic and ideological power regardless of the fact that the Khrushchevite ideology was not Marxism, but anti-Marxism. World capitalism, headed by American imperialism, had to fight to prevent Khrushchevite hegemonism from remaining alive and consolidating itself on the ruins which it caused.

Therefore, American and world imperialism intensified the work of sabotage in the countries of the socialist camp in order to undermine the colonial empire which Khrushchev was designing. From the very nature of revisionism itself, as well as from the pressure and work of agents of imperialism, in many parties individuals who were dissatisfied with the way things were going towards "democratization" and liberalization, began to raise their heads. In Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Romania, the enemies of socialism wanted to run at a gallop on the road of the restoration of capitalism, flinging aside the tattered demagogic disguise which the group of Soviet leaders wanted to preserve. The traditional links of the bourgeoisie of these countries with the West and the desire to escape as quickly as possible from the fear of the dictatorship of the proletariat (although the Khrushchevites had destroyed it), oriented these enemies towards Washington, Bonn, London and Paris.

Khrushchev hoped to get the demons back into the bottle from which he had released them. But once released, they wanted to browse at their pleasure in the pastures which the Khrushchevites considered their own and were obedient no longer to Khrushchev's "magic flute." Then he had to contain them by means of tanks.

[21 Oct 80]

[Text] Tirana, 21 Oct (ATA)--In his book "The Khrushchevites" (Memoirs), Comrade Enver Hoxha writes about his journey to China in 1956, about his disappointment and concern over the 8th congress of the CPC and the meeting with Mao Zedong.

My first and last visit to China

> Our relations with the CPC and the PRC up till 1956. Invitations from China, Korea and Mongolia. An astounding event in Korea: two members of the Political Bureau flee to...China--Ponomarev

defends the fugitives. Mikoyan and Peng Dehuzi "tune up" Kim Il-song. The meeting with Mao Zedong: "Neither the Yugoslavs nor you were wrong," "Stalin made mistakes," "it is necessary to make mistakes." Li Lisan at the 8th congress of the CPC: "I ask you to help me, because I may make mistakes again." Disappointment and concern over the 8th congress of the CPC. Meeting in Beijing with Dej, Yugov, Zhou Enlai and others. Bodnaras as intermediary to reconcile us with Tito.

In regard to the relations between our party and the Communist Party of China, from 1949 to 1956, and indeed for several years later, writes Comrade Enver Hoxha, the term "normal," more or less in the sense that it is used in diplomatic language, would be quite appropriate. For our part, however, from the years of the national liberation war, and especially after the liberation of our homeland, we had followed with sympathy the just war of the fraternal Chinese people against the Japanese fascists and aggressors, Chiang Kai-shek reaction and the American interference, and we had backed up and supported this struggle with all our strength. Moreover, we rejoiced at the fact that, at the head of this struggle there was said to be a communist party recognized by the Comintern, which enjoyed the support of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, led by Stalin.

We knew also that at the head of the Communist Party of China was Mao Zedong, about whom personally, as well as about the party which he led, we had no information other than what we heard from the Soviet comrades. Both during this period and after 1949 we had not had the opportunity to read any of the works or writings of Mao Zedong, who was said to be a philosopher and to have written a whole series of works. We welcomed the victory of October 1, 1949 with heartfelt joy and we were among the first countries to recognize the new Chinese state and establish fraternal relations with it. Although greater possibilities and ways were now opened for more frequent and closer contacts and links between our two countries, these links remained at the level of friendly, cultural and commercial relations, the sending of some second-rank delegation, mutual support, according to the occasion, through public speeches and statements, the exchange of telegrams on the occasion of celebrations and anniversaries, and almost nothing more.

Things which were quite incomprehensible to us and which could not be described as in conformity with Marxism-Leninism

We continued to support the efforts of the Chinese people and the Chinese leadership for the socialist construction of the country with all our might, but we knew nothing concrete about how and to what extent this great process was being carried out China. It was said that Mao was following an "interesting" line for the construction of socialism in China, collaborating with the local bourgeoisie and other parties, which they described as "democratic," "of the industrialists," etc., that joint private-state enterprises were permitted and stimulated by the communist party there, that elements of the wealthy classes were encouraged and rewarded, and even placed in the leadership of enterprises and provinces, etc. All these things were quite incomprehensible to us and however much you racked your brains, you could not find any argument to describe them as in conformity with Marxism-Leninism. Nevertheless, we thought, China was a very big country, with a

population of hundreds of millions, it had just emerged from the dark, feudal-bourgeois past, had many problems and difficulties, and in time it would correct those things which were not in order, on the right road of Marxism-Leninism.

> Visit to China at a time when modern revisionism was bringing out all its inherent filth

This is more or less what we knew about the Communist Party of China and the Chinese state up till 1956, when the Central Committee of our party received Mao Zedong's invitation to send a party delegation to take part in the proceedings of the 8th congress of the CP of China. We welcomed the invitation with pleasure and satisfaction, because we would be given the opportunity to gain first-hand experience of and direct acquaintance with this sister party and fraternal socialist country. At this same period we had also received invitations from the People's Republic of Mongolia and the People's Republic of Korea to send top-level government and party delegations to those countries for friendly visits.

We discussed the invitations from our friends in the Political Bureau and decided that, using the occasion of the trip to China for the 8th congress of the CP of China, on the way to China, our top-level delegation should also go to Mongolia and Korea.

The Political Bureau appointed me, comrades Mehmet Shehu and Ramiz Alia, and our then foreign minister, Behar Shtylla, as the delegation. Comrade Mehmet would lead the delegation in Mongolia and Korea, since it would be a government delegation, while I would lead the party delegation in China.

We made the necessary preparations and set out at the end of August 1956.

It was the time when modern revisionism, advanced by the 20th congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, had not only spread in the Soviet Union and the other countries of people's democracy, but was bringing out all its inherent filth, the split, the quarrels, the plots, and the counter-revolution. In Poland the cauldron, which had been simmering for a long time, was bringing out the notorious Gomulka as the finished product. In Hungary black reaction had broken out as never before and was feverishly preparing the counter-revolution. During those days Tito had been invited to the Crimea "on holiday" and together with Khrushchev, Rankovic and others, was putting the nails in Gero's coffin. It seemed as if the revisionists of various countries were engaged in a villainous contest to see who could outdo the other in the practical application of Khrushchevism. In Europe the revisionist earthquake was rocking the foundations of everything, with the exception of our party and country.

After speaking about his visits to Mongolia and Korea, Comrade Enver Hoxha writes further on:

In Beijing, which we reached on September 13, they welcomed us with crowds of people, music and flowers, not forgetting the horde of portraits of Mao Zedong. Liu Shaoqi, Zhou Enlai and Deng Xiaoping, and others whose names I can't remember, had come out to the airport.

We exchanged greetings with them, wished them success in the congress, which was to begin two days later, and could hardly cope with their stereotyped "great honour," "great assistance," "brothers from the distant front of Europe," "please, offer us your criticism," etc., etc., expression with which, in a few years' time, we would be full up to our necks. (However, in those days these expressions, which were served up ready-made everywhere, did not make any bad impression on us--we considered them expressions of the Chinese simplicity and modesty).

Disappointment over Mao Zedong's opinions about the information bureau, Stalin and the Yugoslav question

Mao Zedong received us during an interval between sessions of the congress in one of the adjoining rooms. This was the first time that we met him. When we entered the reception room, he stood up, bowed a little, held out his hand, and thus, without shifting from the spot, waited to give his hand and a smile to each of us in turn. We sat down.

Mao begain to speak. After saying that they were very happy to have friends from distant Albania, he said a few words about our people, describing them as a valiant and heroic people.

"We have great admiration for your people," he said among other things, "because you have been liberated much longer than we."

Immediately after this he asked me:

"How are things between you and Yugoslavia."

"Cold," I replied, and immediately noticed that he expressed open surprise. "Apparently he is not well acquainted with our situation with the Yugoslavs," I thought, therefore I decided to explain something from the long history of the relations of our party and country with the Yugoslav party and state. I gave him a brief outline, dwelling on some of the key moments of the anti-Albanian and anti-Marxist activity of the Yugoslav leadership, expecting some reaction from him. But I noticed that Mao only expressed surprise and from time to time looked at the other Chinese comrades.

"On this question," said Mao, "you Albanians have not made mistakes towards the Yugoslavs, and neither have the Yugoslav comrades made mistakes towards you. The information bureau has made great mistakes here."

"Although we did not take part in the information bureau," I replied, "we have supported its well-known analyses and stands towards the activity of the Yugoslav leadership and have always considered them to be correct. Our long-standing relations with the Yugoslav leadership have convinced us that the line and stands of the Yugoslavs have not been and are not Marxist-Leninist. Tito is an incorrigible renegade."

Without waiting to hear the end of the translation of what I said, Mao asked me:

"What is your opinion of Stalin?"

I said that our party had always considered Stalin a leader of very great, all-round merits, a loyal disciple of Lenin and continuer of his work, a...

He interrupted me: "Have you published the report which Comrade Khrushchev delivered in the 20th congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union?"

"No," I replied, "we have not done and never will do such a thing."

"You Albanian comrades have acted very correctly and the line of your party is right," he said. "We, too, have acted as you have done. As long as the Soviet leadership does not publish this report officially, there is no reason for us to act as some have done."

After a pause, he continued:

"Stalin made mistakes. He made mistakes towards us, for example, in 1927. He made mistakes towards the Yugoslav comrades, too."

> A method of "Education of Mao Zedong: "It is necessary to make mistakes"

Then he continued calmly in a low voice:

"One cannot advance without mistakes." And he asked me: "Has your party made mistakes?"

"We cannot say that there have been no mistakes," I told him, "but the main thing is that we struggle to make as few mistakes as possible or none at all, and, when mistakes are discovered, we struggle to eliminate them immediately."

I was too "hasty." The great philosopher was getting at something else:

"It is necessary to make mistakes," he said. "The party cannot be educated without learning from mistakes. This has great significance."

We encountered this method of "education" of Mao Zedong's materialized everywhere. During the days we were at the congress, a Chinese comrade told us:

"A terrible fear has existed amongst us. People tried to avoid making mistakes, because they were afraid of being expelled from the party. However, with the correct policy of Chairman Mao, that fear has now disappeared, and initiative and drive in creative work has increased among the party people.

"You see that comrade who is speaking?" he said. "He is Li Lisan, one of the founders of our communist party. During his life he has made grave mistakes, not just once, but three times on end. There were comrades who wanted to expel this old man from the party, but on the insistence of Chairman Mao, he remains a member of the Central Committee of the party, and now he works in the Central Committee apparatus."

Meanwhile Li Lisan was making a new "self-criticism" before the 8th congress.

"I have made mistakes," he said, "but the party has helped me. "Comrades," he continued, "I ask you to help me still because I might make mistakes again..."

But let us return to the meeting with Mao Zedong. After he philosophized about the "great significance of making mistakes," I seized the opportunity to add to what I had previously said about the Yugoslavs and spoke about the work of the Belgrade revisionists through their agents to organize the plot in the party conference of Tirana of April 1956.

"In our opinion," I said, "they are incorrigible."

Mao's reply, in the Chinese style, was a phrase out of context:

"You have a correct Marxist-Leninist line."

The time had come for us to leave. We thanked him for the invitation, for receiving us and for the aid given us by the People's Republic of China.

"There is no need to thank us," interrupted Mao, "first, because the aid we have given you is very little," and he closed one finger. "Second," he continued, closing the other finger, "are members of the great family of the socialist camp, which has the Soviet Union at the head, and it is just the same as passing something from one hand to the other, parts of the same body."

We thanked him once again and stood up. We had several photographs taken together, shook hands again and departed.

To tell the truth, our impressions from this meeting were not what we had expected, and when we came out, I talked over with Mehmet and Ramiz what we had heard. From the talk with Mao we did not learn anything constructive, which would be of value to us, and the meeting seemed to us mostly a gesture of courtesy. We were especially disappointed over the things we heard from the mouth of Mao about the information bureau, Stalin and the Yugoslav question.

> At the 8th congress of the CPC we felt that the epidemic of modern revisionism had infected China, too. The Chinese leaders were hurrying to grab the motley flag of the Khrushchevites with their own hands

However, we were even more surprised and worried by the proceedings of the 8th congress. The whole platform of this congress was based on theses of the 20th congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, indeed, in certain direction, the theses of Khrushchev had been carried further forward by Mao Zedong, Liu Shaoqi and other top Chinese leaders.

We felt that the epidemic of modern revisionism had infected China, too. To what proportions the disease had been spread we could not judge at that time, but the things which had occurred and were occurring in China, showed that at that time the Chinese leaders were hurrying to avoid lagging behind, and indeed, to grab the motley flag of the Khrushchevites with their own hands.

Apart from other things, in the reports which Liu Shaoqi, Deng Xiaoping and Zhou Enlai delivered one after the other at the 8th congress they defended and further deepened the permanent line of the Communist Party of China for extensive collaboration with the bourgeoisie and kulaks, "argued" in support of the great blessings which would come to "socialism" from treating capitalists, merchants and bourgeois intellectuals well and placing them in high leading positions, vigorously propagated the necessity of collaboration between the working class and the national bourgeoisie, and between the Communist Party and the other democratic nationalist parties, in the conditions of socialism, etc., etc. In fact, the "hundred flowers" and the "hundred schools" of Mao Zedong, which blossomed and contended in the sessions of the congress, blossomed and contended throughout the whole Chinese party and state. This Mao Zedong's theory of a hundred flags, widely proclaimed in May 1956 by the alternate member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the CP of China, Lu Dingyi, constituted the Chinese variant of the bourgeois-revisionist theory and practice about the "free circulation of ideas and people," about the coexistence of hotch-potch of ideologies, trends, schools and coteries within socialism. (It turned out later that Mao Zedong's utterly revisionist dialogue "on the ten major relationships" belongs precisely to this period of the "spring" of modern revisionism. Authors note.)

Time confirmed that in no instance did the C.P. of China act from the positions of Marxism-Leninism

Many a time later I have turned back to this period of the history of the Communist Party of China, trying to figure out how and why the profoundly revisionist line of 1956 subsequently seemed to change direction, and for a time, became "pure," "anti-revisionist" and "Marxist-Leninist." It is a fact, for example, that in 1960 the Communist Party of China seemed to be strongly opposing the revisionist theses of Nikita Khrushchev and confirmed that "it was defending Marxism-Leninism" from the distortions which were being made to it, etc. It was precisely because China came out against modern revisionism in 1960 and seemed to be adhering to Marxist-Leninist positions that brought about that our party stood shoulder to shoulder with it in the struggle which we had begun against the Khrushchevites.

However, time confirmed, and this is reflected extensively in the documents of our party, that in no instance, either in 1956 or in the 60's did the Communist Party of China proceed or act from the positions of Marxism-Leninism.

In 1956 it rushed to take up the banner of revisionism, in order to elbow Khrushchev out and gain the role of the leader in the communist and workers' movement for itself. But when Mao Zedong and his associates saw that they would not easily emerge triumphant over the patriarch of modern revisionism, Khrushchev, through the revisionist contest, they changed their tactic, pretended to reject their former flag, presented themselves as "pure Marxist-Leninist," striving in this way, to win those positions which they had been unable to win with their former tactic. When this second tactic turned out no good, either, they "discarded" their second, allegedly Marxist-Leninist, flag and came out in the arena as they had always been, opportunists, loyal champions of a line of conciliation and capitulation towards capital and reaction. We were to see all these things confirmed in practice, through a long, difficult and glorious struggle which our party waged in defence of Marxism-Leninism.

After speaking about his visits to several cities and people's communes of China, Comrade Enver Hoxha continues:

Apart from meetings with Mao Zedong and other Chinese leaders, during the days of our stay in China, we also had occasion to meet a number of delegations of communist and workers' parties which had attended the 8th congress of the CP of China.

All of them enthusiastically hailed the "new line" of the period after the 20th congress.

Comrade Enver Hoxha writes about the meetings and talks he had had with delegations of the other parties and continues:

It was interesting: everyone we met was talking about rehabilitations and Tito. Even Zhou Enlai said to us in a meeting we had with him:

"Tito has invited me to go on a visit to Yugoslavia and I have accepted the invitation. If you agree, I can come to Albania too, on this occasion."

"We agree whole-heartedly that you should come to Albania," we told him and thanked him for making the proposal, although it did not sound at all pleasant to us that the premier of China linked his coming to Albania "with the occasion" of his visit to Yugoslavia.

> Visits to Belgrade to receive the blessing and the "experience" of the veteran of modern revisionism

However, as I wrote above, it was the time when the fever of revisionism had infected everyone and they were all trying to go to Belgrade as quickly as possible to receive the blessing and "the experience" of the veteran of modern revisionism. One day Scoccimarro came up to me and complained that Togliatti had gone to Belgrade but had not got on well with Tito.

"What do you mean?" I asked, not without irony. "Did they quarrel?"

"No," he replied, "but they did not agree about everything. "Nevertheless, he continued, "for our part we are going to send a delegation to Belgrade to gain experience."

"In what direction?" I asked.

"The Yugoslav comrades have fought bureaucracy effectively and now there is no bureaucracy in Yugoslavia," he replied.

"How do you know that there is no bureaucracy there?" I asked.

"Because there the workers, too, get profits," was his reply. I told him about the stand of our party on this problem, but the Italian could think of nothing but Tito. Mehmet intervened and asked him:

"Why do you want to send people 'to get experience' only to Yugoslavia? Why haven't you sent such delegations to the countries of people's democracy, too, such as Albania, for example?"

The Italian comrade was confused for a moment and then he found the solution:

"We shall send them," he said. "For example, the experience of China in regard to the collaboration of the working class with the bourgeoisie and of the Communist Party with the other democratic parties is very valuable to us. We shall study it..."

He had hit the nail on the head. And from now on, the Italian revisionists could go not only to Yugoslavia and China, but everywhere, to give and take experience of the betrayal of the cause of the proletariat, the revolution and socialism. Only to our country they did not come and they had no reason to come, because only Marxism-Leninism is implemented in our country. But this experience was of no use to them.

On October 3, 1956, we set out on our return journey. This whole trip made us even more convinced about the great and dangerous proportions which Khrushchevite modern revisionism had assumed.

In Budapest we were to see one of the monstrous consequences of the Khrushchevite-Titoite "new line": the counter-revolution. It had been simmering for a long time, now it was about to burst out.

[22 Oct 80]

[Text] Tirana 22 Oct (ATA)--Speaking about the counter-revolution in Hungary and Poland, Comrade Enver Hoxha analyzes its causes and once again stresses the correct and principled stand of the Party of Labour of Albania with regards to this event.

The "demons" escape from control

> The counter-revolution in action in Hungary and Poland. Matyas Rakosi. Who cooked up the "broth" in Budapest? Talk with Hungarian leaders. Debate with Suslov in Moscow. Imre Nagy's "self-criticism." Rakosi falls. Reaction surges ahead. Khrushchev, Tito and Gero in the Crimea. Andropov: "We cannot call the insurgents counter-revolutionaries..." The Soviet leadership is hesitant. The Hungarian Workers' Party is liquidated. Nagy announces Hungary's withdrawal from the Warsaw Treaty. Part of the back-stage manoeuvres: the Tito-Khrushchev letters. Poland 1956--Gomulka on the throne. In retrospect: Bierut. Gomulka's counterrevolutionary program. What we learn from the events of 1956. Talks in Moscow, December 1956.

The infection of the 20th congress encouraged all the counter-revolutionary elements in the socialist countries and the communist and workers' parties, emboldened all those who had disguised themselves and were awaiting the moment to overthrow socialism wherever it had triumphed, writes Comrade Enver Hoxha.

The counter-revolutionaries in Hungary, Poland, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia and elsewhere, the betrayers of Marxism-Leninism in the parties of Italy and France and the Yugoslav Titoites gleefully welcomed Khrushchev's ill-famed theses about "democratization," the "cult of Stalin," the rehabilitation of condemned enemies, "peaceful coexistence," "peaceful transition" from capitalism to socialism, etc. These theses and slogans were embraced with enthusiasm and hope by the revisionists, in or out of power, by social-democracy, by the reactionary bourgeois intellectuals.

The events in Hungary and Poland were the visible prologue of the counter-revolution which was to be carried out more extensively and thoroughly, not only there, but also in Bulgaria, in East Germany, in Czechoslovakia, in China and especially in the Soviet Union.

> Hungary became the field for intrigues and combinations between Khrushchev, Tito and counter-revolutionaries (behind whom stood American imperialism)

After securing its positions to some extent in Bulgaria, Romania, Czechoslovakia and elsewhere, the Khrushchevite clique attacked Hungary, the leadership of which was not proving so obedient to the Soviet course. However, Tito, together with the Americans, had his eyes on Hungary.

As was becoming apparent, Hungary had many weak points. There the party had been created, headed by Rakosi, around whom there were a number of veteran communists like Gero and Munnich, but also young ones who had just come to the fore, who found the table laid for them by the Red Army and Stalin. The "construction of socialism" in Hungary began, but the reforms were not radical. The proletariat was favoured, but without seriously annoying the petty-bourgeoisie. The Hungarian party was allegedly a combination of the illegal communist party (Hungarian prisoners of war captured in the Soviet Union), old communists of Bela Kun and the social-democratic party. Hence, this combination was a sickly graft, which never really established itself, until the counter-revolution and Kadar, together with Khrushchev and Mikoyan, issued the decree for the total liquidation of the Hungarian Workers' Party.

I have been closely acquainted with Rakosi and I liked him. I have often talked with him, because I have visited him several times both on business and as a family, with Nexhmije. Rakosi was an honest man, an old communist and a leader on the Comintern. His aims were good, but his work was sabotaged from within and from without. As long as Stalin was alive everything seemed to be going well, but after his death the weaknesses in Hungary began to show up.

Hungary became the field for intrigues and combinations between Khrushchev, Tito and counter-revolutionaries (behind whom stood American imperialism), who eroded the Hungarian party and the positions of Rakosi and sound elements in the leadership of the party from within. Rakosi was an obstacle both for Khrushchev, who wanted to put Hungary under his control, and for Tito, who wanted to destroy the socialist camp and had a double hatred for Rakosi as one of the "Stalinists" who exposed him in 1948.

The role of the Khruschevites in the Hungarian tragedy

In April 1957, when the "anti-party group" of Malenkov, Molotov, etc., had still not been liquidated, I was in Moscow with a delegation of our party and government. After a non-official dinner in the Kremlin, in Yekaterinsky Zal, we sat down in a corner to take coffee with Khrushchev, Molotov, Mikoyan, Bulganin, etc. In the course of the conversation Molotov turned to me and, as if joking, said:

"Tomorrow Mikoyan is going to Vienna, to try to cook up the same broth as he did in Budapest."

To keep the converstation going I asked him:

"Did Mikoyan prepare that broth?"

"Who else?" said Molotov.

"Then Mikoyan can't go back to Budapest again," I said.

"If Mikoyan goes there, again, they will hang him," Molotov continued.

Khrushchev had dropped his eyes and was stirring his coffee. Mikoyan frowned, ground his teeth and then said with a cynical smile:

"Why should I not go to Budapest? If they hang me, they will hang Kadar, too, because we prepared that broth together."

The role of the Khrushchevites in the Hungarian tragedy was clear to me.

The efforts of Khrushchev and Tito to liquidate everything healthy in Hungary united them, therefore they coordinated their activities. With Khrushchev's visit to Belgrade they aimed their attacks to rehabilitate the Titoite conspirators, Koci Xoxe, Rajk, Kostov, etc. While our party did not budge a fraction from its correct principled positions, the Hungarian party gave way and Tito and Khrushchev triumphed. With Rajk, the betrayal was rehabilitated. Rakosi's positions were greatly weakened.

Difficult situation in the Hungarian party, the line of its leadership was wobbly

Possibly the leadership of the Hungarian party, under Rakosi and Gero, made economic mistakes, too, but these were not what caused the counter-revolution. The main mistake of Rakosi and his comrades was that they did not stand firm, but wavered under the pressure of external and internal enemies. They did not mobilize the party and the people, the working class, to nip the attempts of the reaction in the bud, made concessions to it, rehabilitated enemies like Rajk, etc., and weakened the situation to the point that the counter-revolution broke out.

In June 1956, on my way to Moscow for a meeting of Comecon, I had a talk with the comrades of the Political Bureau of the Hungarian Workers' Party in Budapest. I did not find Rakosi, Hegedus, who was prime minister, or

Gero there because they had left for Moscow by train. (In fact, in Moscow I did not meet or see Rakosi in any consultation or anywhere else. No doubt he was "resting" in some "clinic" where the Soviets "convinced him to hand in his resignation." Only two or three weeks later he was discharged from the duties he held.) The Hungarian comrades told me that they had some difficulties in their party and their Central Committee.

"A situation against Rakosi has been created in the Central Committee," they told me. "Farkas, who was a member of the Political Bureau, has taken up the banner of opposition to him."

"The time has come for Farkas to be expelled not only from the Central Committee, but also from the party," said Bata, the minister of defence. "His stand is anti-party and hostile," he continued... "His thesis is: 'I have made mistakes, Beria is a traitor. But who ordered me to make those mistakes? Rakosi.'"

"This question has also been raised by Revay, who proposed that 'we should set up a commission to study the faults of this one and that one, the mistakes of Rakosi, etc.," the Hungarian comrades told me.

Here I interrupted and asked:

"Then the Central Committee has no confidence in the Political Bureau?"

"So it turns out" they said, "we were obliged to accept the commission but we decided that its report would go to the Political Bureau first."

"What is this commission?" I asked. "The Political Bureau must be charged by the Central Committee with such matters and the report should be discussed in the Central Committee. If it is considered necessary, the Central Committee removes the Political Bureau."

Amongst other things the Hungarian comrades told me that Imre Nagy, who had been expelled from the party is a counter-revolutionary, had put on a big dinner on the occasion of his birthday to which he had invited a hundred and fifty people, including members of the Central Committee and the government. Many of them had accepted the traitor's invitation and had gone to the dinner. When one member of the Central Committee had asked the comrades of the leadership whether he should go or not they had replied: "This is up to you to decide." Of course, such a reply was astonishing to me and I asked the Hungarian comrades:

"But why did you not tell him flatly that he should not go because Imre Nagy is an enemy?"

"We left him to judge and decide for himself with his own conscience," was the reply.

During this conversation the Hungarian leaders admitted that they had a difficult situation in the party. The 20th congress had added to these troubles.

"There are groups in the party, writers, etc," they told me, "who are not on the rails, who want to avail themselves of the 20th congress. These elements tell us, 'the 20th congress confirms our theses that there are mistakes in the leadership. Therefore, we are right.'"

"Togliatti's interview has caused us many problems," said one of those present. "There are members of the Central Committee who have said to me: 'What are we doing? It would be better to act, to have a different, independent policy in Hungary, too, as in Yugoslavia.'"

In fact, things there had gone from bad to worse. Another member of the Central Committee had said to them angrily: "Are you of the Political Bureau still hiding from us issues like those of the 20th congress? Why aren't you publishing Togliatti's interview?"

"And we published it, because the party had to be informed..," the comrades of the Political Bureau told me.

From this conversation I formed the conviction that their line was wobbly. Apart from this, it seemed that the sounder elements in the Political Bureau were under pressure from counter-revolutionary elements, and therefore they themselves had vacillated. The Political Bureau seemed to be solid, but was completely isolated.

> The Soviets were preparing Imre Nagy, thinking they would master the situation in Hungary through him

Speaking about his arrival to Moscow, Comrade Enver Hoxha writes: I met Suslov in his office in the Kremlin. As usual, he welcomed me with those mannerisms of his, prancing like the ballerinas of the Bolshoi, and when we sat he asked me about Albania. After we exchanged opinions about our problems, I raised the question of Hungary. I told him my impressions and my opinions frankly, just as I had expressed them to the Hungarian comrades. Suslov watched me with those penetrating eyes through his horn-rimmed spectacles, and as I spoke I noticed signs of discontent, boredom and anger in his eyes. These feelings and this disapproval were accompanied by doodling with a pencil on a sheet of paper he had on the table. I carried on speaking and concluded by saying that I was astonished at the passivity and "lack of concern" of the Hungarian comrades.

Suslov began to speak in that reedy voice of his and in essence said:

"We cannot agree with your judgments over the Hungarian question. You are unnecessarily alarmed. The situation is not as you think. Perhaps you have insufficient information," and Suslov talked on and on, trying to "calm" me and convince me that there was nothing alarming in the situation in Hungary. I was not in the least convinced by his "arguments," and the events which occurred in the subsequent days confirmed that our observations and opinions about the grave situation in Hungary were completely correct. About two months later, at the end of August 1956, I had another bitter argument with Suslov about the Hungarian question. In passing through

Budapest when we were going to the congress of the Chinese party, from a talk which we had at the airport with the Hungarian leaders of that time, we became even more convinced that the situation in Hungary was becoming disastrous, that reaction was moving, while with its action the Hungarian leadership was favouring the counter-revolution. During the stop-over we made in Moscow, Mehmet, Ramiz and I met Suslov and told him of our apprehensions so that he would transmit them to the Soviet leadership. Suslov maintained the same stand as in the meeting I had with him in June.

"In regard to what you say, that the counter-revolution is on the oil," said Suslov, "we have no facts, either from intelligence or other sources. The enemies are making a fuss about Hungary, but the situation is being normalized there. It is true that there are some student movements, but they are harmless and under control. The Yugoslavs are not operating there, as you say. You should know that not only Rakosi but also Gero have made mistakes..."

"Yes, it is true that they have made mistakes, because they rehabilitated the Hungarian Titoite traitors who had plotted to blow up socialism," it interjected. Suslov pursed his thin lips and then he went on:

"As for Comrade Imre Nagy, we cannot agree with you, Comrade Enver."

"It greatly astonishes me," I said, "that you refer to him as 'comrade' Imre Nagy when the Hungarian Workers' Party has thrown him out."

"Maybe they have done so," said Suslov, "but he has repented and has made a self-criticism."

"Words go with the wind," I objected, "don't believe words..."

"No," said Suslov, his face flushing, "we have his self-criticism in writing," and he opened a drawer and pulled out a note signed by Imre Nagy, addressed to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, in which he said that he had been wrong 'in his opinions and actions' and sought the support of the Soviets."

"Do you believe this?" I asked Suslov.

"Why shouldn't we believe it," he replied, and went on, "comrades can make mistakes, but when they acknowledge their errors we must hold out our hand to them."

"He is a traitor," I told Suslov, "and we think that you are making a great mistake when you hold out your hand to a traitor."

This brought the conversation with Suslov to an end and we left disagreeing with him. From this meeting we formed the impression that, after having definitely condemned Rakosi, the Soviets were fearful and alarmed about the situation in Hungary, that they did not know what to do and were seeking a solution before the storm broke. Without doubt they were talking with Tito about a joint solution. They were preparing Imre Nagy, thinking they would master the situation in Hungary through him. And so it turned out.

The decision to remove Rakosi was taken in Moscow and Belgrade

The decision to remove Rakosi was taken in Moscow and Belgrade. He gave way and did not resist the pressure of the Khrushchevites and the Titoites, and the intrigues of their agents in the Hungarian leadership. They forced Rakosi to resign, allegedly for "health reasons" (because he suffered from hypertension) while admitting "his mistakes in violation of the law." At first there was talk about the merits of "Comrade Matyas Rakosi" (thus they "buried" him with honour), then there was talk about his mistakes, until the point was reached of talking about the "criminal Rakosi gang." In the preparation of the backstage manoeuvres which preceded the removal of Rakosi, a major role was played by Suslov, who, precisely at this time, went to Hungary on holiday.

Apparently Rakosi was the last obstacle that hindered the revisionist wagon from going full speed ahead. It is true that Gero was elected first secretary and not Kadar, as the Soviets and the Yugoslavs wanted, but his days were numbered.

We considered the removal of Rakosi from the leadership of the Hungarian party a mistake which did great damage to and seriously weakened the situation in Hungary, and we expressed this opinion to the Soviet leaders when we went to Moscow in December. The events themselves showed how right we were.

The "happy" period of liberalization began, the period of dragging from the prison and the grave those whom the dictatorship of the proletariat had justly condemned.

In all that was taking place, Gero, who was one of the oldest leaders of the party, stresses Comrade Enver Hoxha, further on, proved to be an opportunist and a coward who swung from side to side and moved like a puppet manipulated by the real actors behind the scenes in the Hungarian tragedy. When Tito was on "holiday" in the Crimea, Gero went to talk with him in Kruschchev's villa and the three of them, together with their suites," took walks along the seashore, talked and had photographs taken." If the history of intrigues and diabolical manoeuvres to the detriment of the peoples is ever written, these will be "historic photographs." Here, in Khrushchev's villa at Yalta, the first steps of conciliation were taken and, a few days later, Gero with Hegedus and Kadar, went to Belgrade, where they talked with Rankovic. Not much later, when the disturbances began, they threw Gero into the rubbish bin and Kadar, with the blessing of Khrushchev and the manoeuvres of Mikoyan and the revisionist ideologist Suslov, was elevated to first secretary.

The scabby bird--Imre Nagy--had flown from the hands of Khrushchev and Suslov

Meanwhile Imre Nagy emerged from his hole, took power, shouted in triumph, proclaimed "democracy," and Tito was at the culmination of his victory. Reaction came to power, gangsters swarmed in from abroad, and the fascist horthyite and clerical parties of the bourgeoisie were reformed. Imperialism filled the country with spies and was pouring in arms wholesale from Austria. Radio "Free Europe" urged on the counter-revolution day and night and called for the overthrow and total liquidation of the socialist order.

After showing how the counter-revolution swept Budapest and was spreading to other parts of Hungary, Comrade Enver Hoxha writes:

The scabby bird--Imre Nagy--had flown from the hands of Khrushchev and Suslov. This traitor, in whom Moscow had placed its hopes, like a drowning man clutching at his own hair to save himself from death, showed what he was, and in the upsurge of the counter-revolutionary fury, announced his reactionary policy and made public declarations about Hungary's withdrawal from the Warsaw Treaty. The Soviet ambassador in Hungary was a certain Andropov, a KGB man, who was elevated to power later and played a dirty role against us. This agent, with the label of ambassador, found himself surrounded by the counter-revolution which broke out. Even when the counter-revolutionary events were taking place openly, when Nagy came to the head of the government, the Soviets still continued to support him, apparently hoping that they could keep him under control. During those days, after the first half-hearted intervention of the Soviet Army, Andropov told our ambassador in Budapest:

"We cannot call the insurgents counter-revolutionaries because there are honest people among them. The new government is good and it is necessary to support it in order to stabilize the situation."

"What do you think of Nagy's speeches?" our ambassador asked him.

"They are not bad," replied Andropov, and when our comrade pointed out that what was being said about the Soviet Union did not seem to be correct, he replied:

"There is anti-Sovietism, but Nagy's recent speech was not bad, it was not anti-Soviet. He wants to maintain links with the masses. The Political Bureau is good and has credit."

The counter-revolutionaries acted with such arrogance that they forced Andropov, together with all his staff, out into the street and left them there for hours on end. We instructed our ambassador in Budapest to take measures for the defence of the embassy and its staff, and to place a machine-gun at the top of the stairs. If the counter-revolutionaries dared to attack the embassy he was to open fire without hesitation. But when our ambassador asked Andropov for weapons to ensure the defence of our embassy, he refused:

"We have diplomatic immunity, therefore no one will touch you."

"What diplomatic immunity?" said our ambassador, "they threw you out into the street."

"No, no," said Andropov, "if we give you arms, some incident might be created."

"Very well," said [our] representative, "I am making you an official request on behalf of the Albanian Government."

"I shall ask Moscow," said Andropov, and when the request was refused our ambassador declared:

"All right, only I am letting you know that we shall defend ourselves with the pistols and shotguns we have."

The Soviet ambassador had shut himself up in the embassy and did not dare to stick his head out. A responsible functionary of the Foreign Ministry of Hungary, who was being chased by the bandits, sought refuge in our embassy and we admitted him. He told our comrades that he had gone to the Soviet Embassy but they had turned him away.

> While the counter-revolutionaries were wreaking havoc, Khrushchev was afraid, hesitating to intervene

The Soviet troops stationed in Hungary intervened at first, but were then withdrawn under the pressure of Nagy and Kadar and the Soviet Government declared that it was ready to begin talks about their withdrawal from Hungary. While the counter-revolutionaries were wreaking havoc, Moscow trembled. Khrushchev was afraid, hesitating to intervene. Tito was king of the situation and the supporter of Imre Nagy, indeed, he had assembled his army and was ready to intervene. Then Moscow sent the appropriate person to Budapest, the huckster Mikoyan, along with the cocky Suslov.

Here in Tirana we did not fail to speak up. I called the Soviet ambassador and told him angrily:

"We are completely uninformed about what is going on in a number of socialist countries. Tito and company have a finger in the organization of the counter-revolution in Hungary. You are abandoning Hungary to imperialism and Tito. You must intervene with arms and far piazza pulita (make a clean sweep, Italian in the original) before it's too late."

I mentioned Tito's aims and condemned the trust Khrushchev had in him, as well as Suslov's trust in Imre Nagy's "self-criticism."

"You see what Imre Nagy is," I said. "Now blood is being shed in Hungary and the culprits must be found."

He replied:

"The situation is grave but we shall not allow the enemy to seize Hungary. I shall transmit the opinions you expressed to me to Moscow."

Everyone knows what happened in Hungary and Budapest.

The Soviet Embassy was surrounded with tanks and Mikoyan, Suslov, Andropov and who knows who else, continued to intrigue inside.

Reaction, headed by Kadar and Imre Nagy, shut up in the parliament building, where they indulged in idle talk, sent out continuous appeals to the Western capitalist states to intervene with arms against the Soviets. In the end, the frightened Nikita Khrushchev was obliged to give the order. The Soviet armoured forces marched on Budapest and fighting began in the streets. The intriguer Mikoyan put Andropov in a tank and sent him to parliament to bring

back Kadar, in order to manipulate matters through him. And this is what occurred. Kadar again changed his patron, again changed his coat, returned to the bosom of the Soviets and, protected by their tanks, called on the people to cease the disturbances and appealed to the counter-revolutionaries to hand in their arms and surrender.

> Nagy was executed without trial because he could have brought to light the dirty linen of those who pulled the strings in the counter-revolutionary plot

That was the end of the Nagy government. The counter-revolution was put down, and Imre Nagy took refuge in Tito's embassy. It was clear that he was an agent of Tito and world reaction. He had Khrushchev's support, too, but he slipped from his grasp, because he wanted to go further, and did so. Khrushchev quarreled with Tito for months about handing over Nagy. Tito refused until they reached a compromise that Nagy should be handed over to the Romanians. At the time when negotiations over this problem were going on with Tito, Krylov, the Soviet ambassador in Tirana, sought our opinion whether or not we agreed that Nagy should go to Romania.

"We have declared previously," I replied to Krylov, "Imre Nagy is a traitor who opened the doors to fascism in Hungary. Now it is proposed that this traitor, who has killed communists and progressives, who has killed Soviet soldiers and called on the imperialists to intervene, should go to a friendly country. This is a big concession and we do not agree with it."

After tempers cooled and the victims of the Hungarian counter-revolution, a deed of Tito in particular, as well as Khrushchev, were buried, Nagy was executed. The way this was done was not right, either. Not that Nagy did not deserve to be executed, but not secretly, without trial and without public exposure, as was done. He ought to have been publicly tried and punished on the basis of the laws of the country of which he was a citizen. But of course, neither Khrushchev, Kadar, nor Tito wanted him brought to trial, because Nagy could have brought to light the dirty linen of those who pulled the strings in the counter-revolutionary plot.

[23 Oct 80]

[Text] Tirana, 23 Oct (ATA--Further on Comrade Enver Hoxha writes:

> Facts revealing Khrushchev-Tito collaboration before and during the October events in Hungary. The PLA expresses its opposition to these anti-Marxist actions of the Soviet leadership

When the counter-revolution in Hungary had been suppressed, many facts came to light which proved the complicity of the Soviet leaders in the Hungarian events. We, of course, suspected what role the Soviets played especially in regard to the removal of Rakosi, the support for Nagy, etc. However, at that time we did not know precisely how the Khrushchev-Tito collaboration had developed and neither did we know about the secret meetings of Khrushchev and Malenkov with Tito in Brioni. These things were revealed later and we adhered to our stand of opposition to these actions of the Soviets.

Some days after order was restored in Hungary, the Soviet leadership informed us of the correspondence which it had exchanged with the Yugoslav leadership over the Hungarian question. The facts which were revealed in those letters disturbed us profoundly, because the problems were serious and critical. At that time, the interests of socialism and the communist movement required that the Soviet Union should be defended from the attacks of imperialism and reaction and our unity preserved. On the other hand, our party had to have its say about these anti-Marxist actions of the Soviet leadership. Therefore, everything had to be carefully considered and weighed up, bearing in mind the interests of the party, our country, the revolution and socialism. That is how we judged these problems, we expressed our opinions to the Soviet leaders in a comradely tone, so that everything would be corrected and kept between ourselves.

During those days, after we received the letters, I summoned Krylov:

"I have called you here," I said, "to clear up some matters which arise from these letters. First, I want to tell you that the allusions which Tito made to certain evil men, clearly implying the leadership of our party, seem to us unacceptable. Such a thing, on his part, does not surprise us because we are accustomed to Tito's attacks. However, we are extremely surprised about the fact that in the reply of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union there is no clear-cut stand to be seen in connection with these insinuations of Tito's. Have you anything to say about this question?"

"I have nothing to say about this," replied Krylov, faithful to his manner of playing dumb.

Then I continued:

"Tito should have been told bluntly that we are not evil men and enemies of socialism, as he says. We are Marxist-Leninists, resolute people, who will fight to the end for the cause of socialism. Tito, on the contrary, is an enemy of the revolution and socialism. There are many facts to prove this."

Krylov was silent, and continuing the talk, I dwelt in particular on another problem which had attracted our attention in these letters. Khrushchev wrote to Tito: "In connection with the removal of Rakosi, you were completely satisfied that the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union tried, as early as the summer of this year, to ensure that Kadar would become first secretary."

Besides this, the letter clearly indicated their collaboration, not only before the events of October, but also during them, a collaboration which was concretized in the plan hatched up during secret talks in Brioni. These actions of the Soviet leaders were unacceptable to us. In our opinion, the Titoites continued their disruptive secret activity, and this was clearly apparent in Hungary in particular. We had informed the leadership of the Soviet Union of this opinion.

I questioned Krylov about this matter?

"We are not clear about where the Central Committee of the Hungarian Workers' Party was formed, in Budapest or in the Crimea?"

Of course Krylov did not like this question and, biting his words, said:

"This is how matters must stand: The Hungarian comrades have gone to the Crimea and talked with our comrades. There the question has been raised of who should be placed in the leadership. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has said that 'it would be good if Kadar were elected.'"

"Does it mean that the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was not for Gero but for Kadar?" I continued.

"That is what emerges from the letter," replied Krylov.

"Apart from that," I said, "the Kadar government has been formed in close collaboration between your leadership and Tito. Is that not so?"

"Yes, it seems to be so," Krylov was obliged to admit.

Continuing the talk, after informing him of the concern which the events in Hungary aroused in our party, I pointed out to the Soviet ambassador:

"The unanimous opinion of our Political Bureau is that these actions of the comrades of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, who talk with Tito about the composition of the leadership of the Hungarian party and government, are not correct. The Soviet leadership is well aware of our views on all these matters, because we have expressed them to it. Is that not so?"

"Yes, it is so," said Krylov.

"Have you transmitted all our views to Moscow?"

"Yes," he replied, "I have transmitted them."

At the end of this talk, as though by chance, the Soviet ambassador asked me:

"Will Dali Ndreu be put on trial?"

Of course this question was not accidental. Apparently, the trial and expose of the agents of the Yugoslav revisionist, Liri Gega and Dali Ndreu, was not pleasing to the Soviets.

"The trial has been prepared and will be held," I told Krylov, "because they are traitors and agents. When their attempts to carry out the plot against our party and state failed, Dali Ndreu and Liri Gega, sensing that they would have to render account for their activity as agents, attempted to flee the country, and were captured near our state border. Their hostile activity has now been completely proved and they themselves have admitted it. And

if Tito continues his hostile activity, we shall publish the truth about these agents, with facts and tape-recordings. We think that we can no longer tolerate the Titoites, who want to stab us in the back and to make accusations against us."

"I understand your situation," murmured Krylov and went away with his tail between his legs!

On the factors that influenced in the counter-revolutionary manifestations in Poland

The same phenomena as in Hungary developed in Poland, too, almost at the same time, although there the events did not assume those proportions and that dramatic character they did in Hungary. In Poland, too, the dictatorship of the proletariat had been established under the leadership of the United Workers' Party, but, despite the aid which the Soviet Union provided, socialism did not develop there at the necessary rates. As long as Bierut was at the head and the Polish party was in correct positions, successes were achieved in the socialist development of the country. However, the initial reforms and measures which were taken there, were not carried through to the end and the class struggle was not waged at the proper level. The proletariat increased, industry was developed, efforts were made to disseminate Marxist ideas among the masses, but, de facto, the elements of the bourgeoisie retained many of their dominant positions. The land reform was not carried out in the countryside, and the collectivization went only half-way, untul Gomulka declared the cooperatives and state farms unprofitable, and favoured the growth of the kulak strata in the Polish countryside.

As in Hungary, East Germany, Romania and elsewhere, the Polish party was formed through a mechanical merger of the existing party with the bourgeois parties, so-called workers' parties. Perhaps such a thing was necessary in order to unite the proletariat under the leadership of a single party, but this union should have been brought about through a great deal of ideological, political and organizational work, to ensure that the former members of other parties were not only assimilated, but what is more important, were thoroughly educated with the Marxist-Leninist ideological and organizational norms. But this was not done either in Poland, Hungary, or elsewhere and all that happened in fact was that the members of the bourgeois parties changed their names, became "communists," while retaining their old views, their old outlook. Thus, the parties of the proletariat were not strengthened, but on the contrary, were weakened, because social-democrats and opportunists like Cyrankiewicz, Marosan, Grotewhol, etc., established themselves and their views in them.

Apart from this, there was another factor in Poland which had an influence in the counterrevolutionary manifestations: The old hatred of the Polish people for Czarist Russia. Through the work which reaction did inside and outside the party, the old hatred, which was completely justified in the past, was now turned against the Soviet Union, against the Soviet people, who, in fact, had shed their blood for the liberation of Poland. The Polish bourgeoisie, which had not been hit as hard as it should have been, did everything in its power to incite the nationalist and chauvinist sentiments against the Soviet Union.

The death of Bierut created suitable conditions for the plans of the counter-revolution

After the death of Bierut, things were expressed more openly, and the weaknesses of the party and the dictatorship of the proletariat in Poland also emerged more openly. Thus, partly from the weaknesses in the work, partly from the efforts of reaction, the church, Gomulka and Cyrankiewicz, and partly from the interference of the Khrushchevites, the disturbances of June 1956 and the events which followed them, came about. Of course, the death of Bierut created suitable conditions for the plans of the counter-revolution. I had met Bierut long before, when I went to Warsaw. He was a mature, experienced comrade, quiet and kindly. Although I was younger than he, he behaved in such a good comradely manner with me that I can never forget him. When I met him at meetings in Moscow, too, it was a special satisfaction to talk with him. He listened to me attentively when I spoke about our people and their situation. He was sincere, just and principled. I remember when we talked in Warsaw he mentioned a discussion he had had with Comrade Mehmet.

"Your comrade spoke to me frankly when he criticized the stand of our prime minister. I like comrades who speak frankly," said Bierut.

I met him for the last time in Moscow when the 20th congress of the CPSU was held.

Shortly before his death, Bierut and his wife as well as Nexhmije and I were in a box together in the "Maly Teatr" to see a play about the revolutionary navy of Leningrad.

In the interval we had a cordial conversation in the small room behind the stage. Amongst other things, we spoke about the Comintern, because at that time the Bulgarian Ganev joined us and he and Bierut reminisced about when they had met in Sophia, when Bierut had been sent there illegally on a task.

Only a little while after this meeting, we heard the bad news: Bierut had died, like Gottwald..." of a cold." Great grief and astonishment.

We went to his funeral in Warsaw, it was the beginning of March 1956. Many speeches were delivered by Khrushchev, Cyrankiewicz, Zhu De, etc., over Bierut's coffin. Vukmanovic Tempo, who had come to take part in the funeral as the envoy of Belgrade, also spoke. Even here, the Titoite representative took the opportunity to launch revisionist slogans and to express his satisfaction over the new "possibilities and perspectives" which had just been opened by the 20th congress.

While the speeches were going on, not far from me, I saw Nikita Khrushchev leaning against a tree, exchanging words with Wanda Wassilewska. Without doubt, he was striking deals over the body of Bierut, whom they were putting in the grave.

A few months after these bitter events at the start of 1956, Poland was engulfed in confusion and chaos which smelled of counter-revolution.

Astonishing parallels between the development of the counter-revolution in Poland and that in Hungary

The events which occurred in Poland were almost identical with those in Hungary. The revolts of the Poznan workers began before the outbreak of the Hungarian counter-revolution, but in fact, these two counter-revolutionary movements matured at the same time, in the same situation and with the same inspiration. I am not going to go into a detailed description of them because they are known, but it is interesting to point out the analogy of facts in these countries, the astonishing parallels between the development of the counter-revolution in Poland and that in Hungary.

Both in Poland and in Hungary the leaders were changed: in the one country Bierut died (in Moscow), in the other Rakosi was removed (the work and Moscow). [as printed] In Hungary, Rajk, Nagy, Kadar were rehabilitated, in Poland, Gomulka, Spychalski, Morawski, Loga-Sowinski and a whole series of other traitors. There Mindzenty came on the scene, here Wyszynski.

Even more significant is the ideological and spiritual identity of these events. Both in Poland and in Hungary, the events took place under the aegis of the 20th congress, with the slogans of "democratization," liberalization and rehabilitation. The Khrushchevites played an active role, a base counter-revolutionary role, in the development of events in both these countries. The Titoites also had their influence in Poland, although not so directly as in Hungary, but the ideas of "self-administration," the "national roads to socialism," and the "workers' councils," which were taken up in Poland, were certainly inspired by the Yugoslav "specific socialism."

In Poland reaction found its own Nagy: this was Wladyslaw Gomulka

In Poland reaction found its own Nagy: This was Wladyslaw Gomulka, an enemy brought out of prison, who immediately became first secretary of the party.

The advent of Gomulka to power, continues Comrade Enver Hoxha further on, convinced us that events in Poland were not developing in favour of socialism. We not only knew Gomulka's sinister past, but we were able to judge him also from the slogans he launched and the speeches he made.

The revisionist Gomulka made his moves with such unprecedented arrogance that I pointed out some of his actions to Khrushchev when I met him in Yalta. We were sitting in a pavilion with a stone floor at the edge of the sea, and when he had heard me out, Khrushchev admitted I was right and said to me textually: "Gomulka is a real fascist." But the two counter-revolutionaries later came to agreement and had only honeyed words for each other. Their contradictions and differences were softened.

The speech which Gomulka delivered at the plenum of the Central Committee which elected him first secretary was a "programmatic" speech of a revisionist.

The Soviets were worried that Poland was in danger of escaping from their influence

The Soviets, writes Comrade Enver Hoxha further on, were worried and frightened about the events in Poland, because they saw that the "new course," which they

themselves proclaimed, was taking the Polish leaders further than they desired and that Poland was in danger of escaping from their influence. During the days in which the plenum, that was to restore Gomulka to power, was held, Khrushchev, Molotov, Kaganovich and Mikoyan went urgently to Poland. At the airport Khrushchev shouted angrily at the Polish leaders: "We have shed our blood to liberate this country, while you want to give it to the Americans." But stressed Comrade Enver Hoxha, in the end, Khrushchev gave Gomulka his blessing and, after he made a "pilgrimage" to Moscow, Gomulka received credits and spoke about the Soviet-Polish "Leninist friendship."

Gomulka implemented his "program," set up his "workers' councils," "self-administrative cooperatives," and "rehabilitation committees," stimulated private trade, introduced religion in the schools and the army and opened the doors to foreign propaganda. He, too, spoke about the "national road" to socialism.

Gomulka's views and actions were so extremely open and undisguised that many did not accept them, or could not accept them openly. Even Khrushchev was obliged from time to time to throw some small stone at Gomulka's garden. The Czechs, the French, the Bulgarians, and the East Germans, who kept one eye and ear on Moscow, likewise adopted stands of reserve or opposition. Obviously, we were opposed to Gomulka and his actions and this we had made known to the Soviet leaders with whom we had talked. The Poles did not like this attitude and their press complained openly that the other parties did not understand the changes that were occurring in Poland. An article published in those days mentioned our press and that of some other countries as examples of this "misunderstanding," in contrast to the Italian, Chinese, Yugoslav and other parties which had "properly understood the profoundly socialist character of the changes in Poland."

The Yugoslavs welcomed these "socialist" changes with enthusiasm and shouted that "those forces which fought for political democratization, economic decentralization and the system of self-administration had triumphed" in Poland.

The PLA makes no concession of principle

The Soviets did not give us any information about the events in Poland, either, but only sent us a letter in which they told us that the situation was very grave and informed us that a Soviet delegation was to go there. Apart from this nothing more, no news, no information. In the Soviet press we found an occasional article which attacked the events in Poland, but we also found articles which supported them. As I have said, from the talks with Krylov, the Soviet ambassador in Tirana, we had nothing definite. In one meeting which I had with him I spoke about the question of Poland and our concern about what was occurring there.

"How is it possible," I asked him, "that we are not kept informed? How is it possible that we are left in the dark about these matters, which concern all of us? This is not right."

"That is a fair request," Krylov replied.

"Transmit our view to your Central Committee," I concluded.

In the context of the events which were taking place, the differences of opinion between us and the Soviets were becoming ever clearer. In connection with this, the stand of our party was: We must not make these differences public, because this would harm the Soviet Union and the socialist camp, but on the other hand, we must make no concessions of principle, must adhere to our stands and express our views openly to the Soviet leaders.

When I was in Moscow in December of that year, among other things, I talked with the Soviet leaders about the question of Poland. I shall deal separately with the talks of December 1956, but here I want to mention the support which Khrushchev and company gave Gomulka to consolidate himself in power. When we put forward our views and doubts about Gomulka to Khrushchev and Suslov, they tried to convince us that he was a good man and should be supported, while we were convinced that the disturbances which had occurred in Poland and which were very like the Hungarian counter-revolution, were the work of Gomulka and served to bring this fascist to power, where he remained until he was purged by the Khruschevites and Gierek. The latter is a ferocious enemy of the Party of Labour of Albania. In Poland all of them fell one after the other. Cyrankiewicz, this old agent of the bourgeoisie, lasted longest and pulled the strings with the Soviet Army which had occupied Poland.

[24 Oct 80]

[Text] Tirana, October 24 (ATA)--In connection with the events in Hungary and Poland Comrade Enver Hoxha writes further on:

The events in Hungary and Poland quite rightly worried our party and its leadership because they damaged the cause of the revolution and weakened the positions of socialism in Europe and the world.

After these events ended, or more precisely, lost their open and acute form, because now they were carried on in secrecy, the moment came to make the necessary analyses and draw the proper conclusions. Both Khrushchev and Tito made analyses according to their own interests and reckonings and the anti-Marxist views which they held. In essence, the Titoites and the Khrushchevites were united in their "analysis," laying the blame on the mistakes of the leadership of the Hungarian Party and Rakosi, in particular. Kadar, too, as the servant of two masters, sang in harmony with them, declaring that the revolt of the masses was justified because of the mistakes of the criminal clique of Rakosi and Gero."

Conclusions of the PLA on the counter-revolution in Hungary

To the extent it was acquainted with the development of events and based on the facts which had emerged from the darkness which shrouded the plot, our party had analysed these events and has drawn its own conclusions. In our opinion, the counter-revolution was provoked and organized by world capitalism and its Titoite agency at the weakest link in the socialist camp, at the moments

when the Khrushchev clique had still not consolidated its positions. The Hungarian Workers' Party and the dictatorship of the proletariat in Hungary melted away like snow in the rain at its first stern confrontation with reaction. From all that had occurred, certain facts drew our attention:

In the first place, the events revealed the weak and superficial work of the Hungarian party for the education and leadership of the working class. Despite its revolutionary traditions, the working class of Hungary did not know how to defend its power during the counter-revolution. On the contrary, a part of it became a reserve of reaction. The party itself did not react as a conscious organized vanguard of the class. It was liquidated within a few days, and this gave the counter-revolutionary Kadar the possibility to bury it once and for all.

The events of October and November 1956 underlined once again the vacillating character of the Hungarian intellectuals and student youth. They became the cat's paw of reaction, and the assault squad of the bourgeoisie. An especially base role in this was played by the counter-revolutionary writers headed by the reactionary and anti-communist Lukacs, who also became a member of the Nagy government.

The case of Hungary proved that the bourgeoisie had not lost its hopes of restoration but, on the contrary, had prepared itself in illegality, even preserving its old organizational forms, which was shown by the immediate formation of clerical and fascist bourgeois parties.

What occurred in Hungary further convinced our party of the correctness of the stand we had maintained towards the Yugoslav revisionists. The Titoites were the inspirers and main supporters of the Hungarian counter-revolution. Official personalities and the press of Yugoslavia welcomed these events with enthusiasm. The inflammatory speeches delivered in the "Petofi" Club were published in Belgrade and the "theories" of Tito and Kardelj, together with the theses of the 20th congress, were the banner of these speeches.

To us these things were neither new nor unexpected. What worried us most was the role which the Soviet leadership played in these events, its co-ordination of plans with Tito, its backstage deals hatched up to the detriment of the Hungarian people, which had profound and bitter repercussions for them.

Experience showed that the counter-revolution in Hungary was suppressed by counter-revolutionaries

The counter-revolution in Hungary was put down by the Soviet tanks because Khrushchev could not fail to intervene (that would have exposed him once and for all), and here the imperialists and Tito did not make their calculations well. However, experience showed that this counter-revolution was suppressed by counter-revolutionaries who restored capitalism, but in a more camouflaged way, retaining their colour and disguise, as the Soviet Khrushchevites did in their own country.

The facts in Hungary increased our doubts about the leadership of the CPSU and worried and saddened us. We had always had great faith in the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Stalin and we had expressed this faith together with our sincere love for it and the land of the soviets.

With this feeling of doubt and worry I went to Moscow in December 1956, together with Hysni, who supported and assisted me in the difficult talks and discussions with the Khrushchevites, in which the poison was mixed with hypocrisy.

Efforts by Khrushchev and the other Soviet leaders to soften the just revolt of the PLA over their wrong stands

As we had decided earlier in the Political Bureau, writes Comrade Enver Hoxha, we went to the Soviet Union to discuss with the Soviet leaders the acute problems of the situation, the events in Hungary and Poland, as well as relations with Yugoslavia.

It must be said that at that period Khrushchev and company were not getting along so well with Tito. Their friendship seemed to have cooled off somewhat. Meanwhile, Tito had delivered his notorious speech at Pula, which had aroused a great deal of opposition in many parties of the socialist camp. In this speech, the Belgrade chieftain attacked the Soviet system, attacked socialism, attacked the parties which did not follow the "original Marxist-Leninist" course of Tito and also condemned the Soviet intervention in Hungary. These theses were not to the advantage of Khrushchev and company, or were too open, and they were obliged to take a stand for appearances' sake.

Thus the Khrushchevites had made one or two attacks in the newspapers, although not very strong ones (in order to avoid making Comrade Tito too angry). And indeed even with some praise, and, as was their custom, they had begun to exert economic pressure on Yugoslavia, a thing which Khrushchev admitted to me in the talks. At that time PRAVDA had also published an article of mine in which Yugoslav "specific socialism" and its spokesmen were attacked in harsh terms.

I am relating all this to explain why the welcome for us at that time was more "cordial" and why our views, especially with regard to the Yugoslavs, were not opposed, and indeed, even seemed to be approved by the Soviet leaders.

Comrade Enver Hoxha writes further on that the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union put on a dinner in honour of the Albanian delegation, right after its arrival in Moscow.

That evening, underlines Comrade Enver Hoxha, Khrushchev did not spare his attacks against the Yugoslav leaders.

"Their positions are anti-Leninist and opportunist," said Khrushchev among other things. "Their policy is a mishmash. We shall make no concessions to them. They suffer from megalomania," he continued. "When Tito was in Moscow, he thought that with the majestic welcome put on for him, the people were saying he was right, and that they condemned our policy. In fact we need only have whispered one word to the people and they would have torn Tito and company to pieces."

Speaking about our attitude to the Titoites, he said, "The Albanian comrades are right but they must keep cool and maintain their self-control.

"Your hair is going gray, but we are bald," said Khrushchev, concluding his toast.

While the feast continued, "the bald head" told us that Albania was a small country, but had an important strategic position. "If we build a submarine and missile base there, we can control the whole Mediterranean." Khrushchev and Malinovsky repeated this same idea when they came to visit our country in 1959. It was the idea which was concretized in the Vlore base, which the Khrushchevites used to put pressure on us, later.

As I said, Khrushchev and the other Soviet leaders showed themselves very "cordial," there was no lack of flattery, and all this was done to soften the just revolt of our party over their wrong stands. I remember that during the evening we had some discussion about Khrushchev's coming to our country, because although he had left hardly any country unvisited, he had not come to us, either openly or secretly. However, that evening there was a predisposition to reply positively to our request. Not only Khrushchev, but many other members of the Presidium expressed their desire to come to Albania and someone, I don't remember who, jokingly proposed they should hold a meeting of the Presidium or even of their Central Committee in Albania. There was talk there, also, about the "love" which Khruchshev allegedly had for our country (which he displayed later) and they nicknamed Khrushchev "Albanyets" (the Albanian, Russian in the original).

Among many other I remember that Molotov, too, proposed a toast:

"I belong to that category of people who have not given much importance to Albania and have not become acquainted with it," he said, "now our people are proud that they have such a loyal, resolute and militant friend. The Soviet Union has many friends, but they are not all the same. Albania is our best friend. Let us drink this toast wishing that the Soviet Union will have friends as loyal as Albania!"

In general our correct line was praised and the Yugoslav revisionists were condemned by all the Soviet leaders that evening indeed Marshal Zhukov told us that they had proof that the leaders in Belgrade had supported the counter-revolution in Hungary not only ideologically, but also organizationally, and that the Yugoslavs were operating as an agency of American imperialism.

Suslov was one of the greatest demagogues of the Soviet leadership

Two or three days later we had a preliminary meeting with Suslov, secretary of the Central Committee, who was considered a specialist in ideological matters and, if I am not mistaken, was also charged with international relations.

Suslov was one of the greatest demagogues of the Soviet leadership. Clever and cunning, he knew how to wriggle out of difficult situations and perhaps that is why he was one of the few who had escaped the purges carried out time after time in the Soviet revisionist leadership. Several times I have

talked with Suslov and I always had a feeling of unease and annoyance from the meetings with him. I had even less desire to talk with Suslov now, following the Hungarian events, after that debate which I had had with him earlier about Nagy, the situation in Hungary, etc., and knowing his role in those events, especially in the decision for the removal of Rakosi. However, the work required this and I met Suslov.

> Brezhnev was always kept in the background, in "reserve" you might say. He is comedian only in his eyebrows, while his work is tragic from start to finish

Brezhnev took part in this meeting, too, but in fact, he was merely present, because only Suslov spoke during the whole talk. From time to time Leonid moved his thick eyebrows, but sat so immobile that it was difficult to gather what he was thinking about what was being said. I had met him for the first time at the 20th congress in intervals between sessions (and then later, on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the October Revolution in November 1957), and from the time of that brief, chance meeting he had impressed me as a conceited, self-satisfied man. As soon as he was introduced to us he immediately brought the conversation around to himself and told us "in confidence" that he was engaged with "special weapons." From the tone in which he spoke and the expression of his face, he implied to us that he was the man in the Central Committee dealing with the problems of atomic weapons.

The 20th congress elected Brezhnev an alternate member of the Presidium of the Central Committee, and about a year later, the plenum of June 1957 of the Central Committee of the CPSU, which condemned and purged "the anti-party Molotov-Malenkov group," promoted Brezhnev from alternate to full membership of the Presidium. Apparently he was rewarded for the "merits" which he must have displayed in the elimination of Molotov, Malenkov and others from the leadership of the party.

After these events, up till 1960 I had to go many other times to Moscow, where I met the main leaders of the Soviet party but, just as before the 20th congress, I never saw Brezhnev or heard him speak anywhere. He always remained or was kept in the background," "in reserve," you might say. After the inglorious end of Khrushchev, precisely this ponderous, stern-faced person was brought out of the shade in place of the renegade, in order to carry on the filthy work of the Khrushchevite mafia, but now without Khruschev.

It seems that Brezhnev was brought to the head of the party and the Soviet social-imperialist state, not so much on account of his abilities, but as a modus vivendi, to balance and even up the opposing groups which were feuding and squabbling in the top Soviet leadership. But let us give him his due: he is a comedian only in his eyebrows, while his work is tragic from start to finish. Ever since this Khrushchevite took power our party has continually had its say about him and his aggressive, hostile, anti-Marxist work. But this is not the place to dwell at length on Brezhnev. Let us return to the meeting of December 1956.

We parted with Suslov still disagreeing with each other

Speaking about this meeting, Comrade Enver Hoxha, writes, at the start Suslov suggested that we should speak briefly about the problems we were going to discuss, especially about the historic aspect, while he gave us an exposition about the events in Hungary. He criticized Rakosi and Gero, who, with their mistakes, had "caused great discontent among the people," while they left Nagy outside their control.

"Nagy and the Yugoslavs," he continued, "have fought against socialism."

"But why did they re-admit Nagy to the party?" I asked.

"He had been unjustly expelled, because his faults did not deserve such a punishment. Now, however, Kadar is following a correct course. In your press there have been some notes critical of Kadar, but it must be borne in mind that he should be supported because the Yugoslavs are fighting him."

"We are not well acquainted with Kadar. We know that he was in prison and was with Imre Nagy."

Replying to our complaint that we had not been informed about the development of events in Hungary, Suslov said that the events took place without warning and there was no time for consultations.

"No consultations were held with the other parties, either. Only when we intervened for the second time we consulted the Chinese, while Khrushchev, Malenkov and Molotov went to Romania and Czechoslovakia," he said.

"How was time found to consult Tito over the appointment of Kadar, while we were not informed about anything?" I asked.

"We did not consult Tito about Kadar," he said. "We simply told him that there was no longer any place for Nagy's government."

"These are issues of principle," I stressed. "It is essential to hold consultations, but they are not being held. The consultative political council of the Warsaw Treaty, for example, has not met for a year."

"A meeting had been set for January, while in those days, every day's delay would cause great bloodshed," he replied.

Amongst other things I told him that the term which was now being used, the "criminal Rakosi-Gero gang," seemed astonishing to us and we thought this did not help in uniting all the Hungarian communists.

"The mistakes of Rakosi created a grave situation and discontent among the people and the communists," said Suslov.

We asked him to tell us concretely about the mistakes of Rakosi and Gero, and Suslov listed a number of general things, by means of which he tried to lay the blame on them for all that had occurred. We demanded a concrete example, and he told us:

"For example, the question of Rajk, who was described as a spy without any documentary proof."

"Were these things discussed with Rakosi? Was he given an advice?" I asked.

"Rakosi did not accept advice," was the reply.

Likewise, we had opinions quite opposite to Suslov about the attitude towards Gomulka and his views.

"Gamulka removed the communists, the old loyal leaders and officers, and replaced them with others, who had been condemned by the dictatorship of the proletariat," I told Suslov.

"He relies on the men whom he knows," said Suslov. "Gomulka must be given time and then we can judge him."

"But his views and activities can be judged very well already," I objected. "How can you explain the anti-Soviet slogans he used when he came to power?"

Suslov scowed and said quickly:

"It was not Gamulka who did these things and now he is stopping them."

"But what about his stands and statements about the church, for example?"

Suslov went into a long rigmarole," arguing "that these were pre-election tactics," that Gomulka was "taking correct stands" towards the Soviet Union, the socialist camp, etc. We parted still disagreeing with each other.

> The PLA frankly expresses its views on the events in Hungary and Poland as well as on the relations with Yugoslavia

That same day we held the official talks with Khrushchev, Suslov and Ponomaryov. I opened the discussion by presenting the views of our party in connection with the events in Hungary and Poland, as well as in connection with relations with Yugoslavia. Right at the start I said:

"Our delegation will express the views of the Central Committee of our party on these matters frankly, even although on a number of issues we have differences with the Soviet leadership. "These opinions, whether pleasant or otherwise," I continued, "we shall state openly, as Marxist-Leninists, and discuss in a comradely way whether or not we are right, and if we are not right, we must be convinced why."

In connection with Hungary, once again I stressed the lack of information and consultations over this painful problem of the socialist camp.

"We believe the consultative political council of the Warsaw Treaty should have been called together in that situation," I said. "At such moments, consultations are essential to co-ordinate our actions and stands. This would demonstrate our strength and unity."

I continued on the Hungarian problem and conveyed to them our impressions about the Hungary party, Rakosi and Gero. Here I stressed in particular, that the assessment which Kadar was making of them, calling them "a criminal gang" seemed to us astonishing. In our opinion the mistakes of Rakosi and Gero were not of that magnitude to warrant such a description." In regard to the mistakes in the economic development of Hungary, we were not aware that Hungary was in such a serious situation as to justify the 'revolt of the masses.'"Here the Soviet agreed with our opinion and admitted that the economic situation was not grave.

I went on to speak about the stand towards Nagy, Kadar, etc. In regard to Kadar, I expressed the distrust of our party in him and added that, nevertheless, our stand towards him had been very prudent.

In regard to the events in Hungary, I underlined the role of the revisionists and expressed the disapproval of the Party of Labour of Albania that Tito had been placed in the role of arbiter in connection with those events.

In regard to relations with Yugoslavia, after outlining the history of the problem, as was decided in the Political Bureau, I declared in essence:

"The Yugoslavs have carried out hostile activity against our party and country for a long time and they are continuing to do so now. We believe that the Yugoslav leaders are anti-Marxists, and together with the agencies of American imperialism, are among the main inspirers of the events in Hungary. Our relations with Yugoslavia should be normalized only on a Marxist-Leninist road, without making any concessions such as have been made. The Party of Labour of Albania thinks that the Soviet Union should not fulfil the request for weapons, which Yugoslavia has made through Gosniak. We, for our part, will maintain only state and commercial relations, but will not in any way maintain party relations with the Yugoslavs."

In particular, in the name of the Central Committee of our party, I once again expressed our opinion that Khrushchev's visit to Belgrade in 1955 should not have been made without consulting the sister parties and without calling together the information bureau, which had condemned Tito as an anti-Marxist.

> The evil and the tragedy did not come to an end. Only the curtain came down, while behind the scenes Kadar, Gomulka and Khrushchev continued their crimes

After I spoke, Nikita Khrushchev took the floor, and began by telling us how he had criticized the Yugoslav leaders over their stand towards our party and country. Khrushchev posed as though he approved and supported our views and stands, but still did not fail to make criticism and give us "advice." Thus, speaking about my article published in PRAVDA, he said:

"Tito was furious about that article. In the Presidium we thought about removing certain parts of it but you had said that no alterations should be made to it, and we published it as it was. However, the article could have been done in a different form."

In regard to events in Hungary and Poland, Khrushchev continues to harp on his old tune, and apart from other things, "instructed" us that Kadar and Gomulka must be supported. In regard to the latter he said:

"Gomulka is in a difficult situation, because reaction is mobilizing itself. The things which are written in the press are not the views of the Central Committee, but the views of some who have risen against Gomulka, The situation there is gradually being stabilized. Now the elections which will be held in Poland are important. That is why we have to support Gomulka. To this end, Zhou Enlai is to go there and this will greatly assist to strengthen Gomulka's positions. We thought it would be better for the Chinese to speak and not us, because reaction is mobilized against us."

And Zhou Enlai went to Poland in agreement with Khrushchev and to his aid.

Then Khrushchev "advised" us to keep our tempers with the Yugoslavs, and posing as a "great politician" told us of the difference amongst the Yugoslav leaders.

At the end of his speech Khrushchev tried to "sweeten" the atmosphere by promising that they would study our economic demands and would help us.

So ended these talks in which we told them of our opinions and the Soviet leaders tried to avoid any responsibility for what had occurred. So ended the discussion of this tragic page in the history of the Hungarian and Polish peoples. The counter-revolution was suppressed, here with Soviet tanks, there with Polish tanks, but it was suppressed by the enemies of the revolution. However, the evil and the tragedy did not come to an end. Only the curtain came down, while behind the scenes Kadar, Gomulka and Khrushchev continued their crimes until they completely consumated their betrayal by restoring capitalism.

[25 Oct 80]

[Text] Tirana, October 25 (ATA)--In continuation of his book "The Khrushchevites" (Memoirs), Comrade Enver Hoxha exposes the aims about which Khrushchev organized the Moscow meeting of 1957 pointing out the degeneration, disagreements and quarrels in the fold of those that followed the line of Khrushchev and the attempts of the Khrushchevites to subjugate the others and establish their leadership over them.

Temporary retreat in order to take revenge

> The Soviets demand "unity." The Moscow meeting of 1957. Khrushchev's negotiations to bring Tito to the meeting. Khrushchev's shortlived "anger." Debate over the formula: "Headed by the Soviet Union." Gomulka: "We are not dependent on the Soviet Union," Mao Zedong: "Our camp must have a head because even a snake has a head." Togliatti: "We must open new roads," "We are against a single leading center," "do not want to use Lenin's thesis 'the party of the new type' "Mao's sophistry: 80 per cent, 70 per cent and 10 per cent "Marxists." The Moscow declaration and the Yugoslav reaction. Khrushchev disguises his betrayal under the name of Lenin.

The aim of the Khrushchevites, who were restoring capitalism in the Soviet Union, writes Comrade Enver Hoxha, was to make it a great social-imperialist power, and hence, it had to be armed to the teeth, because the storm which they raised would not only destroy the unity of the socialist camp but would also make the contradictions with American imperialism acute. The Khrushchevites knew that the United States of America had greater strength than the Soviet Union, both in the economy and in armaments.

The demagogic policy of the Khrushchevites about the "new epoch of peace" and "disarmament" was a policy to mislead the gogos (innocents, French in the original) The United States of America and world capitalism took advantage to it to deepen the crisis of communism, to avoid the rapid onset of the economic and political crisis which was threatening America itself, and to consolidate their markets and alliances, and especially NATO. For their part, the Khrushchevites struggled for the consolidation of the Warsaw Treaty, to turn it into a strong Soviet means to shackle our countries. Under the disguise of "defence against NATO," they managed to turn the stationing of Soviet troops into a military occupation of many countries of the Warsaw Treaty.

In fact, the imperialist threat had been and still was real, but with the advent to power of the Khrushchevites, our countries were considered as battlefields outside the Soviet borders and our peoples as cannon-fodder for the Soviet revisionists. They tried to put the army, the economy, culture and everything under their control and direction. All the parties of the socialist countries fell into this Khrushchevite trap, with the exception of the Party of Labour of Albania.

> Things were not going smoothly for the Khrushchevites. Their ranks had begun to disintegrate

However, friction, disagreements and quarrels would inevitably arise, even amongst those who followed and submitted to Khrushchev's line, all of them proceeding from unprincipled aims and an unprincipled policy. The bourgeoisie and international reaction fanned up these disagreements in order to deepen the splits within the "communist bloc."

Khrushchev and co. saw this process and used all means and ways to restrict and isolate it.

To achieve their strategic aims, the Khrushchevites needed the "friendship" of all, especially of the parties and countries of the socialist camp, therefore, they used various tactics to "consolidate their relations," to smooth over the disagreements, to subjugate the others and establish their leadership over them.

Their method of operation in the service of their aims included meetings and contacts, almost always in Moscow, in order to make Moscow, if not de jure, at least de facto, the centre of international communism, in this way, always having the advantage of their bugging devices and being able to work on, and keep one or the other under control through their men. It was clear that things were not going smoothly for the Khrushchevites. The Soviet Union had many

different contradictions with Albania, China and even other countries of people's democracy. The line of "freedom" and "democracy" bombastically proclaimed at the 20th congress, was now boomeranging back on the Soviet leadership itself. The ranks had begun to disintegrate, However, the Khrushchevites needed to preserve the political-ideological "unity" of the socialist camp and the international communist movement at all costs, at least in appearance. In this direction and for this aim, the 1957 Moscow meeting was organized.

Khrushchev and Co. made feverish efforts to ensure that Tito take part in the Moscow meeting of 1957

Khrushchev and Co. made feverish efforts not only to ensure that the League of Communists of Yugoslavia would take part in that meeting as a "party of a socialist country," but if possible also, to ensure that Tito would reach agreement with Khrushchev over the platform, the method of procedure and the conclusions of the meeting. In this way, the "unity" of and urgently sought by the Khrushchevites, would have looked more complete than ever. However, Tito was not one to be easily rounded up with Khrushchev's flock. Many letters were exchanged and several bilateral contacts were organized between the men of Khrushchev and Tito on the eve of the meeting, but just when it seemed that an understanding had been reached, everything was upset and the gulf became even deeper. Each side wanted to exploit the meeting for its own aims: Khrushchev, to declare "unity," even with painful concessions to satisfy and draw in Tito, while the latter to urge the others to openly and finally abandon Marxism-Leninism, the struggle against modern revisionism and any principled stand. Ponomaryov and Andropov went to Belgrade, engaged in free bargaining with Tito's representatives, displayed their readiness to retreat from many of their apparently principled former positions, but Tito from afar ordered:

"We shall come to the meeting, but only on condition that no declaration is published, because the international atmosphere will become tense and the imperialists will be angered and accuse us of communist menace.

"We Yugoslavs cannot accept any kind of declaration, because our Western allies will think that we are linked with the socialist camp, and consequently might break off their close relations with Yugoslavia.

"We shall come to the meeting on condition that no mention will be made of the terms opportunism and revisionism there, because, otherwise, we are directly attacked.

"We shall come to the meeting on the condition that the policy of the imperialist powers is not attacked, because this would not serve the policy of reducing tension," etc.

In other words, Tito wanted the communists of the world to get together in Moscow to drink tea and swap stories.

However, it was precisely the declaration that Khrushchev needed, a declaration which would confirm "unity" and carry the maximum number of signatures.

The discussions came to an end. Tito decided not to go to Moscow.... Khrushchev's anger erupted, the terms "were made strong," the smiles and pats on the back for the "Marxist, Comrade Tito," were replaced for a moment with the epithet of the "opportunist," who "has nothing at all to do with Leninism," etc.

However, Khrushchev used these "strong terms" about the chief of Belgrade only in the corridors and chance contacts, whereas in meetings he did not say one word against "Comrade Tito," On the contrary, when he had to speak "against" revisionists and all those who expressed opposition to the Soviet Union, he mentioned only two corpses thrown on the rubbish heap, Nagy and Djilas.

He still hoped that Tito might come to Moscow to confirm the "unity of the 13" as he had promised a little earlier, in Bucharest. But Tito was suddenly "ill!"

"A diplomatic illness!" said Khrushchev angrily, and asked us and the others what should be done in the situation when the Yugoslavs did not agree even to take part in the first meeting of the communist parties of socialist countries, let alone sign the declaration.

"We have told you our opinion of them long ago, and every day is proving that we were and are right, we replied. "We should not retreat because the Yugoslavs do not want to come."

> Gomulka openly comes out against the formula "the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union"

However, although the Yugoslav revisionists did not take part in the first meetings, the meeting of parties of the socialist countries, they were present at its proceedings, because they were represented by their ideological brothers, Gomulka and co. They came out openly in favour of Tito's theses and demanded advance from Khrushchev and others in the direction of further corruption and disorganization.

"We do not agree that we should speak of 'the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union,'" declared Gomulka. "In practice we have given up the use of this term, in order to show that we are not dependent on the Soviet Union as in the time of Stalin."

Soviet leaders themselves engaged in a cunning manoeuvre around this problem. In order to demonstrate their alleged adherence to principles in relations with the other sister parties, they had "proposed" that the term "headed by the Soviet Union" should not be used, because allegedly we are all "equal." However, they made this proposal only tentatively, in order to sound out the others on this, because in essence they were not simply for the term "headed by..," but, if possible "under the direction of the Soviet Union," hence "dependent on the Soviet Union." This was what they intended and fought for, and time fully proved what the aims of the Khrushchevites were.

When Gomulka made his proposal at the meeting, the Soviet representatives scowled angrily and without coming out openly themselves first, urged the others to attack Gomulka.

A lengthy debate broke out around this problem. Although the opinion was being crystallized amongst us more and more clearly each day that the leadership of the Soviet Union was deviating from the road of socialism, we continued to defend the thesis headed by the Soviet Union for reasons of principle and tactics, we were well aware that in coming out against this expression, Gomulka and his supporters, in fact, wanted to reject openly and without hesitation everything proven good and valuable from the decades of experience of the Soviet Union led by Lenin and Stalin, to reject the experience of the October Revolution and the socialist construction in the Soviet Union in the time of Stalin, and to deny the role which it was up to the Soviet Union to play for the triumph and progress of socialism in many countries.

In this way, the revisionists, Gomulka, Togliatti and others, added their voices to the furious attack which imperialism and reaction had unleashed in those years against the Soviet Union and the international communist movement.

To us, the defence of these important Marxist-Leninist achievements was an internationalist duty, therefore, we strongly opposed Gomulka and the others. This was a matter of principle. On the other hand, the defence we made of the Soviet Union and the thesis headed by the Soviet Union, both in 1957 and for two or three years after this, was one of the tactics of our party to attack Khrushchevite modern revisionism itself.

Although Khrushchev and the others knew our views and stands, at that time we had not yet come out openly before all the parties against the revisionist line which they were crystallizing, therefore, by strongly opposing the revisionist theses of Tito, Gomulka, Togliatti and others in the eyes of all, at the same time, indirectly, we found the opportunity to attack the theses, stands and actions of Khrushchev himself, which in essence were identical with those of Tito and co.

For entirely different aims and reasons, alien to Marxism-Leninism, Ulbricht, Novotny, Zhivkov, of course, Dej, etc., also attacked Gomulka. They were wooing the favour of the Soviet Union and Khrushchev and, to this end, they left their ideological brother in the minority.

"Arguments" of "Marxist" Mao in defence of Khrushchev

From the place he sat Mao Zedong brought out his "arguments."

"Our camp must have a head, because even the snake has a head, and imperialism has a head," he said. "I would not agree that China should be called the head of the camp," went on, "because do not merit this honour and cannot maintain this role, we are still poor. [sentence as printed] We haven't even a quarter of a satellite, while the Soviet Union has two. Then, the Soviet Union deserves to be the head because it treats us well. See how freely we are speaking now.

If Stalin were here, we would find it difficult to speak like this. When I met Stalin, before him I felt like a pupil in front of his teacher, while with Comrade Khrushchev we speak freely, like equal comrades."

And as if this were not enough, he continued in his own style:

"With the criticisms against the cult of the individual, it seemed as if a heavy roof, which was pressing down on us and hindered us from understanding matters correctly, was lifted from us. Who lifted this roof from us, who made it easier for all of us to understand the cult of the individual correctly?" asked the philosopher, who was silent for a moment, and there and then supplied the answer: "Comrade Khrushchev, and we thank him for this."

This is how the "Marxist" Mao defended the thesis "headed by the Soviet Union" and he defended Khrushchev in the same way. However, at the same time, in order to avoid angering Gomulka, who was opposed to this thesis, Mao, as the equilibrist he was, added:

"Gomulka is a good comrade and must be supported and trusted!"

Debates in connection with the stand towards modern revisionism. Togliatti proclaimed his ultra-revisionist theses

Very long debates were held, also, in connection with the stand towards modern revisionism.

Gomulka, in particular, supported by Ochab and Zambrowski, in the first meeting of the 12 parties of the socialist countries, and later Togliatti, in the second meeting of 67 parties, in which Tito's envoys also took part, were strongly opposed to the attack on modern revisionism, against defining it as the main danger in the international communist and workers' movement, because, as Ochab said, "With these formulations we alienated the wonderful and valiant Yugoslav comrades, and now you are alienating us Poles, too."

Palmiro Togliatti got up in the meeting and proclaimed his ultra-revisionist thesis:

"We must go further with the line of the 20th congress to turn the communist parties into broad mass parties, must oepn new roads, and bring out new slogans," he said in essence, "now we need great independence in working out slogans and forms of collaboration," he continued, therefore we are opposed to a single leading centre. This centre would not be advantageous to the development of the individuality of each party and to bringing the broad masses of Catholics and others closer around us."

Jacques Duclos, who was sitting beside me, could not contain himself:

"I am going to get up and attack him openly," he said to me, "do you hear the things he is saying, Comrade Enver?"

"Yes," I said to Duclos, "he is expressing here what he has been thinking and doing for a long time."

"In 1945," continued Togliatti, "we declared that we wanted to create a new party. We say a 'new party' and do not want to use Lenin's thesis, 'the party of the new type' because, if we were to put it in this way, this would mark a great theoretical and political error, would mean to create such a communist party, which would break with the traditions of social-democracy. "If we had built a party of the new type," continued Togliatti, "we would have alienated the party from the masses of the people and we would never have created the situation we have today, when our party has become a great mass party."

After these and other theses of Togliatti, tempers flared up. Jacques Duclos rose to speak:

"We listened carefully to Togliatti's speech," he said among other things, "but we declare that we do not agree in the least with what Togliatti said. His views opened the way to opportunism and revisionism."

"Our parties have been and are hindered by sectarianism and dogmatism," interjected Togliatti.

Mao's sophisms

At one moment Mao Zedong got up to calm the tempers, speaking in his style of allegories and implications. He said:

"On every... human issue one must go into battle, but also towards conciliation. I have in mind the relations between comrades: when we have differences let us invite each other to talks. In Panmunjon we had had negotiations with the Americans, in Vietnam with the French."

After several phrases of this type, he came to the point:

"There are people," he said, "who are 100 per cent Marxists, and others who are 80 per cent, 70 per cent or 50 per cent, indeed there are some who may be only 10 per cent Marxists. We ought to talk even with those who are 10 per cent Marxists, because there are only advantages in this."

He was silent for a moment, looked around the room as though a little lost, and continued:

"Why should we not gather, two or three of us, in a small room to talk things over? Why should we not talk, proceeding from the desire for unity? We have to act with both hands, with the one we must fight against those who make mistakes, and with the other we must make concessions."

The Khrushchevites held back temporarily, in order to gather strength and take their revisionist revenge in the future

Suslov got up and was obliged to maintain a "principled" stand, to stress that the struggle against opportunism and revisionism is important, as is the struggle against dogmatism, but "revisionism constitutes the main danger, because it leads to splits, damages unity," etc.

The whole concern of the Soviet Khrushchevites was "to preserve unity," to keep the socialist countries and the communist parties of different countries in check, therefore if they "accepted" and "defended" a series of correct theses on this occasion, they did this, first of all, because they were compelled by the resolute struggle of the genuine Marxist-Leninists taking part in the meeting, but they did this, also, for the sake of their strategic plan. They retreated, held back temporarily, in order to gather strength and take their revisionist revenge in the future.

Our delegation had its Marxist-Leninist say about all the problems raised at the meeting, especially in regard to the struggle against modern revisionism, against American imperialism as the main threat to peace and the peoples, the road of transition to socialism, the preservation of the Marxist-Leninist unity in the communist and workers' movement and the defence of the experience of the October Revolution and the socialist order, etc.

In the face of the struggle which was waged in the meeting against opportunist views on the problems discussed, the revisionists retreated. As a result, the 1957 Moscow declaration, in general, was a good document.

At this meeting, revisionism, right opportunism, was defined as the main danger in the international communist and workers' movement.

This infuriated the Yugoslavs. They had held long debates with Khrushchev's men before the meeting, especially over this thesis.

"What are you worrying about?" said the Khrushchevites, trying to calm them, "your name is not mentioned. We shall speak about revisionism in general, without any definition."

"Yes," replied the Yugoslavs, "but look at the articles by Enver Hoxha, which you publish even in PRAVDA! When Enver Hoxha speaks against revisionism, he has us in mind and mentions us by name. But even when we are not mentioned by name, everybody understands that we are implied, and that is why we do not take part in the meeting or sign the declaration of parties of socialist countries."

And they did not sign this declaration.

Mao Zedong expressed his deep regret:

"They are not going to sign the 12 parties declaration," he said. "As a rule, there ought to be 13 countries, but the Yugoslav comrades stood aside. We cannot force them. They are not going to sign. I say that in ten years' time they will sign the declaration." (Mao was wrong only in the time he set. In fact, not ten years, but twenty years later a "declaration" was signed with the Yugoslavs in Beijing. The Maoists signed their submission to Tito. Author's note.)

The declaration which was worked out jointly and adopted at the meeting, summed up the experience of the international communist movement, defended the universal laws of the socialist revolution and socialist construction, and defined a series of common tasks for the communist and workers parties, as well as the norms of relations among them.

Thus the adoption of the declaration was a victory for the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist forces. Over all, it constituted a correct program of joint struggle for the coming battles against imperialism and revisionism.

> The modern revisionists did not cease their evil work and had no intention of doing so

Nevertheless, although the modern revisionists were checked, and temporarily drew in their horns, they did not cease their evil work and had no intention of doing so. Khrushchev was to exploit the Moscow meeting of 1957 as a means to prepare the terrain for the implementation of the diabolical anti-communist plan which he was to carry further.

He did his utmost to disguise his betrayal under the name of Lenin and, therefore, he made use of pseudo-Leninist phraseology, mobilized all the liberal pseudo-philosophers, who were awaiting the moment to adapt to revisionist lines (which they drew from the old social-democratic arsenal), Leninist disguises appropriate to the modern situation of the economic development of "our epoch of the superiority of socialism" and "the attainment, especially in the Soviet Union, of the stage of the construction of communism."

Khrushchevism distorted Marxism-Leninism, considered it outdated, therefore it was to consider the phase of the dictatorship of the proletariat outdated, too, and would announce its replacement with the "state of the entire people." Consistent in his course of betrayal, Khrushchev, likewise, was to replace the party of the proletariat with the "party of the entire people," consequently, according to Khrushchev, the Soviet Union was going over to "a higher phase, communism," at a time when, in reality, that country was still backward in industry and agriculture and its markets were empty." The Soviet Union was going over to the phase of communism" only in the declarations of the Khrushchevites, because the reality testified to the opposite. Above all, that country especially needed a strong Marxist-Leninist party which would undertake the education of the Soviet man and the Soviet society which was degenerating.

This liberal bluff was trumpeted by Khrushchev and his theoreticians from daylight to dark. In the press, the radio and the whole of the Soviet propaganda, a great hullabaloo was made in this direction, in the streets, on the facades of buildings and the industrial projects, they put placards written in big letters," dognat i peregnat s.sha." (overtaken and outstrip the United States, Russian in original). From the tribunes of meetings, the traitor shouted: "We have overtaken America in this or that sector, we shall outstrip it in agriculture (and even set the dates), we are going to bury capitalism," etc. The revisionist theories were developed, elaborated and spread by the traitorous leaderships of pseudo-Marxist parties and a motley crows of pseudo-Marxist philosophers, Trotskyites like Serven, Garaudy, Krivin, Fischer and others, in all the capitalist countries, who had been lurking in the ranks of the communist parties, and who sprang up as Khrushchevite revisionists like mushrooms after the rain.

The genuine communists were taken by surprise. In this direction, the unhealthy anti-Marxist sentimentality, which prevented them from raising their voices against their parties which were degenerating, against old leaders who were betraying, against the Soviet Union, which they loved so much, from realizing the catastrophe for which the homeland of Lenin and Stalin was heading, played a negative role.

The capitalist bourgeoisie helped to deepen this confusion as much as possible with all its forces and economic and propaganda means.

In this way, Khrushchev's cunning plan was developed in detail through intrigues, pressure, demagogy, blackmail, false accusations and violation of the treaties, agreements and accords, which had existed between the Soviet Union and China, as well as between the Soviet Union and Albania, until the Khrushchevites arrived at the "famous" Bucharest meeting.

[26 Oct 80]

[Text] Tirana, 26 Oct (ATA)--Further on, in his book "The Khrushchevites" (Memoirs) Comrade Enver Hoxha reveals the ways and methods used by the Khrushchev group in power to break the principled and firm stand of the PLA.

> "The carrot" and "the stick."Our party and government delegation goes to the Soviet Union. Khrushchev's manoeuvres: the "carrot" in evidence--the Soviet Government converts the credits into grants. Leningrad: Pospyelov and Kozlov censor our speeches." We should not mention the Yugoslavs." Our official talk with Khrushchev and others. Khrushchev gets angry: "You want to take us back to Stalin's course," "Tito and Rankovic are better than Kardelj and Popovic. Tempo is an ass... is unstable." A chance meeting with the Yugoslav ambassador in Moscow, Micunovic. Khrushchev's visit to Albania, May 1959. Khrushchev and Malinovsky ask us for military bases: "We shall control the whole Mediterranean from the Bosporus to Gibraltar." The adviser on the extermination of dogs. The Soviet Embassy in Tirana, a centre of the KGB.

Our party and its Central Committee, Comrade Enver Hoxha writes, saw the tragic course on which the Khrushchevites were leading the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, as well as the directions which events were taking, and therefore they were in a great dilemma. The steps that we took had to be carefully measured: we should not be hasty, but neither must we go to sleep. Foreseeing difficult moments, we were greatly interested in strengthening the situation within the country and building up and further developing the economy and strengthening the army. In the first place and above all, we had to keep the party on the rails of Marxism-Leninism, to fight the penetration of revisionism, and wage this fight by persistently defending the Leninist norms and protecting the unity in the leadership and in the party. This was the main guarantee to keep us immune from Titoism and Khrushchevism. The Khrushchevites were keeping up their disguise and had no way to attack us openly in this field. Quite correctly, we defended the Soviet Union when all were attacking it. As I have written above, this was another important question of principle and, at the same time, our tactic against the Khrushchevites, who did not find weak spots in our stands.

The PLA did not give any ground in the face of the demagogy, the blackmail and the threats of Khrushchev. The Khrushchevites had "to settle matters" with us

Comrade Enver Hoxha writes that the Khrushchevites could not or did not want to exacerbate the contradictions with us. Perhaps, underrating the strength of our party and the vitality of the Albanian people, they thought that they would strangle us because we were small, or that they would take the fortress from within by preparing their agency (as time showed, they had acted in this direction with Liri Belishova, Maqo Como, Panajot Plaku, Beqir Balluku, Petrit Dume, Hito Cako, and other collaborators and conspirators, whom we uncovered later). But irrespective of their efforts to "be on good terms" with us and to avoid hot-tempered actions, both they and we saw that the gulf was widening.

As before, the Yugoslav question was one of the main issues that divided us from the Khrushchevites, who did everything in their power to have us reconcile ourselves to the Yugoslav revisionists. Khrushchev wanted our reconciliation with them, because by means of this reconciliation he wanted us to relinquish our resolute Marxist-Leninist course, to relinquish any correct and principled stand on the internal and international planes, that is, to submit to the Khrushchevite line.

We had long understood this and did not give any ground in the face of the demagogy, the blackmail and the threats of Khrushchev. Apart from the instances which I related above, our meeting with the Soviet leadership in Moscow in April 1957 is typical in this direction. It was the period after the events in Hungary and Poland and after the plenum of the Central Committee of our party, held in February 1957.

At this plenum, we once again made a profound analysis of the bitter events in Hungary and Poland. We openly expressed our views about the tense international situation at this period, spoke about the true causes of the disturbances which were occurring in the socialist camp, hit hard at the manoeuvres of imperialism, headed by American imperialism, exposed modern revisionism and expressed and defended the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism. The whole report, which I delivered at this plenum on behalf of the Political Bureau, opposed many of the theses of the 20th congress, without mentioning it by name. Immediately after the plenum we made this report public, printed it in ZERI I POPULLIT and broadcast it over the radio. Without doubts this infuriated the Khrushchevites. They were unable to oppose our principled theses and stands openly, because they were trying to preserve their disguise. Inwardly, however, they were seething. It was necessary to "settle matters" with us, to clamp down on us. They asked us to send a top level delegation to Moscow in the context of "strengthening our friendship."

The Khrushchevites "carrot"

We left for the Soviet Union in April 1957. The delegation consisted of Mehmet Shehu, Gogo Nushi, Rita Marko, Ramiz Alia, Spiro Koleka, Xhafer Spaniu, Behar Shtylla, me and others.

Having described the welcome extended to the delegation in Odessa, Kiev and Moscow Comrade Enver Hoxha points out that the welcome of the Soviet leaders was several degrees warmer than on other occasions. Both at the station and at the reception to welcome us, he writes, they were unsparing with their flattering words.

"We are proud of the friendship we have with you, your party is a young party but it has shown itself to be very mature, you are playing a very great role..." Khrushchev, Bulganin, Pospyelov and the others hastened to declare.

Very quickly we realized that this was the "carrot." They would bring out the stick a little later.

"We must assist you in a more organized way. We have given you something, but we have not thought well enough about what we have done," said Khrushchev, trying to sweeten us up at the first [word indistinct], and here, too, he did not forget to repeat his great "desire" that Albania should become an "example for the countries of Asia and Africa, for Greece and Italy."

After stressing several times "we shall assist you more" and "better," Khrushchev considered it appropriate to test the effect of his promises there and then.

"We roared with laughter in the Presidium," he said, "when we read Tito's speech at Pula. He abused Comrade Enver Hoxha, but Tito's eyes have been blinded."

"We immediately gave him the reply he deserved," I said.

"Of course, of course," said Khrushchev and his smile faded, "but we must restrain our legitimate anger and show ourselves generous towards them, for the sake of the peoples of Yugoslavia and the unity of the camp.

"We shall go among the people and speak to them," he continued, "we must show ourselves to be reasonable. We should not mention the Yugoslavs by name, but should speak about revisionism, in general, as a phenomenon..."

It was the welcoming reception and I did not oppose him. However, the Yugoslav problem was to pursue us everywhere.

Two days later we went to Leningrad. Kozlov welcomed us with the friendliest words:

"I am crazy about Albania," he told us. "I have become a great admirer of your country." (It was this same Kozlov who, two or three years later, in the unforgettable events of Bucharest and Moscow, was to prove that he was such a great "admirer" of our country, that, apart from anything else, he threatened us with the loss of the freedom and independence of the homeland, saying to us: "One atomic bomb dropped by the Americans would be enough to snuff out Albania and its population.")

The workers of Leningrad gave a really warm welcome to our delegation

Amongst others we visited the "Lenin" machine-building plant, a big plant of historic importance. There, in the grave conditions of Czarism, Lenin had set up the first communist groups and had many times delivered speeches to the workers.

"No other foreign delegation has visited this plant," said Pospyelov, who accompanied us on this visit.

The workers had not been prepared because our visit was a spontaneous one, but they gave us a really warm welcome. One worker, who worked on a turbine for our hydro-power station on the Mati River, gave us some tools which we were to give as a souvenir to an Albanian worker. The workers of the plant to whom we talked, told us that they knew Albania, that they nurtured a special love for the Albanian people and considered them an heroic people, etc.

They immediately organized a rally at the plant, in which 4,000-5,000 people took part, and asked me to speak. I spoke and expressed the profound love and gratitude which the Albanian people and the Party of Labour of Albania nurtured for them and the whole Soviet people. I told them about the struggle of our people and party against imperialist and revisionist enemies. These enemies were real, had names, had engaged in concrete activities against us. I had to speak openly to the workers, although this was not going to please Khrushchev. At the first reception he had given us his "orientation" on the question of Yugoslavia. [sentence as printed] But neither I nor my comrades would have had a clear conscience if we had not spoken out, therefore in my speech I told the workers that the Yugoslav leaders were anti-Marxists and chauvinists, that they had done hostile work, etc.

The workers listened to me attentively and cheered with great enthusiasm.

Pressures and "operations" of Khrushchevites on the speeches of Albanian delegation

After the meeting, Pospyelov said to me:

"I think we should tidy up the part about Yugoslavia a little, because it seems to me a bit too hard-hitting."

"There is nothing exaggerated," I said.

"Tomorrow your speech will be published in the press," said Pospyelov. "The Yugoslavs will be very angry with us."

"It's my speech. You are in order," I said to him.

"Comrade Enver, you must understand us," insisted Pospyelov. "Tito says that it is we who incite you to speak openly against them like this. We must soften that a bit."

This dialogue took place in one of the rooms of the "Kirov" opera theatre in Leningrad. It was time for the performance to begin, the people were waiting for us to enter the hall.

"Let us postpone this discussion till after the performance," I said, "time is getting on."

"We'll postpone the beginning of the performance," he insisted, "I'll tell the comrades."

We argued a bit and in the end we reached a "compromise": the word "hostile" would be replaced with "anti-Marxist."

The revisionists were jumping for joy as if they had gained the heavens. After a little reflection, Kozlov wanted another "concession":

"'Anti-Marxist' does not sound too good either," he said, "how about if we alter it to 'non-Marxist.'"

"All right, then," I said in an ironical tone. "Do as you wish."

"Let us go out to the foyer of the theatre," Kozlov then proposed, and we circled once or twice among the people, so that Kozlov could greet them. Meanwhile, the others went to make the "correction" and Ramiz accompanied them. However, when Ramiz returned, he told me that they had removed all I had said about the Yugoslavs. I instructed him to tell them that we insisted on our opinions, but Khrushchev's men replied:

"It is impossible to make any change now, because we would have to inform the comrades at the top again in order to do such a thing."

In one of the intervals of the performance I expressed our dissatisfaction to Pospyelov.

"The truth is that they are what you say," he told me, "but we must not be hasty, because the time will come..."

Thus, what I said at the meeting in connection with Yugoslavia, came out differently in PRAVDA. Mehmet, too, who had gone to Tashkent with a part of the delegation, was subjected to the same pressures and "operations" on his speeches.

PLA openly tells Khrushchev and Company why we disagreed with them on the Yugoslav problem

Although the Soviet leaders were very well aware of our stand towards the Yugoslav revisionists, we had decided in advance to raise this problem in Moscow again and openly to tell Khrushchev and Company why we disagreed with them. We met on April 15.

Right from the outset, I told Khrushchev and his associates that I would speak mainly about the Yugoslav problem.

"We have discussed these matters continually in our party," I said amongst other things, "and have done our utmost to be as patient, coolheaded and prudent as possible in our opinions and actions towards the Yugoslav leadership.

"For their part, the Yugoslav leaders have gone on in the same old way. I do not intend to go over all the bitter history of our relations with them over 14 years, because you know about it, but I want to stress that, even to this day, the Yugoslav leadership is continuing its hostile secret activities against us and permanently maintains a provocative stand.

"We believe that these persistent stands on the part of the Yugoslav leadership, and especially the part of their legation in Tirana," I continued, "are intended to completely destroy relations with us in order to put us in a difficult position in regard to our friends, on the pretext that 'we have achieved good relations with all the other parties, while it is not possible to reach agreement with the Albanians.'"

I went on to tell them of new facts in connection with a number of activities of the minister and the secretary of the Yugoslav legation in Tirana, spoke about the underhand work they were doing to organize anti-party elements and activate them against our party and people and told them of our efforts to make them stop their anti-Albanian activity.

"These activities cannot be done on their personal initiative," I told Khrushchev, "but are done on the orders of the top Yugoslav leadership. This is the conclusion we have drawn from their actions."

Further on, I raised the problem of the harmful activity which the Yugoslav leaders continued to carry out in Kosova.

"This is a delicate and important question for us," I said, "because they are not only organizing intense activity against our country from Kosovo, but are also trying to liquidate the Albanian population of Kosovo, by displacing them en masse to Turkey and other countries."

After speaking in detail about the efforts of the staff of the Yugoslav legation in Tirana to organize the internal enemies of our party and people, about the plot they had tried to organize in the Tirana conference in April 1956, and about the subsequent hostile activity with Tuk Jakova, Dali Ndreu, Liri Gega, etc., I pointed out:

"All these facts and others, of which we have ample have convinced us that, to this very day, the Yugoslav leadership has never given up its aim of overthrowing the people's power in Albania. Thus, the Yugoslav revisionists are a danger, not only to our country but also to all the other socialist countries because, as they themselves have declared and as their activity towards us confirms, they are not reconciled to our socialist system, are opposed to the dictatorship of the proletariat and have totally abandoned Marxism-Leninism.

"We have always wanted to have good relations with Yugoslavia," I continued, "but to put it bluntly, we do not trust the Yugoslav leaders, because they speak against the social system in our countries and are opposed to the foundations of Marxism-Leninism. In all their propaganda, they do not say one word against imperialism, on the contrary, have joined the chorus of the Western powers against us. In 14 years, we have not seen the Yugoslav

leadership make the slightest change that would make us think it has understood any of its grave mistakes and deviations, which have long been under attack. Therefore, we cannot put any trust in this leadership.

"But what stand are we to maintain towards it?" I continued. "We shall keep our temper, we shall be patient and vigilant. But there is a limit to patience. We are not going to take any step which would damage the interests of socialism and Marxism-Leninism, we are not going to wage war on them and neither will we interfere in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia. We are not and never have been for such actions, but we consider it our permanent duty to defend our correct ideological and political line and to unceasingly expose opportunism and revisionism.

"These were the things I had to tell you," I said in conclusion. "In regard to our political situation, it is very good. The people stand firmly united around the party and have mobilized themselves in the work to implement its line. That is all I have to say."

Khrushchev speaks angrily: "Our views differ with yours"

Khrushchev, who up till now had listened in silence to what I presented, his face flushing red and turning pale alternately, although he managed to maintain his "aplomb," began to speak. Apparently he wanted to show us that "one can remain silent" even when one does not agree with what one's counter-part is saying.

"I wanted to stress our opinion," he began. "We are in complete agreement with you and support you."

Immediately after this phrase, however, Khrushchev showed us how they "supported" us:

"We thought that this party meeting would end more quickly and had no idea that you would present matters in this way.

"You are somewhat touchy in your view of relations with Yugoslavia," he continued. "When you speak, you present the question of relations with Yugoslavia as hopeless. The way you speak about the Yugoslav leadership implies that this leadership has betrayed, that it is completely off the rails, that nothing can be done with it, and therefore we should break off relations. I do not think that it has betrayed, but it is true that it has slipped seriously from the course of Marxism-Leninism. According to you, we ought to return to what Stalin did, which caused all these things we know about. If we take things as you present them, it turns out that Yugoslavia is against the Soviet Union, in the first place, and also against you and others. When I listen to you speaking I see that you are seething with anger against them. The Italians, Greeks and Turks are not better than the Yugoslavs. I would like to ask you: With whom have you the best relations?"

"We have no relations with the Greeks and the Turks," I replied.

"Let us examine how the Yugoslavs behave towards us," he continued, "they attack us more than the Greeks, the Turks and the Italians--but there is something specific, proletarian, about Yugoslavia. Hence, can we break off relations with Yugoslavia?"

"We do not say this," I replied.

"You did not say it but from your words it is obvious that you think it. Certainly Yugoslavia will not become the cause of a war against our camp, like Germany. Italy or any other country. Do you consider Yugoslavia as the enemy number one?" he asked me.

"We are not speaking about Yugoslavia. We are speaking about the revisionist activity of the Yugoslav leaders," I said. "What are we to do after those things which they hatch up against us?"

"Try to neutralize their work. What else can you do? Are you going to war with them?" he asked me again.

"No we have not made war on them and we are not going to do so. But if the Yugoslav minister goes tomorrow to photograph military objects, then what are we to do?"

"Take the film," answered Khrushchev.

"They will use such a measure as a pretext to break off relations and put the blame on us," I said.

"Then what do you want from us, Comrade Enver?" he said angrily. "Our views differ from yours and we are unable to advise you. I do not understood you, Comrade Hoxha. Adenauer and Kishi are no better than Tito, but nevertheless, we are doing everything in our power for rapprochement with them. Do you think we are wrong?"

"This is not the same issue," I replied. "When there is talk about Tito, the improvement of relations on the party road is implied, while he is an anti-Marxist. However, the Yugoslav leadership is not correct even in state relations. What stand are we to adopt, if the Yugoslavs continue to hatch up plots against us?"

"Comrade Hoxha," shouted Khrushchev angrily, "you are constantly interrupting me. I listened to you for an hour without interrupting you once, while you do not allow me to speak even for a few minutes, but interrupt me continually. I have nothing more to say," he declared and stood up.

"We have come to exchange opinions," I said, "then, as soon as you express an idea, you ask my opinion. Are you annoyed that I reply to you?"

"I have told you and I am telling you again: I listened to you for an hour, Comrade Hoxha, while you did not listen to me even for a quarter of an hour but interrupted me again and again. You want to build your policy on sentiments. You say there is no difference between Tito, Kardelj, Rankovic, Popovic, and so on. As we have told you previously, they are people and

differ from one another. The Yugoslavs say that they are all of the same opinion, but we say otherwise: Tito and Rankovic maintain a different, more reasonable, more approachable stand towards us, while Kardelj and Popovic are totally hostile towards us. Tempo is an ass..., is unstable. Let us take Eisenhower and Dulles. They are both reactionaries, but we must not lump the two of them together. Dulles is a savage war-monger, while Eisenhower is more human.

"We told you at the first meeting: We are not going to attack anyone and not going to provoke any attack. Our attacks and counter-attacks must be made in such a way as to ensure that they are in favour of rapprochement and not alienation.

"We have asked Zhou Enlai to become the intermediary to arrange a meeting between our parties in which the Yugoslavs will take part. (The reference is to Khrushchev's efforts, in collaboration with the Chinese leadership, to organize a meeting of all the communist parties of socialist countries in which Tito was to take part, too. This meeting was organized in Moscow in November 1957, but despite the efforts of Khrushchev and Mao Zedong, the Yugoslavs did not take part in it. For more details see this volume pp 326-329.) He was pleased to undertake this task. Such a meeting can be held. The Yugoslavs have agreed to it. But it should not be thought that everything will be achieved at such a meeting. However, with opinions like yours, why should we go to such a meeting? I do not understand what you are aiming at, Comrade Enver. Are you trying to convince us that we are not right? Have you come here to convince us that we, too, should adopt the same stand as you towards Yugoslavia. No, we know what we are doing. Do you want to convince us that your line is right? This does not lead to any good solution and is not in the interest of our camp. In connection with the counter-revolution in Hungary we have considered the stand of the Party of Labour of Albania correct, but your tactic in connection with Yugoslavia is wrong. I had thought that you should meet Micunovic (the Yugoslav ambassador in Moscow), not to exacerbate relations but to improve them. However, seeing the way you treat the problem, I doubt that anything will emerge from it. You talk about the provocations of the Yugoslav minister in Tirana. In our country, too, the Yugoslav minister has gone in a demonstrative way to photograph military objects. Our militiaman took his camera and bid him good day.

"Let me repeat: We shall follow the line of improving both state relations and party relations with Yugoslavia. Whether or not we achieve it, that is another matter, but the fact is that we shall have a clear conscience and will serve our party and all the other parties well. We must not make matters worse. The Romanian comrades are right in describing you in SCINTEIA as 'quarrel-some.'"

"We are opposed not only to this grave insult, but also to the spirit in which a sister party, such as that of Romania, deals with this problem in its central organ," I told Khrushchev. "To be quarrelsome means that you make unprincipled attacks. We have never acted with anyone in this way. SCINTEIA itself and those who wrote that article are inciting unjust and unprincipled actions. We have our criticism and reservations about many

stands of the Polish comrades, too, but we have not criticized them in the press, because we do not want to become inciters of quarrels and splits. We have had and still have criticism of the Italians, and certain stands of the Romanian comrades themselves. But we have displayed prudence, have not criticized them in the press, because we do not want to settle the problems outside the norms and rules governing relations between sister parties."

Having received his answer for his "agreement" with SCINTEIA, Khrushchev continued, but in a somewhat lower tone:

"Take things quietly, comrades, always quietly, and we shall triumph. Do you know what Stalin used to tell us?" he continued, "'before we take decisions we should take a cold shower, as the Romans did.' This is what Stalin advised us to do, but he never took a shower himself. Let us do what Stalin did not do."

> Khrushchev openly took our enemies under his protection, imagining Albania as a country in which his order had to be applied

Comrade Enver Hoxha writes that Khrushchev being silent for a moment launched off into his accusations again:

"You do not take a shower before taking decisions, either," he said, "you condemned Dali Ndreu and Liri Gega. We consider this action of yours a grave mistake, very grave."

"We have discussed the question of these agents on another occasion," I said. "Nevertheless, if you wish I can give you endless details about their anti-party and anti-Albanian activity. They have acted continually to the detriment of our country."

"Nevertheless, nevertheless," shouted Khrushchev, "they should not have been condemned so severely. The Yugoslavs are furious."

"Of course, they were their loyal agents," I said, and I could see that Khrushchev had been just as infuriated by the verdict of our court as the Yugoslavs were.

"When we heard what you intended to do we sent an urgent radiogram to our ambassador in Tirana, Krylov. We told him that the decision of your court must be annulled without fail. Apparently, you did not listen to him. That order was ours."

"I am hearing this for the first time and I am astonished that you could have given such an order," I said, trying to control my anger. "However, you ought to know that during the trial the criminal activity of these dangerous agents was proved to the full. Our people would not pardon a soft stand towards them. We do not pat enemies on the head, but give them what they deserve, according to the laws for which the people have voted."

Khrushchev was squirming in his seat.

"After Tito's speech at Pula," put in Ponomarev, "we sent a radiogram to Krylov, that he should tell you to keep cool in your reply, that we would publish an article and it should not appear as an organized action. We also told him what you should do about Dali Ndreu and Liri Gega."

"He told us about the article," I replied, "but we could not leave matters without replying to Tito, and therefore we wrote it. As for Dali Ndreu and Liri Gega, I know that your ambassador asked us after we arrested them and we told Krylov about the activity of those agents. He did not mention any kind of order, and it was just as well he did not. However, even if he had told us about it, we could never come out against the decision of the people's court."

Turning to his comrades, Khrushchev said: "Our ambassador has not carried out his task. That action should have been stopped."

This individual always openly took our enemies under his protection, imagining Albania as a country in which his orders, and not the laws of our state, had to be applied. I remember that another time he said to me:

"I have received a letter from a person called Panajot Plaku, in which he asked me to help him."

"Do you know this man?" I asked him (I knew that he was well acquainted with the traitor and agent of the Yugoslavs, Panajot Plaku, a fugitive in Yugoslavia, who wanted to go to the Soviet Union).

No," replied Khrushchev, "No, I do not know him."

He was lying.

"He is a traitor," I said, "and if you accept him in your country we shall break off our friendship with you. If you admit him you must hand him over to us to hang him publicly."

"You are like Stalin who killed people," said Khrushchev.

"Stalin killed traitors, and we kill them, too," I added.

Since there was nothing else he could do, he retreated. He still hoped to make us submit by using other ways and means. After pouring out all he had to say, he fell silent, laid his hands on the table, softened his stern tone and began his "advice" again.

Khrushchev threw the bait to deceive us and make us submit to him

The tactic of the "stick" was finished. At the discussion table Khrushchev again resorted to the "carrot."

"You must understand us, comrades," he said, "we speak in this way only with you, because we love you greatly, you are close to our hearts," etc., and after all this he made a gesture of "generosity": He excused us from repaying the credits, which the Soviet Union had provided for our country up to the end of 1955 for its economic and cultural development. Of course, we thanked them, thanked the Soviet working class and the fraternal Soviet people, in the first place, for this aid which they gave a small, but valiant, industrious and indomitable country. However, we all clearly understood what "motives" lay behind this "generosity" of Khrushchev. He wanted to "smooth us over," to relieve the tense atmosphere which had been created during the talk, to some extent, wanted to bribe us with this "aid," which to Khrushchev was not aid but charity, a bait which he threw us to deceive us and make us submit to him. However, he was soon to be convinced that we were the sort of people who would even accept to eat grass but would never bend the knee to him or any other traitor.

[27 Oct 80]

[Text] Tirana, 27 Oct (ATA)--The PLA will never give up the struggle against opportunism and the revision of Marxism-Leninism

In continuation of his book "The Khrushchevites" (Memoirs) Comrade Enver Hoxha writes that some days after the April 15, 1957 meeting Khrushchev also invited Micunovic to a big dinner for our delegation, He saw him standing apart and called to him:

"Come over here. Why do you stand so far off?"

He introduced us and laughing said to us:

"Try to understand each other," and off he went, glass in hand, leaving us "to understand each other." We quarrelled.

I reeled off to Micunovic all the things I had told Khrushchev at the meeting and said to him:

"We have been and are ready to improve our state relations and, for our part, have made every effort, but you must give up your anti-Albanian activity once and for all."

"You call us revisionists," said Micunovic. "How can you have relations with revisionists?"

"No," I said, "we shall never have relations with revisionists, but I am speaking about state relations. We can and should have such relations. In regard to the ideological contradictions which exist between us, you must understand clearly that we will never give up the struggle against opportunism and the revision of Marxism-Leninism."

"When you speak of revisionism you have us in mind," said Micunovic.

"That is true," I said, "whether or not we mention Yugoslavia, the reality is that we are referring to you, too."

Micunovic stuck to his point of view. The debate was becoming heated. Watching us from a distance, Khrushchev sensed the mounting tension and rejoined us.

Micunovic began to repeat to him what he had said to me previously, and continued to make accusations against us. However, at that dinner we had Khrushchev "on our side."

"When Tito was in Corfu," he said to Micunovic, "the King of Greece said to him" "Well, shall we divide up Albania?" Tito did not reply, while the Queen pointed out that they should not talk about such things."

Micunovic lost his head and said:

"That was only a joke."

"Such jokes should never be made, especially with the monarcho-fascists, who have been claiming southern Albania throughout their existence. And you have made similar 'jokes' before this too," I told him. "We have a document of Boris Kidric in which he has included Albania as the 7th republic of Yugoslavia."

"This was something done by one individual," replied Micunovic.

"One individual, true, but he was a member of the Political Bureau of your party and chairman of the State Planning Commission," said Mehmet.

This was too much for Micunovic and he walked away. Khrushchev took me by the arm and asked me:

"How did this come about? Did you quarrel again?"

"How else could it go? Only badly, as with the revisionists."

"You Albanians astound me," he said, "you are stubborn."

"No," I said, "we are Marxists."

We parted displeased with each other.

Khrushchev wanted Albania to be turned into a fruit growing colony

But Khrushchev was versatile in his scheming. As I have said, sometimes he softened the situation with Tito, sometimes he exacerbated it. When things were tense with Tito he was gentle with us. I remember when Khrushchev spoke at the 7th congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party, he attacked Tito in strong terms and everyone applauded him. When we came out at the interval, all the heads of the delegations went to a room to drink coffee, there Khrushchev said:

"And for all I said about Tito, Comrade Enver Hoxha is still not satisfied."

"You are right," I said, "Tito must be exposed more vigorously and ceaselessly."

However, it was not always like this. Before Khrushchev came to visit Albania in May 1959, the Soviet leadership sent us a radiogram in which it informed us that "for understandable reasons he will not touch on the Yugoslav question in his speeches and hopes that in their speeches the Albanian friends will bear this properly in mind."

This was a condition which they imposed on us and they were awaiting our reply. We discussed this problem at length in the Political Bureau, where all of us expressed our regret and anger over such a visit with conditions and made a balance of the benefits and evils which would result from our acceptance or non-acceptance of Khrushchev's condition. We knew that the Yugoslavs and all reaction would rub their hands and declare:

"See, Khrushchev went to Albania and shut the Albanians' mouths. And where? In their own home."

However, the visit to Albania of the chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR and first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was of special importance for strengthening the international position of our country.

Therefore we decided unanimously to agree to Khrushchev's condition just for the days that he would stay in Albania and as soon as he left Albania we would continue our unwavering fight as before against the Yugoslav revisionists. Fearing that something might occur as in Leningrad in April 1957, as soon as he arrived in our country on his visit at the end of May 1959, Khrushchev spoke first, without waiting for me to welcome him, saying:

"You must know that I am not going to speak against Tito."

"We consider a guest a guest and impose nothing on him," I replied.

I spoke, said what we had to say, naturally in a friendly manner, but he did not fail to grasp the allusions.

Nevertheless, we behaved in a friendly way with him and tried to create the best possible impressions about our country and our people. On every occasion he behaved as was his habit: sometimes with jokes and sometimes in a grave tone he poured out all he had in mind.

We talked about our economic problems. Besides information about the achievements up to date, I was speaking about our prospects for the future. Among the main branches I mentioned oil, and informed him that in recent days we had struck a new gusher of oil.

"Is that so?" he said, "but what quality is it? I know you have bad, heavy oil. Have you calculated how much it will cost to process it? Then, where will you sell it? Who needs your oil?"

I went on to speak about our mining industry and its very good prospects, mentioning our iron nickel, chromium and copper ores.

"We have ample amounts of these minerals and we think that we should follow the course of processing them at home. We have raised the necessity for building the metallurgical industry in Albania with you last year and several times in the meetings of Comecon," I said. "Up till now we have received no positive reply, but we are persisting."

"Metallurgical plants?" he interrupted me. "I agree, but have you considered the matter well? Have you calculated what a ton of smelted metal will cost you? If it is going to cost you dearly it is no good to you. I repeat: one day's production in our country will fulfill all your needs for several years."

This is how he replied to all our requests and problems.

When I finished, Khrushchev began to speak:

"Comrade Enver's expose made the situation in your country clearer to us," he said. "However, in regard to your needs, I want to tell you that we have not come to examine them. We have not been authorized by our government to discuss such matters. We have come to get to know you, to exchange opinions."

Then laughing, he cracked a joke which was not simply a joke:

"We think that things are going well with you. Albania has advanced, and if you offered us a loan we would accept it with the greatest of pleasure."

"We have ample stones, sea and air," put in Mehmet in the same tone.

"We have much more of those than you. Have you any dollars?" asked Khrushchev, and then, in a different tone:

"Enough of this," he said, "the truth is that you have made progress, but you are not satisfied. We gave you a credit last year and now you want another one. But we have popular saying: 'cut your coat according to your cloth.'"

"We have the same saying," I said, "and we know it and implement it well."

"But," he said, "you are asking for credits again." He shrugged his shoulders, was silent for a moment and resumed his jocular tone:

"Or is it that you gave us a good lunch and thought it a fine opportunity to ask us for another credit? If we had known this we would have brought our own lunch?"

"The Albanians have a special respect for a guest," I said. "Whether they have plenty and whether they have nothing, they always provide for their guest. They treat him with every respect when he comes to their home and even swallow something that they do not like."

"I was joking," he said and burst into a laugh. But it was more a snarl than a laugh. Wherever he went he criticized us. About the big vineyards at Shtoi he said:

"Why do you throw your money away? You will get nothing from this land."

Regardless of the opinions of this "agricultural expert," however, we continued the work and now the vineyards at Shtoi are marvelous.

He criticized the work to drain the Terbuf swamp. In Vlora he summoned the main Soviet oil expert in our country and he, no doubt "well prepared" by the Soviet Embassy in Tirana, delivered a report in our presence which was extremely pessimistic, saying that Albania had no oil. However, a group of Albanian oil experts also came there and refuted what the Soviets said with many facts and arguments. They spoke in detail about the history of the oil industry in our country, about the great interest of the foreign imperialist companies in Albanian oil in the past and about the great and encouraging results which had been achieved in the 15 years of the people's power. Mehmet, for his part, spoke in detail about the great prospects for oil extraction in Albania and also mentioned to Khrushchev the recent discoveries in this field.

"Fine, fine," repeated Khrushchev, "but yours is a heavy oil and contains sulphur. Have you calculated things properly? You will process it, but a litre of benzine will cost you more than a kilogram of caviar. You must look closely at the commercial aspect. It has not been decreed that you must have everything yourselves. What are your friends for?"

In Saranda he advised us to plant only oranges and lemons for which the Soviet Union had great need.

"We shall supply you with wheat. The mice in our country eat as much wheat as you need," he said, repeating what he had said in Moscow in 1957. He also gave us a lot of "advice."

"Don't waste your land and marvellous climate on maize and wheat. They bring you no income. The bay tree grows here. But do you know what it is? Bay is gold. Plant thousands of hectares of bay because we shall buy it from you."

He went on with peanuts, tea and citrus fruit.

"These are what you should plant," he said. "In this way Albania will become a flourishing garden."

In other words he wanted Albania to be turned into a fruit-growing colony which would serve the revisionist Soviet Union, just as the banana republics in Latin America serve the United States of America.

But we could never allow ourselves to take this suicidal course which Khrushchev advised.

Khrushchev and Malinovsky speak as masters of the seas, countries and peoples

He even criticized our archaeological work as "dead things." Whe he visited Burtinti he said:

"Why do you employ all these forces and funds on such dead things. Leave the Hellenes and the Romans to their antiquity."

"Apart from the Hellenic and Roman culture," I told him, another ancient culture, the Illyrian culture, developed and flourished in these zones. The Albanians stem from the Illyrian trunk and our archaeological studies are confirming and providing evidence of our centuries--long history and of the rich and ancient culture of a valiant, industrious and indomitable people."

However, Khrushchev was truly an ignoramus in these fields. He could see only the "profitability."

"Why are these things of value to you? Do you increase the well-being of the people?" he asked me. He called Malinovsky, at that time minister of defence, who was always at hand:

"Look, how marvellous this is," I heard them whisper. "An ideal base for our submarines could be built here. These old things should be dug up and thrown into the sea (they were referring to the archaeological finds at Butrint). We can tunnel through this mountain to the other side," and he pointed to Ksamil. "We shall have the most ideal and most secure base in the Mediterranean. From here we can paralyze and attack everything."

They were to repeat the same thing in Vlora a day or two later. We had come out on the verandah of the villa at Uji I Ftohte.

"Marvellous, marvellous," Khrushchev cried and turned to Malinovsky. I thought he was referring to the truly breath-taking landscape of our riviera. But their mind was working in another direction:

"What a secure bay at the foot of these mountains," they said. "With a powerful fleet, from here we can have the whole of the Mediterranean, from Bosporus to Gibraltar, in our hands. We can control everyone."

It made my flesh creep to hear them talk like this, as if they were the masters of the seas, countries and peoples. "No, Nikita Khrushchev," I said to myself, "we shall never allow you to set out to enslave other countries and shed their peoples' blood from our territory. You will never have Butrint, Vlora, or any inch of the Albanian territory, to use for those evil purposes."

> Economic pressures by the Khrushchevites. In those places where the Soviet [word indistinct] had declared "there was nothing," we found oil, chromium, copper, iron nickel, coal, etc.

The fictitious "peace" being more and more thoroughly rocked to its foundations, Khrushchev and his followers were seeing our resistance ever more clearly and tried to make us yield by exerting economic pressure, while secretly orchestrating a discrimination against our leadership by means of their specialists who were working in all sectors in our country, such as in oil and the economic enterprises in which we lacked sufficient experience,

in the army, where we had advisers etc. The Soviet Embassy, with its innumerable "councillors," who were diplomats only in name, because in reality they were security officers, maintained contact with all these "experts," and gave then the necessary instructions. The first thing they did was to issue instructions to the Soviet experts in the economy to neglect their work in Albania. To a greater or lesser degree, these experts began to become more interjected in buying suit lengths and other things, which they sent to the Soviet Union to sell on the black market, than in working with our comrades.

Those experts who remained sincere with us were removed by the embassy, one after the other, on fabricated pretexts and against their will. When they parted from our people, these specialists expressed their dissatisfaction. Those who remained in Albania, of course, had received orders to sabotage the key sectors of our economy, especially the oil industry and geological prospecting. As was proved later, the Soviet oil "experts" had recruited some agents from the ranks of our geologists and, as they themselves eventually admitted had charged them with the mission of keeping from our party and government accurate data about the discoveries which they made, of hiding the results of these discoveries, of using all the means of sabotage, so as to make us start drilling in the wrong places, of violating the rules of prospecting and extracting technique and wasting hundreds of millions of leks, etc. The Khrushchevite revisionists taught the agents they had recruited in our country various methods of sabotage. And the agents carried out the instructions of their patrons. These oil "experts" and "geologists" made two reports: an accurate one, with exact and positive data on discoveries of different minerals, and a false one, which said that the prospecting had allegedly yielded negative results, i.e., the minerals sought were not discovered. The first report was sent to Moscow and Leningrad through the KGB centre, which was called the Soviet Embassy in Tirana, and the second report was sent to our Ministry of Industry and Mines. This whole vile business was discovered and proved after the Soviets cleared out of Albania. Convinced that there had been sabotage, our Central Committee gave orders that the reports must be studied, that our geological teams must go to all those places where the Soviet saboteurs had said the results are negative, and begin prospecting. This was done. Precisely in those places where they had declared "there was nothing," we found oil, chromium, copper, iron-nickel, coal, etc.

This was an economic pressure which they exerted on us in order to force us to accept their views. But they broke their heads. Our party's resistance steadily increased, but still without burning the bridges. The Soviet revisionists also operated prudently to avoid burning the bridges with us. The Soviet ambassador came frequently to sound us out on some international problems on which I would give my opinion frankly, or to learn about some internal matter and I filled him up with reports about the weather, about the planting, about the harvests, and about some general decision of the party about economic and cultural matters.

> The task of the Soviet ambassadors was that of the informer.
> Provocation by the Soviet "specialists"

Such were the Soviet ambassadors after Khrushchev mounted the throne. They thought we were blind. They never expressed any opinion on the questions we asked them. On these occasions their stand was: "Shall inform you," or

"I shall ask Moscow." Their task was that of the informer. They rarely had any understanding of the problems of our industry and agriculture.

The Soviet ambassador Krylov, who preceded Ivanov in Albania, visited some regions of southern Albania. When he returned he paid me a visit.

"Are you satisfied with what you saw?" I asked him.

He said nothing concrete, because it was dangerous to tell me about the things he had gone to see there. All he said was something... "colossal."

"I have noticed that you keep many dogs in the villages and in the towns and I have made a calculation that there could be such and such number of dogs in Albania, which must eat such and such quantity of food..., and if this food is reckoned in grain it comes to such and such a number of quintals."

"Well, well," I said to myself, "look what an ambassador they have sent us." And I said to him:

"You may be right, but in our country you don't find barber's shops and restaurants for dogs as in Paris. But what measures do you advise, Comrade Ambassador?"

"You should kill them," he said.

"The 'Society for the Protection of Animals' protests, as they are accusing us enough already about killing traitors and agents of reaction," I said.

This same ambassador once told me not to speak in harsh terms about Tito in a meeting of the People's Assembly. I replied:

"Comrade Ambassador, I do not take orders from anyone except from my [as printed]."

"We understand this, but if Tito is going to be attacked I shall not attend the meeting of the assembly," he protested.

"Tito will be exposed even more than from what I have written and the session of the People's Assembly will open even if you do not come," I said.

And the "famous" Soviet ambassador came to the assembly and tucked himself away in a corner of the box, behind other ambassadors, which was not his place.

It was clear that this threatening gesture of the ambassador, which we slapped back, came from Moscow.

After a short time the "adviser" on the extermination of dogs in Albania was recalled from Tirana and became a director in the Central Committee of Khrushchev's Communist Party. Day by day, Khrushchev and his gang were increasing their pressure on us in the direction of the economy. Not only did they not provide us with all the aid we sought, but even what they did provide was quite insufficient. They supplied only a few cases of tractor spare parts,

which they sent by aircraft. In this way they sought to force us to our knees, but in vain, because they had no success. To put pressure on us to accept their conditions, Khrushchev said to us once (while we were talking about our economic problems): "In our relations with the Yugoslavs it has always been our principle to give them half of what they ask for. When they behave well we act more generously. This is how we act with all those who behave badly towards us." The implication was quite clear, they were openly putting pressure on us. We quarrelled so fiercely that time that the talks were almost broken off.

All over the country the Soviets began to commit many provocations against our people everyday. Once, a person complained to the head of his office that a Soviet "expert" had made a proposition to recruit him as an agent. Our comrade refused indignantly. Our Ministry of Foreign Affairs protested to the Soviet Embassy about this. Naturally, the embassy denied that there were such people among the Soviet experts, but a few weeks later it removed its exposed agent from the country. This was the first time we had to do with such a denunciation and therefore our party and government recommended vigilance, prudence and the greatest cool-headedness. It was quite obvious that with the passage of time the situation was getting worse, although the leadership in Moscow preserved the external forms of "friendship."

For us, the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was finished. Khrushchev and the Khrushchevites were revisionists, traitors, war would be declared. The time of the declaration of war was only a matter of months, while our relations continued to hang on a thread.

[28 Oct 80]

[Text] Tirana, 28 Oct (ATA)--A prominent place in the book "The Khrushchevites (Memoirs) is held by the important events of 1960, the Bucharest meeting and that of Moscow, in which the PLA openly opened fire on Khrushchevite revisionism. Comrade Enver Hoxha points out the principled stand adopted by the PLA which did not vield before the pressure and intrigues of the Khrushchevites. He writes:

> From Bucharest to Moscow
>
> February 1960: Mikoyan on the Chinese-Soviet differences. Exacerbation of the situation between Moscow and Beijing. Kosygin pays a "visit" to Mehmet Shehu in Moscow. The Bucharest plot. Hysni Kapo does not bat an eyelid at Khrushchev's pressure. The Soviets set their secret agents in motion and establish the blockade to starve us. The struggle in the preparatory commission for the Moscow meeting. Our delegation in Moscow. Icy atmosphere. The Soviet gargantuas. Pressure, flattery, provocations again. The Kremlin marshals. A brief meeting with Andropov. Khrushchev's tactic: "There should be no polemics." The mercenaries react against our speech. The last talks with the Khrushchevite renegades.

All the representatives of the communist and workers' parties, who were at the congress of the Romanian Workers' Party, writes Comrade Enver Hoxha, know the

stand of our party in connection with the diabolical plot which the Khrushchevites had hatched up there. I shall not go into details here because Volume 19 of my works tells about the struggle of our party, which opened fire on the Khrushchevites and fought with revolutionary Marxist-Leninist courage.

Judging from the aims which the Khrushchevites sought to achieve, politically, ideologically and organizationally, the Bucharest meeting was a Trotskyite, anti-Marxist, revisionist putsch. From the form of its organization too, this meeting was a plot from start to finish.

The revisionist renegades needed another meeting of international communism to gain approval for their old plan for the final legitimization of modern revisionism, which was defeated at the Moscow meeting in 1957. Therefore they raised the need for the organization of a new meeting of communist and workers' parties, where we would allegedly discuss the "problems of the movement," which had come up since the previous meeting in 1957. To this end, at the beginning of June 1960, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union sent us a letter in which it was proposed that the meeting of the communist and workers' parties of the countries of the socialist camp should be held, taking advantage of the occasion of the 3d congress of the Romanian Workers' Party. We replied to this proposal in positive terms and decided to send a delegation, which I was to head.

> Mikoyan tries to create the impression on us that the Soviet leadership allegedly stood on principled positions

Meanwhile, we had been informed about the disagreements which had developed between the Soviets and the Chinese. In February that year, Mehmet and I went to Moscow for a consultation of the representatives of parties of the socialist countries about the development of agriculture, as well as for a meeting of the political consultative committee of the Warsaw Treaty. As soon as we arrived at Moscow airport, a functionary of the apparatus of the Central Committee of the Soviet party introduced himself to me.

"I have been sent by Comrade Mikoyan, who wants to meet you personally tomorrow morning about a very important matter," he told me.

This urgency surprised me, because Mikoyan could have met me later. We were to stay several days in Moscow. Nevertheless I said:

"All right, but I shall bring Comrade Mehmet with me."

"They told me the invitation was only for you," replied Mikoyan's Chinovnik, but I repeated:

"No, I shall come together with Comrade Mehmet."

I insisted on taking Mehmet with me because I guessed that in this urgent meeting about a "very important problem," Mikoyan would speak to me about complicated and delicate matters. The fact that I was well-acquainted with Mikoyan and his anti-Marxist and anti-Albanian stands made me all the more determined.

The next day we went to meet Mikoyan in his villa in Leninskie Gori. After the usual greetings, Anastasiy entered directly into the theme of the talk:

"I am going to inform you about the disagreements we have with the Communist Party of China, I stress, with the Communist Party of China. We had decided to tell these things only to the first secretaries of the sister parties. Therefore, I ask Comrade Mehmet, not to misunderstand us, but this is what we had decided and not that we did not trust him."

"Not at all " replied Mehmet. "Indeed I can leave."

"No," said Mikoyan.

Then Mikoyan spoke to us at length about the differences with the Chinese party.

Mikoyan spun his tale in such a way as to create the impression that they themselves stood in principled Leninist positions and were fighting the deviations of the Chinese leadership. Amongst other things, Mikoyan used as arguments several theses of the Chinese which, in fact, for us, too, were not right from the viewpoint of the Marxist-Leninist ideology. Thus, Mikoyan mentioned the pluralist theories of "one hundred flowers," the question of the cult of Mao, the "great leap forward,"etc.

Of course, we had our own reservations about these things, to the extent that we were acquainted with the activity and concrete practice of the Communist Party of China at that time.

"We have Marxism-Leninism and do not need any other theory," I told Mikoyan, "while as to the 'one hundred flowers' we have neither accepted this view nor have we ever mentioned it."

> Mikoyan states: At one time, together with Khrushchev, he had considered organizing a pokushenie against Stalin

Among other things, Mikoyan spoke about Mao and compared him with Stalin, saying:

"The only difference between Mao Zedong and Stalin is that Mao does not cut off the heads of his opponents, while Stalin did. That is why we could not oppose Stalin," continued this revisionist. "At one time, together with Khrushchev we had considered organizing a pokushenie (assassination attempt, Russian in the original) against him, but we gave up the idea because we were afraid that the people and the party would not understand."

> Serious Sino-Soviet differences. The matters were being exacerbated in a way which was not at all Marxist-Leninist

We made no pronouncement about the problems which Mikoyan raised, and after we had heard him out, I said:

"The major differences which have risen between you and the Communist Party of China are very serious matters and we do not understand why they have been allowed to reach this point. This is neither the time nor the place to discuss them. We think that they should be solved between your parties."

"That is what we shall do," said Mikoyan, and just as we were parting he asked us: "Please don't discuss these matters I raised with you, even with the members of your Political Bureau."

From this meeting we understood that the differences and contradictions had come to a head and were serious. Since we were already acquainted with Khrushchev and Mikoyan, we were quite clear that they did not proceed from principled positions in the accusations they were making against the Chinese party.

As became even clearer later, the differences were over a series of matters of principle towards which, at that time, the Chinese seemed to maintain correct stands. Both in the official speeches of the Chinese leaders and in their published articles, especially in the one entitled "Long Live Leninism," the Chinese party treated the problems in a theoretically correct way and opposed the Khrushchevites. This was particularly damaging to the latter and therefore they were trying to forestall the evil.

We discussed what Mikoyan told us only with the comrades of the bureau, because the matter was extremely delicate and we had to act with caution and patience. Then there was also the request of the Soviet leadership that this problem should be kept secret.

Thus, on the eve of the Bucharest meeting we had been informed of the Sino-Soviet differences.

At that time, I think, at the end of May or the beginning of June, Gogo Nushi, who was in Beijing at a meeting of the General Council of the World Federation of the Trade Unions, informed us by radiogram of the contradictions which had erupted in Beijing between the Chinese and the Soviet delegations. The Chinese delegation to the meeting opposed many theses of the report which was to be delivered, because in essence they were nothing but Khrushchev's revisionist theses about "peaceful coexistence," war and peace," the seizure of power in a "peaceful way," etc.

The Chinese invited the heads of several delegations (those who were members of the leadership of the communist and workers' parties) to a dinner, which they wanted to turn into a meeting, at which they would once again express their views in connection with the erroneous theses of the draft-report of the meeting. Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping spoke first, followed by Zhou Enlai.

Gogo Nushi's stand was that these things should not be disclosed at that gathering, but should be settled through party channels, because the delegations had gone to attend the meeting of the General Council of the Trade Unions and not to discuss those matters. Many of the other delegations were of the same view. As a result, Zhou Enlai retreated and said: "All right, we shall find another occasion."

All these things, together with what Mikoyan had told us in Moscow in February, as well as the indirect attacks which were being exchanged in the Soviet and Chinese press, showed that matters were being exacerbated in a way which was not at all Marxist-Leninist. The indications were that the joint meeting which was to be held in Bucharest, to which we had agreed to go, might reach an impasse or be a complete failure.

> The Khrushchevites had prepared the Bucharest plot in advance. Intensified efforts were made by them to involve the PLA in that plot

In this situation, a few days after the first letter we received another letter from the Central Committee of the Soviet Party, which said that several parties proposed that the meeting of the communist and workers' parties should be postponed and that the parties of the countries of the socialist camp should meet in Bucharest only to set the date and place of the future meeting of all parties. "Apart from setting the date and the place, at this meeting," said the Soviets, "opinions could be exchanged without taking any decision." We agreed on this proposal and decided to send a party delegation to Bucharest, headed by Comrade Hysni Kapo, to take part, both in the congress of the Romanian party and in the joint meeting to set the date and place for the coming meeting.

Why did I not go to Bucharest? I, personally, and the other comrades of the Political Bureau who knew about it, suspected that the problem of the differences which had emerged between China and the Soviet Union would be discussed there. We were not in agreement with such a thing because, first, we had heard only of one side of the argument, the Soviet side, and were not acquainted with the objections of the Chinese. Second, the differences had to do with cardinal problems of the theory and practice of the international communist movement and we could not go to a meeting of such responsibility and make pronouncements without discussing and deciding our stand in the plenum of the Central Committee. However, we were unable to do this, because such problems could not be put forward in the Central Committee hastily. They had to be thrashed out thoroughly, had to be studied carefully, and time was required for this.

Therefore our party sent Comrade Hysni Kapo to Bucharest to discuss only the date of the future meeting, as well as to take part in the free exchange of views on problems of the international situation after the failure of the Paris conference, as our parties had agreed.

As we saw later, the Bucharest meeting was to be transformed into a plot, which the Khrushchevites had prepared in advance. In our direction, too, intensified efforts were made, sometimes openly, sometimes in disguised form (because the Khrushchevites knew how our party adhered to principle), in order to involve us in that plot.

When Comrade Gogo Nushi was returning to Albania from Beijing, in Moscow Brezhnev, who at that time had become chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, sought a meeting with him. Gogo met Brezhnev, who spoke to him at length about the differences with the Chinese.

Comrade Mehmet Shehu replies coldly and bluntly to Kosygin

Four to five days before the meeting in Bucharest began, when Hysni and I were discussing the stand he was to take in the congress of the Romanian party, we received a radiogram from Mehmet, who had been for some days in Moscow for medical treatment. In the radiogram Mehmet informed us about an unexpected "visit" which Kosygin had paid him. When he saw him come in, Mehmet was surprised and thought it was a courtesy visit, although somewhat late.

"Comrade Mehmet, I have come to talk about a very important matter," said Kosygin, without even bothering to inquire about his health, although he knew very well that Mehmet had gone there for medical treatment.

"Go ahead," said Mehmet.

Kosygin spoke for an hour and a half about the contradictions they had with the Communist Party of China. Mehmet listened and listened and then said:

"All these things you have told me are very grave. We are astonished that they have been allowed to become as serious as this."

"We are not going to make a concession to the Chinese," said Kosygin.

"We told Mikoyan, when he informed Comrade Enver and me about this business, that these things should be solved between the two parties," said Mehmet.

"We are not going to make any concession at all," repeated Kosygin, and added, "We were very pleased with the courageous, heroic stand of Comrade Belishova in the talks with the Chinese in Beijing. The counsellor of our embassy in Beijing informed us of what she had told him after the talks with the Chinese."

Mehmet still had no knowledge of these actions and intrigues of Liri Belishova, but he told Kosygin coldly and bluntly:

"I do not know what Liri Belishova has told you because I have been here. I know when we talked with Mikoyan, he instructed us not to discuss these matters with anyone. Our opinion has been and is that these things should be settled between your two parties. But since they are not being settled in this way, then they should be placed before the meeting of the parties. The stand of our party will be Marxist-Leninist and not opportunist or sentimental."

Kosygin got up scowling and when he was about to go out the door, Mehmet dealt him a slap:

"Comrade Kosygin," he said quietly, "you did not give me the opportunity to ask you--How is your health?"

Kosygin turned back, and as if to excuse hinself, he, too, asked Mehmet how he was feeling.

"I am very well," said Mehmet, without prolonging the subject, and immediately after this conversation he stopped the treatment and made arrangements to return home by aircraft the following day.

Now everything had been made clear to us: Khrushchev was preparing the Bucharest plot and wanted to manipulate us, to compel us at all costs to agree with his revisionist views and stands.

The Soviet ambassador tries to sound us out

Here in Tirana, too, the Soviet ambassador, Ivanov, came almost every other day, sometimes to bring some book catalogue, sometimes for some unimportant information, but in fact, he came to sound us out, to learn whether I would go to Bucharest, what stand we would take, etc. However, I sent him off with the usual talk without telling him anything apart from what was known officially.

I remember that in the middle of June, Ivanov came to me in my office to "inform" me of a news item which I had heard two or three hours earlier over the radio. I understood that he was after something else, as usual. It was the period when the Soviets and Khrushchev were giving great publicity to the Paris summit conference, which was to bring "peace" to mankind. If I am not mistaken, Khrushchev had already gone to Paris, although the U-2 incident, in which an American spy-plane was shot down by a Soviet missile, had occurred.

"What is your opinion of the Paris conference?" Ivanov asked me.

"Since they have gone there let them meet," I said, "but in our opinion nothing will come out of this conference. The imperialists are what they have always been, aggressive and dangerous to the peoples and the socialist countries. Thus, I do not think that the Paris conference will yield any result."

After two days or so the conference burst like a bubble, because the Americans not only did not apologize, but, on the contrary, declared that they would continue their espionage, and Khrushchev was obliged to go home after hurling a few "smoke bombs" against the imperialists. Ivanov came back and said to me:

"Things turned out just as you said, Comrade Enver. Did you read Khrushchev's statements?"

"I read them," I replied, "and that is how he should always speak against the imperialists, because they have not become 'reasonable' and 'peace-loving,' and never can do so."

The Bucharest meeting--a blot on the history of the international communist and workers' movement. Revisionist superpower logic

Such was the situation on the eve of the Bucharest meeting, which, from beginning to end, was to remain a blot on the history of the international communist and workers' movement. The Khrushchevites were organizing it allegedly to set the date of the future meeting, but the setting of the date was a formality. The Khrushchevites had another objective. What was important to them was the taking of a series of decisions to go "as a bloc" to the future meeting of all parties. "As a bloc," according to them, meant to go closely united around the Khrushchevite revisionists in order to give unquestioning support to their betrayal of the Marxist-Leninist theory and the correct revolutionary Marxist-Leninist practice in all international and national problems. In short, Khrushchev thought that the time had come to establish his iron law over the herd he wanted to command.

However, the Khrushchevites were seeing and were convinced that two parties, in particular the Party of Labour of Albania and the Communist Party of China, were not joining this herd, which they wanted to have completely under their control. What is more, in our resolute and principled stand they saw the danger of the exposure and defeat of their secret counter-revolutionary plans. Therefore, Khrushchev had made his calculations like this: In order to make the meeting of all parties a meeting of "unity" and "solidarity," that is, total submission, accounts first had to be settled with Albania and China. Since he was an inveterate revisionist, Khrushchev's logic went even further: "As to the Party of Labour of Albania," he deceived himself, "I shall leave it aside for the time being, will not attack it directly, because after all it is a small party of a small country. The Albanians are stubborn," he thought, "they will get angry and jump up and down, but in the end they will surrender, because they have no one else to turn to. Whatever they do, I have them in my pocket." This was his revisionist superpower logic. China remained the urgent problem for Khrushchev. This is how he saw things: "Either China will submit and quietly and tamely join the herd, or I shall condemn it and throw it out of the camp forthwith. In this way I condemn China as a splitter, and neutralize the Party of Labour of Albania, and I tighten the screws on any other head-strong element who wants to kick out." In short, Khrushchev had to have a preliminary meeting to clamp down on the "disobedient," so that the future meeting would be crowned by "unity" without any splits. This is why he wanted and organized the meeting at Bucharest."

[29 Oct 80]

[Text] Tirana, 29 Oct (ATA)--Comrade Enver Hoxha writes furtheron: All the parties of the European people's democracies sent their first secretaries to Bucharest, therefore Khrushchev was not pleased that I did not go and asked:

"Why hasn't Comrade Enver come? Could you inform him that he should come?"

Hysni told him:

"Comrade Enver is not coming now. He will come to the meeting of parties, the time and place of which we shall decide here."

> The Bucharest meeting, which set out to decide a date, was ending up in a crusade. The dice had been cast, the "peace" [with] Khrushchevites had come to an end

At first we knew nothing about what Khrushchev and company were hatching up in Bucharest. However, the first radiograms from Hysni soon arrived. All we had foreseen was being confirmed. The Bucharest meeting, which set out to decide a date, was ending up in a crusade. Khrushchev insisted that the disagreements between the Soviet Union and China should be raised and discussed at the meeting, of course, in the direction and the way he wanted." Decisions can be taken at this meeting, said Khrushchev, and demanded that the other parties speak about the "grave mistakes of China," express solidarity with the Soviets and "come out with a common stand." I was completely convinced that we were facing one of the most perfiduous and savage plots and immediately raised the question in the Political Bureau.

These were days and nights of ceaseless, careful, intensive work, well-considered and thrashed out from all angles. The dice had been cast, the "peace" with the Khrushchevites had come to an end. They had opened fire and we would reply to their fire with all our strength. Now there was not and could not be any further conciliation and tactical "agreement" with the Khrushchevites. The great fight had begun. It would be a great and extremely difficult fight, full of sacrifices and repercussions, but we would carry on to the end with confidence and optimism, because we knew that right was on our side, on the side of Marxism-Leninism.

Everyone knows how the meeting developed: a voluminous material from the Soviets against China was handed out quickly, it was decided that meeting of the parties of the camp would be held a few hours later, and then all the heads of the delegations of the communist and workers' parties that took part in the congress of the Romanian party would be brought together and Khrushchev would confront them with his desire that the "Communist Party of China should be condemned as anti-Marxist, as a Trotskyite party," etc.

> Comrade Hysni Kapo, in the name of the PLA, attacked Khrushchev and the others for their anti-Marxist aims and conspiratorial methods

In the former meeting which was organized by Khrushchev, Comrade Hysni Kapo, in the name of the party and on the basis of detailed directives, which we sent him every day and frequently twice a day, attacked Khrushchev and the others for their anti-Marxist aims and the conspiratorial ax which they used, defended the Communist Party of China and opposed the continuation of such a meeting.

Khrushchev did not expect this. In the meetings which were held he talked all the time, stamping his feet and thumping his fist, became angry and spluttered with indignation. But Comrade Hysni Kapo, armed with the correct line of our party and the special instructions we sent him continually, and with his characteristic coolness and courage, not only did not yield, but gave Khrushchev as good as he got with his cutting replies.

In appearance Khrushchev aimed his many speeches at Peng Chen, who was the leader of the Chinese delegation, but always found the occasion to attack our party and its representative. His aim was not only to attack our resolute stand, but also to say to the representatives of the other parties that the Albanians "are playing the game of the Chinese."

"You, Comrade Peng Chen," railed Nikita Khrushchev, "made no mention of peaceful coexistence last evening, you did not speak about it at all. Did he, or did he not, Comrade Kapo?"

"I represent the Party of Labour of Albania," replied Hysni. "There you have Peng Chen, ask him."

"We cannot agree at all with Mao Zedong and the Chinese, nor they with us. Do you want us to send you, Comrade Kapo, to reach agreement with them?" Khrushchev asked Comrade Hysni on another occasion.

"I do not take orders from you," replied Hysni. "I take orders only from my party."

Nothing could make him budge from the courageous, revolutionary, principled stand of the party. He never flickered an eyelash at the screams and the pressure of the charlatan Nikita Khrushchev. Cool, calm and principled, Comrade Hysni Kapo declared in the name of the party that the Party of Labour of Albania considered the discussion of these questions in the Bucharest meeting to be out of order, just as it considered misplaced the efforts which the Chinese made in the beginning to discuss these matters with the trade union delegations. "The PLA considers the open or disguised polemic in the press harmful," he declared. "As to who is right, let us judge this in the forthcoming meeting of the parties."

The Khrushchevites were alarmed that the plot was going to explode in their own hands. Then the visits back and forth, the "advice" the "friendly consultations and talks" and the pressures disguised with jokes and smiles, began. Andropov, the man of backstage deals and intrigues (that is why they have made him chief of the KGB), was one of the most active and did everything in his power to compel our party to take part in the plot.

The Soviets did not fail to involve their lackeys in the other parties in this [word indistinct]. Andropov picked up a certain Moghioros and went to Hysni for a "visit." Andropov sat back implying, "I am not going to speak," and Moghioros prattled on and on about the "correctness of the Marxist-Leninist line of the Soviet party."

"What is Albania doing?" asked Zhivkov. "Only you do not agree."

"What do you mean by that?" asked Hysni.

"Nothing, I was only joking," said Zhivkov, changing his tune.

"Joking about what? You had something in mind when you said that 'Albania does not agree.'"

The stand of the PLA at Bucharest and Moscow was absolutely right and the only correct stand

While the meeting was going on in Bucharest, here we met almost every day in the Political Bureau, maintained continual contact with Hysni Kapo, instructed him, and followed with attention and concern how events were developing. By now we had reached the unanimous conclusion:

The Bucharest meeting is an organized plot against Marxism-Leninism, there Khrushchev and company are revealing their faces as rabid revisionists, therefore we are not going to make any concessions to the revisionists even if we remain alone against them all.

Our stand was correct and Marxist-Leninist. The black deed organized by Khrushchev had to be defeated.

It is a publicly known fact that our party defended China at Bucharest with Marxist-Leninist courage and adherence to principles. We were well aware of the consequences of this stand. Today, so many years after the Bucharest plot, when unfortunately the Chinese party, too, is skidding irretrievably on the rails of betrayal, revisionism and counter-revolution, I want to stress once again, that the stand of our party at Bucharest and Moscow was absolutely right and the only correct stand.

As I have written above, we had had reservations about certain views which had been expressed by Mao Zedong and other Chinese leaders, we had reserve about the 8th congress of the Communist Party of China, but after 1957 it seemed as if a positive change had been made in that party and their former opportunist mistakes had been put aside. Any party can make mistakes, but these can be corrected, and when this is done, the party is strengthened and the work progresses. In China there was no longer any talk about the 8th congress, the rightist views of Peng Dehuai had been attacked, and the "one hundred flowers" had been dropped. In their official statements and in published articles the Chinese openly attacked Yugoslav revisionism, defended Stalin and maintained theoretically correct stands on war and peace, peaceful coexistence, the revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

This is not the place and time to analyse the motives which impelled the Chinese leaders, and to explain whether or not there was something principled in these stands of theirs at that period (I have written about these matters in my diary), but one thing was clear: at that period the Communist Party of China came out as a defender of Marxism-Leninism.

The Khrushchevites accused us of "breaking with the 200 millions to unite with the 600 millions." In defending China, we did not proceed from any financial, economic, military or demographic motive. If we had proceeded from these anti-Marxist pragmatic motives, then it would have been more "advantageous" for us to have lined up with the Khrushchevites, because the Soviet Union was more powerful and Khrushchev would not have hesitated to give us credits and "aid" immediately (of course, in order to demand the freedom and independence of our people, our homeland and our party in recompense later).

Hence, in Bucharest and Moscow, we did not defend China as a big country from which we might get aid, but we defended the Leninist norms and Marxism-Leninism. We did not defend the Communist Party of China because it was a big party, but we defended our principles, we defended Marxist-Leninist justice. At Bucharest and Moscow we would have defended any party or country, be it big or small numerically, provided only that it was with Marxism-Leninism. We proclaimed this loudly at that time, and time has fully confirmed it.

The struggle in defence of Marxism-Leninism against revisionism was the only basis which placed us in the one trench with the Communist Party of China.

These were the motives which impelled us to maintain the stands we did in Bucharest and later in Moscow. Our party, tempered in struggles and battles, clear about and determined on its Marxist-Leninist course, said "stop" to the Khrushchevite attack, resisted this attack heroically and did not waver in the face of pressure and blackmail of every type.

> Pressure, interference, and sabotage in the dirtiest forms. In the Albanian communists, the provocations of the Soviet revisionists ran into an insurmountable barracade, an immovable rock

Khrushchev could not forgive us for what we did to revisionism. But neither could we forgive him for what he had done against Marxism-Leninism, against the revolution, against the Soviet Union, against Albania and the international communist and workers' movement.

The open fight began. The Soviet Embassy in Tirana, through its KGB agents, intensified the pressure, interference and sabotage in the dirtiest forms. The Soviet militarymen and civilians working in Albania committed provocations against our people by attacking the leadership, alleging that we had taken wrong positions, that we attacked the Soviet Union, that we did not keep our word, and other base things. The officials of the Soviet Embassy in Tirana, with Ambassador Ivanov at the head, tried to recruit agents and provoked our officers by asking them, "Who is the army with?" and tried to work on certain elements to put them in opposition to the line of the party, etc.

This activity had two objectives: on the one hand, to incite our party and people against the leadership, by hiding behind "all the good things" which the Soviet Union had allegedly done for Albania, and on the other hand, to seize the slightest opportunity to sow confusion by exploiting the sincere love which our party and people nurtured for the Soviet Union.

At these difficult moments, the steel unity of the ranks of our party, the loyalty of the members and cadres of the party to the Central Committee of the party and our Political Bureau, once again stood out brilliantly. In the Albanian communists, the provocations of the Soviet revisionists ran into an insurmountable barricade, an immovable rock. The only treacherous elements who opposed the monolithic unity of our ranks were Liri Belishova and Koco Tashko, who surrendered to the pressure of the Soviets and, in those moments of severe storms and tests, showed their true faces as capitulators,

provocateurs and anti-Marxists. As events confirmed, both these elements had long placed themselves in Khrushchev's service, had become his agents and fought to attack our party and its leadership from within. The party and the people unmasked them and condemned them with hatred and contempt.

The provocations which the Soviet Embassy in Tirana organized ceaselessly were now co-ordinated with the external pressures which were exerted on our party and country by the Soviet revisionist leadership and its allies. These were of many kinds: economic, political and military.

> The Khrushchevites went so far as to threaten Albania with the blockade to starve us

In their efforts to overcome the resistance of the PLA and the Albanian people, the Khrushchevites abandoned every scruple, going so far as to threaten our country with the blockade to starve us. These rabid enemies of socialism and of the Albanian people in particular, refused to supply us with grain at a time when our bread grain reserves would last us only 15 days. At that time we were obliged to use our hard currency to buy wheat in France. The French merchant who came to Tirana sounded us out to find what was the reason that impelled Albania to buy grain from the Western countries when it had the Soviet Union as its "great friend." Of course, we told the bourgeois merchant nothing. On the contrary, we told him that the Soviet Union had supplied us with grain, with maize, but we had "used it for the livestock."

"Why worry yourselves about bread grain," Khrushchev had said to us. "Plant citrus-fruit. The mice in our granaries eat as much grain as Albania needs." And when the Albanian people were in danger of being left without bread, Khrushchev preferred to feed the mice and not the Albanians. According to him, there were only two roads for us: either submit or die. This was the cynical logic of this traitor.

> The PLA was not a party which comes to agreement with traitors

However, the great rift in our relations with the Soviet leadership could not be covered up for long, especially when the Khrushchevites themselves were revealing it more and more each day.

The Soviet and Bulgarian ambassadors in Yugoslavia applauded the hangman Rankovic during those days, when, at a rally in Sremska Mitrovica, he described Albania as "a hell enclosed with barbed wire," the Bulgarians published a map of the Balkans and "by mistake" included our country within the boundaries of Yugoslavia, in Warsaw, Gomulka's men forced their way into the embassy of the PR of Albania and attempted to kill the Albanian ambassador, Khrushchev tolerated and whetted the appetite of the Greek monarcho-fascists, like Venizelos, when they played the worthless card of the annexation of the so-called northern Epirus, etc. During those days, these and tens of such things occurred from all directions against our party and country. The hand of Khrushchev, who strove at all costs to force us to yield and submit was apparent, directly or indirectly, in all these anti-Albanian activities.

However, our party and people stood firm on the correct Marxist-Leninist line. We told the communists and cadres what was occurring in the communist and workers' movement, told them about the betrayal of the Khrushchevites, and the masses of the party closed their ranks around the Central Committee to face the storm which was being raised by the Khrushchevites. They found no breaches in this block of steel and the banner of the party waved and will always wave proud and unyielding in the teeth of any storm.

The Central Committee called on the party and people to close their ranks, to safeguard and strengthen their unity and patriotism, to keep cool, to avoid falling for provocations, to be vigilant and fearless. We told the party that this was the way to ensure the triumph of the correct Marxist-Leninist line which we were following. We told the party that irrespective of the fact that the enemies were many and powerful, we would triumph.

With the provocations which were hatched up in Moscow or the other capitals to vassal countries, as well as through the Soviet Embassy in Tirana and its staff, the Khrushchevites were also pursuing another aim: they wanted to fabricate and gather false facts to have as weapons in connection with the accusation that we Albanians were allegedly ruining the relations and thus counterbalance our well-founded theoretical and political arguments. Moscow was terrified of this confrontation, especially if this were to take place at the meeting of the communist and workers' parties of the world. This would be a serious defeat for modern revisionism, headed by Khrushchev and the Khrushchevites, therefore they did not want matters to reach that point. At all costs they needed our submission, or at least, "reconciliation" with us.

To this end, during the time that the Soviet Embassy in Tirana was operating through provocations, Moscow, through Koziov, wearied itself sending letter after letter to the "Central Committee and Comrade Enver Hoxha." In these letters they demanded that I should go to Moscow so that we could talk and reach agreement as "the friends and comrades we are." "We must eliminate that minor misunderstanding and disagreement which occurred at Bucharest." Neither side must allow a small spark to kindle a big conflagration," etc.

Their aim was clear: to compel our party to keep quiet, to reconcile itself to them and become collaborator in the betrayal. They wanted to drag us to Moscow and to operate on us in the "workshop" of their Central Committee in order to "convince" us. However, we knew with whom we were dealing and our answer was curt: "Comrade Enver Hoxha cannot go to Moscow except for the meeting of the communist and workers' parties. We told you what we had to say in Bucharest, we shall state our views and our stand at the coming meeting of the parties."

The Khrushchevites were more than ever convinced that neither their flattery, their credits, their sickly smiles, nor their blackmail and threats would have any effect on the Party of Labour of Albania.

The other accomplices did not fail to participate in their efforts to persuade the PLA to give up its struggle against the revisionist betrayal. A series of parties of countries of the socialist camp sent us copies of the letters

they had sent to the Communist Party of China. The Khrushchevites wanted to threaten us with these letters: "We are all in one flock, therefore consider matters well before you break away."

Those who danced to Khrushchev's tune also received the reply they deserved from us. "In Bucharest it was you who were wrong and not we. Ours was a correct Marxist-Leninist stand. We did not associate ourselves with you and we will express our opinion in Moscow."

These letters all arrived at the same time and without doubt this was something suggested and arranged by the Soviets. It was interesting that when they affirmed the alleged "complete unity of all communist and workers parties" at the Bucharest meeting, they did not define clearly on what problems this "unity" was displayed. Indeed in the letter from the Soviets, this expression did not exist. No doubt, the Soviets did not want to appear involved in this manoeuvre but had made a cat's paw of the others. However, the Party of Labour of Albania was not confused by these base and banal tactics. In our letter we gave them a clear-cut reply to these distortions of the truth and we made this reply known to all, so that all the parties which rushed to "bring the Party of Labour of Albania to its senses" would understand clearly that the PLA was not a party which comes to agreement with traitors.

The PLA did not maintain its stand out of spite or any chance caprice. No. The letter referred to, like all the other documents of this period, with their lofty adherence to principle, their sound Marxist-Leninist spirit and the profoundity of their judgments and scientific arguments, were not only a blow at the attempts to set our party on a wrong road, but also a contribution and aid which we gave the sister parties, including the Soviet party, on how the issues should be judged, where the truth lay and how it should be defended with courage and adherence to principles.

> The struggle in the preparatory commission of the Moscow meeting was only the prologue to the drama

Now we were preparing for the Moscow meeting where we foresaw that a fierce struggle would be waged. Our party had decided that at the coming meeting of the parties it would openly attack the betrayal of the Khrushchevite revisionists who had put themselves in opposition to the Marxist-Leninist theory. We would fight against their traitorous practice and policy, would defend the Soviet Union, Leninism and Stalin, would attack the 20th congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and hit out at all the vile, anti-Albanian actions of the Khrushchevites and Khrushchev personally.

The battle began in the commission which was to prepare the draft-declaration for the meeting. There the Soviets had Suslov, Pospyelov, Kozlov, Ponomariov, Adropov and some others. A "solid" delegation this, saturated with "big brains" to impress us. [sentence as printed] Apart from us and the Chinese, almost all the other delegations were made of of low-ranking, third- or fourth-rate people. It was clear that everything had been co-ordinated and agreement had been reached, so that they had nothing further to discuss.

We understood clearly that the struggle in the commission was only the prologue to the drama. We foresaw that the Soviets and their hangers-on would make concessions, insignificant ones, of course, and would struggle to ensure that the declaration that would emerge from the meeting should be "neither fish nor fowl," with dubious formulations, with everything smoothed over, with some minor retreats and formulations about the "factions and groupings" in which they classified our party too. Therefore, the Political Bureau advised our delegation comprised of Comrades Hysni Kapo and Ramiz Alia, to fight for a strongly-worded declaration.

That was not all. We also foresaw the other variant, that the Khrushchevites might accept a declaration with correct and accurate formulations, provided that the meeting itself would go smoothly, without struggle or exposure, without any lifting of the piecrust to reveal what lay inside. We foresaw this because we knew they feared debate like the devil fears holy water. They would be ready to make concessions when they felt themselves hard pressed and would say: "You don't like this? Well, let us make it even stronger. Only there must be no fight. We shall make the declaration and sign it, without any condemnation of Bucharest, without principled struggle." And.. what of it? Then, when everything is over, the spokesman will come out: "Bucharest was poljezen (useful, Russian in the original). Our line pravilna, the Chinese and the Albanians were condemned for dogmatism but were corrected," while for them the declaration would be a worthless piece of paper just as it happened in fact.

This was not what we wanted. The declaration must not be a cover for the revisionists' corruption, but must be the result of the debate, struggle and exposure. In the correspondence which we kept up with our delegation in Moscow we cabled: "Our aim and task is not to collect declarations but to attack and expose the mistakes. We are not short of declarations."

> The representatives of the PLA fought hard and exposed the attempts of the Khrushchevites to include the revisionist theses of the 20th congress in the draft-declaration

A stern struggle was waged in the preparatory commission. Suslov directed the whole thing in order to have the revisionist theses of the 20th congress and approval of the line followed by the Soviet leadership included in the draft-declaration. Our comrades fought hard, exposed these views, and insisted that the formulation in the draft must be precise, Marxist-Leninist, and in unequivocal terms. "No unclarity, no inferred meaning or expression which can be interpreted at will tomorrow can be permitted," declared the representatives of our party, Comrades Hysni and Ramiz.

They attacked the theses of the Khrushchevites about the taming of imperialism and told them bluntly that "the tendency to prettify imperialism, which has been observed, is dangerous," and defended Stalin's thesis that peace can be achieved only when the peoples take this question into their own hands. "To say that it is possible to build a world without wars today (Khrushchev's thesis) when imperialism exists," stressed Comrade Hysni Kapo, "is contrary to the teachings of Lenin."

Contrary to the desires of the Khrushchevites, our delegation in the commission insisted that the draft-declaration stress that "revisionism is the main danger in the communist movement" and that Yugoslav revisionism should be mentioned specifically as an imperialist agency. Our comrades pointed out emphatically the danger of the thesis that "revisionism has been defeated ideologically" which Khrushchev and company wanted to impose on all the other parties. "Not only does revisionism exist but its horns are growing today," said Comrade Hysni Kapo.

The representatives of our party were faced with virtually a united front of revisionists. The Khrushchevite puppets, directed by Suslov and others, attacked them in order to force them to abandon the correct line which they defended. But Hysni Kapo told them, "Our party will never agree to speak according to the wishes of this or that person, or as a result of pressures exerted on it." He routed the accusations and provocations of Khrushchev's lackeys and once again condemned the plot in Bucharest and the efforts to carry it out in Moscow.

When Suslov, this revisionist devoid of any scruple, dared to throw mud at our party and likened its views to those of the counter-revolutionary Kerensky, Comrade Hysni slapped right back in his face:

"You have got the wrong address, Comrade Suslov, in talking to me about Kerensky. I want to declare that the Party of Labour of Albania was not formed by Kerensky. Kerensky is yours. We have recognized and still recognize Lenin and the party of Lenin. Our party, founded by Enver Hoxha on the basis of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, is fighting to defend Marxism-Leninism loyally and it will continue to do so." In conclusion he added:

"Those who were the supporters of the counter-revolutionary traitor, Imre Nagy, cannot accuse the Party of Labour of Albania of being a bourgeois party or the Albanian communists as being Kerensky's.

"There's a misunderstanding here," said Suslov trying to somewhat soften the crushing effect of the reply he received.

"Everything is clear to us, although perhaps not to you," replied Comrade Hysni.

Confronted with incontestable arguments, the Soviets were obliged to retreat during the sessions [words indistinct], because Khrushchev had tweaked the ears of Suslov and company.

The Syrian, Baghdash, a very docile lackey of Khrushchev's, got up and made the accusation that our party, in criticizing the Soviet leadership, was allegedly wanting a "new communism." Hsyni Kapo made ready to reply to this base accusation from Baghdash. In a second speech which Hysni wanted to deliver in the meeting of the commission, amongst other things he stressed:

"Our party sent us here to express its views. It has not intended and does not intend to formulate any new textbook of Marxism-Leninism, nor is it seeking any

other communist movement, as Comrade Baghdash has suggested. Our party has fought and is fighting courageously for the communism of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and, because it has done this, it is in power and is successfully building socialism. You, Comrade Baghdash, have apparently made a mistake in the address. Please direct your criticisms about the 'new communism' to those who claim such a thing, the revisionists, and not to us."

Despite the persistence of Comrade Hysni, however, the Presidium of the meeting of the commission, manipulated by the Khrushchevites, did not allow him to read his second speech, the text of which is kept in the archives of our party.

As usual, besides the attacks and accusations, there was no shortage of expressions of hypocritical "friendship" towards our comrades. One day Kozlov invited Comrade Hysni to lunch, but he thanked him and declined to go.

The struggle of the delegates of the Party of Labour of Albania, the representatives of the Communist Party of China and of some other party, brought about that many of the revisionist theses were left out and Marxist-Leninist formulations were made on many questions. However, there were still unresolved issues, and about these Kozlov wanted th bring out "internal communiques." Afraid that they were losing the battle, the Khrushchevites were striving to save what they could. This was only the prologue to the fight. The real battle was still ahead of us.

We knew that it would be difficult, stern, and that we would be in the minority. But this did not frighten us. We prepared ourselves carefully for the meeting so that the judgments and analyses of our party were mature and well-considered, courageous and principled. We discussed the speech which I was to deliver to the Moscow meeting at a special meeting of the plenum of the Central Committee of our party, which endorsed it unanimously, because it was an analysis which the Party of Labour of Albania made of the problems of our doctrine and the anti-Marxist activity of the Khrushchevites. In Moscow we were to expound the unwavering line of our party, and display the ideological and political maturity and the rare revolutionary courage which has characterized our party throughout its whole heroic existence.

[30 Oct 80]

[Text] Tirana 30 Oct (ATA)--On the way to Moscow. Cool reception

In continuation of his book "The Khrushchevites" (Memoirs), Comrade Enver Hoxha writes:

The documents of the party deal at length with the proceedings of the meeting of 81 parties, with the speeches and contributions of our delegation at those decisive and historic moments through which the communist world, and especially our country and party, were passing, therefore it it not necessary to elaborate on these things.

Mehmet, Hysni, Ramiz and I, as well as a number of comrades assisting the delegation, set out for Moscow to take part in the meeting of 81 communist and workers' parties. We were convinced that we were going to a country in which the enemies had seized power and where we would have to be very careful because they would behave like enemies and would record every word and every step of ours. We had to be vigilant and prudent. We were convinced too, that they would try to break the code of our radiograms in order to discover our aims and our slightest tactic.

In passing through Budapest we were met by several of the main "comrades" of the Hungarian party, who behaved correctly with us. Neither they nor we made any allusion to the problems. We boarded the train for the Ukraine. The staff of the train looked at us coldly and served us without speaking at all, while men who were certainly security officers, patrolled the corridors. We had not the least desire to open the slightest conversation with them because we knew who they were and what they represented.

At the Kiev station, two or three members of the Central Committee of the Ukraine had come to meet us. They gave us a cool reception, and we remained as cold as ice, even refusing to drink their coffee. Then we boarded the train and continued the journey to Moscow where Kuzlov, Yefremov, member of the Central Committee, and the deputy chief of protocol of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs had come out to meet us. At the Moscow station they had also brought out a guard of honour, a band played anthems and soldiers paraded with martial step, just to keep up the custom as for all the delegations. No young pioneers came out to welcome us with flowers. Kozlov offered us his cold hand, accompanied with an artificial smile from ear to ear, and in his deep voice bid us welcome. But the ice remained ice.

As soon as the anthems and the parade were over we heard cheering, clapping and enthusiastic calls, "Long live the Party of Labour." We saw that they came from several hundred Albanian students who were studying in Moscow. They were not permitted to enter the station, but finally they were allowed in to avoid causing a scandal. Paying no attention to Kozlov and Yefremov, who never left us, we greeted our students who were shouting with joy, and together with them, we cheered for our party. This was a good lesson for the Soviets to see what sort of unity our party and people have with their leadership. The students did not leave us until we climbed into ZIL cars. In the car Kozlov was unable to find anything to say except "your students are unruly."

"No," I said, "they are great patriots and love the party and their leadership whole-heartedly."

Kozlov and Yefremov accompanied us to the residence which they had allocated to us at Zarechie, some 20-25 km outside Moscow. This was the villa where I had stayed many times with the comrades and with Nexhmije when I came on holiday. They told me once, "We have reserved this villa for Zhou Enlai and you, we put no one else here." Even in the villa they had united us with the Chinese. As we proved later with the special detector we had brought with us, they had filled the villa with bugging devices.

Comrade Enver Hoxha writes further on that on other occasions, usually they took us to the house and left. But this time Kozlov wanted to show that he was a "friendly comrade." He took off his coat and went straight into the stolovaya, which was full of bottles, snacks and black caviar.

"Come along, let us have something to eat and drink," said Kozlov, but this was not what he was really concerned about. He wanted to talk with us to learn with what opinions and predispositions we had come.

He began the conversation by saying:

"Now the commission has finished the draft and we are virtually all in agreement. The Chinese comrades are in agreement, too. There are four or five matters on which a common opinion has not been reached, but we can bring out an internal communique about them."

Turning to Hysni for his approval he asked, "Isn't that so?"

Hysni replied:

"No, it is not so. The work is not finished. We have objections and reservations which our party has presented in the written statement we forwarded to the commission."

Kozlov frowned, he did not get the approval he wanted. I intervened and said to Kozlov:

"This will be a serious meeting in which all the problems must be put forward correctly. Many questions have been put forward in a distorted way, not just in the draft, but especially in life, in theory and practice. Everything must be reflected in the declaration. We shall not accept internal notes and addenda. Nothing in obscurity, everything in the light. That is why the meeting is being held."

"It doesn't need a great deal of talk," said Kozlov.

Mehmet jumped up and said in a derisive tone:

"Even in the UN we speak as long as we like. Castro spoke there for four hours, while you apparently think you can restrict us."

Hysni said:

"You interrupted our speech twice in the commission and did not allow us to continue to speak."

"These things should not occur," I added. "You ought to know that we do not accept such methods."

"We must preserve unity, otherwise it is tragic," said Kozlov.

"Unity is safeguarded by speaking openly, in conformity with the Marxist-Leninist line and norms," replied Mehmet.

Kozlov got his reply, proposed a toast to me, helped himself to something to eat and left.

> The tactic of the Khrushchevites was to do everything in their power to prevent us from speaking out at the meeting and openly putting forward our criticisms about the crimes they had committed

The whole period until the meeting of the parties began was filled with attacks and counter-attacks between us and revisionists of all ranks. The revisionists had opened war on us on a broad scale and we replied to their attacks blow for blow.

Their tactic was to do everything in their power to prevent us from speaking out at the meeting and openly putting forward our criticisms about the crimes they had committed;certain that we would not budge from our correct opinions and decisions, they resorted to slander, alleging that the things we would raise were unfounded, would cause "division," that we were making "tragic" mistakes, that we were "at fault" and should change our course, etc. The Soviets made great efforts to brainwash all the delegations of sister communist and workers' parties which were to take part in the meeting, in this direction. For their own part, they posed as "infallible," "blameless," "principled," and as though they held the fate of the Marxist-Leninist truth in their hands.

The pressure and provocations were exerted against us openly. In the reception put on in the Kremlin on the occasion of November 7, Kosygin approached me, his face as pale as wax, and began to give me a sermon about friendship.

"We shall safeguard and defend our friendship with the Soviet Union on the Marxist-Leninist road," I told him.

"There are enemies in your party who are fighting this friendship," said Kosygin.

"Ask him," I said to Mehmet, who knew Russian well, "can he tell us who are these enemies in our party?"

Kosygin found himself in a tight spot. He began to mumble and said:

"You did not understand me well."

"Enough of that," said Mehmet, "we understood you very well, but you lack the courage to speak openly. We shall tell you openly in the meeting what we think about you."

We walked away from that revisionist mummy.

(During the whole evening the Soviets acted towards us in such a way as not to leave us alone in peace, but isolated us from one another and surrounded us, according to previously prepared stage directions.)

A little later the marshals Chuikov, Zakharov, Konev, and others, surrounded Mehmet and me. As instructed, they sang another tune: "You Albanians are fighters, you fought well, you resisted properly until you triumphed over Hitlerite Germany," and Zakharov continued to cast stones at the German people. At that moment Shelepin joined us. He began to oppose Zakharov over what he said about the Germans. Zakharov got angry and disregarding the fact that Shelepin was a member of the Presidium and chief of the KGB, told him: "Go away, why do you butt into our conversation? You want to teach me what the Germans are when I was fighting them. You were still drinking your mother's milk," etc.

In the midst of this talk of the haughty marshals, full of vodka, Zakharov, who had been director of the "Voroshilov" Military Academy, where Mehmet and other comrades were sent to learn the Stalinist military art, said to Mehmet: "When you were here you were an outstanding student of our military art." Mehmet cut short his words and said: "Thank you for the compliment, but do you want to say that this evening too, here in Georgievsky Zal, we are superior and subordinate, commander and pupil?"

Marshal Chuikov, who was no less drunk, intervened and said: "We want to say that the Albanian army should always stand with us..." Mehmet replied there and then, "Our army is and will remain loyal to its own people and will loyally defend the construction of socialism on the Marxist-Leninist road, it is and will remain solely under the leadership of the Party of Labour of Albania, as a weapon of the dictatorship of the proletariat in Albania. Do you still not understand this, Marshal Chuikov? So much the worse for you."

The marshals got their reply. One of them, I don't remember, whether Konev or some other, seeing that the talk was getting out of hand, intervened: "Let us end this talk. Come and drink a glass to the friendship between our two peoples and our two armies."

> Tell Khrushchev it is not he who decides whether Albania is or is not a socialist country

Along with this feverish anti-Albanian and anti-Marxist activity, Khrushchev and the Khrushchevites attacked us openly in the material which they sent to the Chinese, in which they also attacked them. They distributed this material to all delegations, including ours. As is known, in this material, Albania no longer figured as a socialist country as far as the Khrushchevites were concerned. Apart from this, during a talk with Liu Shaoqi, Khrushchev had said: "We lost Albania, but we did not lose much, you won it, but you did not win much, either. The Party of Labour has always been a weak link in the international communist." [sentence as printed]

The Khrushchevites' tactic was clear to us. The intention was, first, to threaten us by saying: "It depends on us whether you are or are not a socialist country, and hence, in the document which we hand you, Albania is no longer a socialist country," and second, to threaten the others that, "the Party of Labour of Albania is not a Marxist-Leninist party, and whoever defends it as such will be wrong and will be condemned together with the

Party of Labour of Albania." This meant in other words: "You communist and workers' parties that are coming to the meeting should be clear already that the things Enver Hoxha is going to say at the meeting are slanders, are the words of an anti-Soviet element."

At the meeting, it was quite clear how they had groomed Ibarruri, Gomulka, Dej. etc., well in advance.

A few days before I spoke at the meeting, Khrushchev sought a meeting with me, of course, to "convince" us to change our stand. We decided to go to this meeting in order to make it quite clear to the Khrushchevites once again that we would not budge from our positions. Meanwhile, however, we read the material of which I spoke above. I met Andropov, who during those days was running back and forth as Khrushchev's courier.

"Today I read the material in which Albania does not figure as a socialist country," I told him.

Without a blush, Andropov, who had been one of the authors of that base document, asked me, "What connection does this letter have with Albania?"

"This letter makes my meeting with Khrushchev impossible," I replied.

Andropov frowned and murmured:

"That is a very serious statement, Comrade Enver."

"Yes," I said, "very serious.... Tell Khrushchev it is not he who decides whether Albania is or is not a socialist country. The Albanian people and their Marxist-Leninist party have decided this with their blood."

Once again Andropov repeated like a parrot:

"But that is a material about China and has nothing to do with Albania, Comrade Enver."

"We shall express our opinion in the meeting of the parties. Good-bye," and I ended the conversation.

> As it turned out, the Chinese delegation had come to the Moscow meeting with the idea that the tempers could be cooled

The written indictment of China which was distributed was a dirty anti-Marxist document. With this the Khrushchevites had decided to continue in Moscow what they had not achieved in Bucharest. Once again they used a cunning, Trotskyite tactic. They distributed this voluminous material against China before the meeting, in order to prepare the terrain and to brainwash the delegations of other parties, and to intimidate the Chinese, to compel them to take a moderate stand, if they would not submit. This anti-Chinese material did not surprise us, but it strengthened the conviction we had in the correctness of the line and the Marxist-Leninist stands of our party

in defence of the Communist Party of China. The material cast a deep gloom over the participants in the meeting and would not be welcomed as the Khrushchevites expected. Splits would be created in the meeting and this was in favour of Marxism-Leninism. We could count on 7 to 10 parties which would adhere more to our side, if not openly, at least by not approving the hostile undertaking of the Khrushchevites.

As it turned out, the Chinese delegation had come to the Moscow meeting with the idea that the tempers could be cooled, and initially they had prepared a material in a conciliatory tone, tolerant towards the stands and actions of the Khrushchevites. Deng Xiaoping was to deliver it. As was becoming obvious, they had prepared a stand of "two or three variants." This seemed astonishing to us after those savage attacks which had been made on the Communist Party of China and Mao Zedong in Bucharest. However, when the Khrushchevites launched even more vicious attacks, like those which were contained in the material they distributed before the meeting, then the Chinese were obliged to completely alter the material they had prepared, to put aside the conciliatory spirit and to take a stand in reply to Khrushchev's attacks.

> Khrushchev wanted to keep all the communist and workers' parties of the world under his conductor's baton, under his dictate

There was a tense atmosphere when the meeting opened. Not without a purpose, they had put us near the speaker's rostrum so that we would be under the reproving finger of the anti-Marxist Khrushchevite "prosecutors." But, contrary to their desires, we became the prosecutors and accusers of the renegades and the traitors. They were in the dock. We held our heads high because we were with Marxism-Leninism. Khrushchev held his head in his two hands, when the bombs of our party burst upon him.

Khrushchev's tactic at the meeting was cunning. He rose and spoke first, delivered an allegedly moderate, placatory speech, without open attacks, with phrases put together to set the tone for the meeting and create the impression that it ought to be calm, that we should not attack one another (they made their attacks in advance), that we should preserve unity (social-democratic), etc. With this he wanted to say: "We don't want quarrels, we don't want splits, nothing has happened, everything is going well."

In his speech Khrushchev expressed the revisionist views completely and attacked the Communist Party of China and the Party of Labour of Albania, as well as those who were going to follow these parties, but without mentioning any names. With this tactic in his speech he wanted to warn us: "Take your pick, either general attacks without any names, but with everybody understanding for whom they are intended, or if you don't like it that way, we shall attack you openly." In fact, of the 20 puppet delegates who spoke, only 5 or 6 attacked China, basing themselves on the Soviet material.

Khrushchev and his puppets knew that we were going to declare war on Khrushchevite and world modern revisionism, and that is why they insisted, both in the commission and in their speeches, that the question of factions

and groupings in the international communist movement as well as the assessments of the 20th and 21st congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and several other points, which we opposed, should be included in the draft. It was clear that Khrushchev, who had abandoned Leninism and the Leninist norms, and who, as he himself claimed, had the "heritage and the monopoly of Leninism," wanted to keep all the communist and workers' parties of the world under his conductor's baton, under his dictate. Whoever came out against his line, defined at the 20th and 21st congresses, was a factionist, an anti-Marxist involved in groupings. Obviously, this is how he prepared the stick for the Communist Party of China and the Party of Labour of Albania, and tried to take the measures to expel us from the international communist movement, which he intended to subject to his anti-Marxist ideas.

After him, 15 or 20 others, carefully brainwashed and prepared, got up one after the other and spoke on Khrushchev's line: "Nothing has occurred, there is no problem amongst us, peace reigns, everything is going well." What a disgraceful bluff by the Khrushchevites, who manipulated these hired lackeys in order to pose before us as men of principle. This was the general tone. "They had synchronized their watches," as Zhivkov had said in one of his speeches, and which Khrushchev cited in Bucharest as an "historic" saying.

> The PLA did not fall into the traps of the Khrushchevites, concocted with threats and hypocritical promises

While the meeting continued, the Soviets and Khrushchev were terrified of our speech and wanted at all costs to convince us, if not to abandon our ideas, at least to soften our stand. They sent Thorez to mediate when they saw that we refused the meeting with Khrushchev. Thorez invited us to dinner, gave us a lecture about "unity" and advised us to be "cool and restrained." Maurice Thorez certainly knew the issues, because we had discussed them together, but it was clear that now he was acting as Khrushchev's envoy. But he strove in vain. We refused every proposal and he threatened us:

"The meeting will attack you."

"We fear no one because we are on the right path," we replied.

When they saw that they had failed with Thorez, the Soviets persisted with requests that we should meet Mikoyan, Kozlov, Suslov, Pospyelov and Andropov. We accepted. At this meeting in the villa in Zarechie, the Soviets presented matters as if nothing had occurred, as if they were not to be blamed at all, but on the contrary, according to them, the blame lay on the Party of Labour of Albania. Allegedly it was we who were worsening the relations with the Soviet Union and they asked us to tell them openly why we were doing this.

We rejected these accusations and claims and demonstrated to them with incontestable facts that it was not we, but they, with their stands and actions, who had exacerbated the relations between our parties and countries.

For their part, Khrushchev's men, with utter shamelessness, denied everything, including their ambassador in Tirana, whom they called "durak" (fool, Russian in the original), when they attempted to lay the blame for their faults on him.

They wanted to get on good terms with us at all costs so that we would shut our mouths. They even offered us credits and tractors. But after exposing them, we told them, "If you do not admit and correct your grave errors, all your efforts are in vain." The following day Kozlov and Mikoyan came back again but they achieved nothing.

The time for our speech was approaching and they made their final effort--they asked that we meet Khrushchev in the Kremlin. Apparently Khrushchev was still kidding himself that he could "convince us," and we accepted the invitation, but not at the hour he set, in order to tell him that "not you, but we decide even the hour of the meeting" let alone other things. Apart from this, before we met him we wanted to send him an "oral message." We checked the residence they had allocated us with our detector and found that they had bugged us with microphones in every part of it. The only room unbugged was a toilet. When it was cold and we could not talk outside we were obliged to talk in the toilet. The Soviets were intrigued to learn where we talked and, when the idea struck them, they sent someone to put some microphones in the toilet, too. One of our officers caught the Soviet technician when he was carrying out the "operation," allegedly to repair a defect in the toilet but our man told him: "There's no need because the toilet functions well."

Our embassy, also, was filled with bugging devices and, knowing this, after we set the time of the meeting, we left the Kremlin and went to the embassy. We set up our apparatus and it signalled that they were bugging us from every direction. Then Nehmet sent Khrushchev and the others "a message" lasting ten to fifteen minutes, describing them as "traitors" saying "you're eavesdropping on us," etc., thus, when we went to the Kremlin, the revisionists had received our "greetings."

The meeting was held in Khrushchev's office and he began as usual:

"You have the floor. We are listening."

"You requested the meeting," I said, "you speak first."

Khrushchev had to accept. Right from the start we were convinced that, in fact, he had come with the hope that, if he could not avoid, at least, he could soften the criticism that we were going to make at the meeting. Then, even if this meeting did not yield any result, he would use it, as usual, as an "argument" for the representatives of other parties to tell them, "See, we offered our hand to the Albanians once again, but they persisted in their course."

Khrushchev and the others tried to cast the blame on our party and feigned astonishment when we related historically how the differences between our parties had arisen.

"I am unaware that I had any conflict with Comrade Kapo in Bucharest," said Khrushchev without a blush.

"The Central Committee of our party was not and is not in agreement with Bucharest," I told him.

"That is of no importance, but the fact is that even before Bucharest you were not in agreement with us and you did not tell us this."

Of course, the charlatan was lying and lying deliberately. Was it not this same Khrushchev who, in April 1957, wanted to arrogantly break off the talks, and even earlier in 1955 and 1956, had we not told Khrushchev and Suslov of our opposition over Tito, Nagy, Kadar and Gomulka?

Mehmet mentioned some of these facts to them and Mikoyan was obliged to mutter agreement.

But when he saw that he had his back to the wall, Khrushchev hopped from branch to branch, from one theme to the other, and it was impossible to discuss with him the major issues of principle which were in essence the source of the differences. Of course, he was not interested in touching on these things. He wanted the submission of the Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian people, he was their enemy.

"You are not in favour of putting our relations in order," said Khrushchev.

"We want to put them in order, but first you must acknowledge your mistakes," we told him.

The talk with us irritated Khrushchev. Of course, he was not used to having a small party and a small country resolutely oppose his stands and action. Such was the chauvinist logic of overlords of these anti-Marxists who, just like the imperialist bourgeoisie, considered the small peoples and countries vassals, and their rights commodities to be traded. When we told him openly of his mistakes and those of his men he jumped up:

"You are spitting on me," he screamed. "It is impossible to talk to you. Only MacMillan has tried to speak to me like this."

"Comrade Enver is not MacMillan, so take back your words," both Mehmet and Hysni snapped back at him.

"Where shall I put them?"

"Stick them in your pocket," Mehmet said.

The four of us got up and left without shaking hands with them, without falling into their traps, concocted with threats and hypocritical promises.

As we were leaving the meeting room, Mehmet went back and said to Khrushchev: "The stone which you are throwing against our party and people will fall on your own head. Time will show this." And he closed the door and joined us.

This was our final talk with these renegades, who still sought to pose as Marxist. However, the struggle of our party and the genuine Marxist-Leninist parties and their own counter-revolutionary actions would tear the demagogical disguise from them more and more each day.

Thus, these pressures had no result. We did not give way a fraction in our stand and neither did we tone down or change anything in our speech.

Khrushchev's followers act as puppets manipulated by the strings behind the scene

I am not going to dwell on the content of the speech which I delivered on behalf of our Central Committee in Moscow, because it has been published and the views of our party on the problems which we raised are already known world-wide. I merely want to underline the way in which Khrushchev's followers reacted when they heard our attacks on their boss. Gomulka, Dej, Ibarruri, Ali Yata, Baghdash and many others mounted the tribune and competed in their zeal to take revenge on those who had "raised their hand against the mother party." It was both tragic and ludicrous to see these people, who posed as politicians and leaders "with a load of brains," acting in this way as mercenaries, as hommes de paille (men of straw, French in the original), as puppets manipulated by the strings behind the scene.

In a break between sessions Todor Zhivkov approached me. His lips and chin were trembling.

"Can we have a discussion, brat?" (brother, Russian in the original), he asked me.

"With whom are we to talk," I replied. "I said what I had to say and you heard me, I believe. Who has sent you to talk, Khrushchev. I've nothing to discuss with you, go up on the tribune and speak."

He went waxy pale and said:

"I certainly shall get up and give you your answer."

When we were coming out of the Georgievsky Zal to go to our residence, Anton Yugov, at the head of the stairs, said to us in a shocked tone:

"Where's this road leading you bratya?" (brothers, Russian in the original).

"Where's Khrushchev's road leading you, because we are on and always will proceed on Lenin's road," he told him. He dropped his head and we parted without shaking hands.

At the Moscow meeting, the delegation of the PLA carried out the task charged by the party with success, with Marxist-Leninist determination

After I delivered the speech, Mehmet and I left the residence in which the Soviets had put us and went to the embassy, where we stayed for the rest of the time we were in Moscow. When we left their residence a Soviet security officer told Comrade Hysni in confidence, "Comrade Enver did well to go, because his life was in great danger here." The Khrushchevites were capable of anything and we took our own measures. We sent the comrades of the embassy and the collaborators of our delegation out to the shops to buy food supplies. When the time we decided to leave came, we did not agree to go by aircraft, because an "accident" could happen more easily. Hysni and Ramiz stayed on in

Moscow, as they had to sign the declaration, while Mehmet and I left the Soviet Union by train and ate nothing that came from their hands. We arrived in Austria, went down by train through Italy and from Bari returned safe and sound to Tirana on our own aircraft and went directly to the reception organ on the occasion of the 28th and 29th of November. We felt a great joy because we had carried out the task with which the party charged us successfully, with Marxist-Leninist determination. The guests, too, wartime comrades, workers, officers, cooperativists, men and women, old and young were unrestrained in their enthusiasm and united firmly as a fist, as always, and all the more in difficult days.

Khrushchev and all those who followed him tried hard to ensure that the endorsed document of an international character would include the whole line of the Khrushchevite revisionists, which distorted the fundamental theses of Marxism-Leninism on the nature of imperialism, the revolution, peaceful coexistence, and so on. However, in the commissions, the delegations of our party and the Communist Party of China strongly objected to and exposed these distortions. We managed to get many things corrected, many theses of the revisionists were rejected and many others were put correctly, until the final document emerged and was accepted by all the participants in the meeting.

The Khrushchevites were obliged to accept that document, but Khrushchev had declared beforehand: "The document is a compromise and compromises don't last long." It was clear that Khrushchev himself would violate the declaration of the Moscow meeting and would accuse us as though it were we who were violating the directives and decisions of that meeting.

After the Moscow meeting our relations with the Soviet Union and the revisionists of Moscow grew continually worse until they, unilaterally, broke off these relations entirely.

On November 25, in the final meeting which Mehmet and Hysni had in Moscow with Mikoyan, Kosygin and Kozlov, the latter made open threats. Mikoyan said to them, "You cannot live a day without economic aid from us and the other countries of the socialist camp." "We shall tighten our belts and eat grass," Mehmet and Hysni told them, "but will not submit to you. You cannot conquer us." The revisionists thought that the sincere love of our party and people for the Soviet Union would play a role in favour of the revisionists of Moscow. They hoped that our many cadres who had been trained in the Soviet Union would return united as a block to split the party from the leadership. Mikoyan expressed this, saying: "When the Party of Labour hears of your stand it will rise against you." "Come and attend some meeting of our party when we raise these problems," Mehmet told him, "and you will see what sort of unity exists in our party and around its leadership."

These threats of the revisionists were not just words. They acted. The economic sabotage from Moscow and their experts mounted to a crescendo.

[31 Oct 80]

[Text] Tirana, 31 Oct (ATA)--Concluding his book "The Khrushchevites" (Memoirs), Comrade Enver Hoxha hails the steel unity in the party and the Albanian people in front of the provocations, pressure, blackmail and disruptive attempts of the Soviet revisionists till they reached to the final act--the unilateral break off of diplomatic relations with Albania.

The Final Act

Steel unity in the party and our people. The Soviet want to occupy the Vlore base. Tense situation at the base. Admiral Kasatonov goes off with his tail between his legs. The enemies dream of changes in our leadership. The 4th congress of the PLA [Albanian Party of Labor]. Pospyelov and Andropov in Tirana. The Greek and Czechoslovak delegates get the answer that they deserve to their provocations. Khrushchev's envoys to Tirana fail in their mission. Why do they "invite" us to go to Moscow again? Khrushchev's public attack on the PLA at the 22nd Congress of the CPSU. The final breach. In December 1961 Khrushchev cuts off diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of Albania.

The whole party and the people, writes Comrade Enver Hoxha, were informed of the events and the situation created especially after the Moscow meeting. We knew that the attacks, provocations and blackmail would be increased and intensified as never before. We were convinced that Khrushchev's anger would be poured upon us, our party and people, to force us to submit. We spoke to the party and people with open hearts, explained everything that had occurred, and made the dangerous activity of the Khrushchevite revisionists clear to them.

The year 1961 was turned into a year of glorious tests for the party and the Albanian people

As always, the party and the people displayed their high level of maturity, their brilliant revolutionary patriotism, their love for and loyalty to the Central Committee of the party, and the correct line we had always followed. They thoroughly understood the difficult situation we were going through, therefore they strained all their mental and physical energies to the maximum, mobilized themselves totally, further tempered their unity, and the Soviet revisionists found themselves up against a concrete wall. The year 1961 was turned into a year of glorious tests. Everywhere, in every sector, the provocations, insinuations and sabotage of the Khrushchevites were fearlessly and resolutely repelled. Nothing was allowed to pass. Moscow, followed immediately by the capitals of its satellites, began economic pressure on us. As the first serious pressure, the revisionists suspended action on the signed contracts and agreements of every kind, and later tore them up in Hitlerite style. They began to withdraw their experts, thinking that everything in our country would come to a standstill. But they were gravely mistaken

The Khrushchevites got the answer they deserved in connection with the Vlore base

The question of the Vlore base was the pretext for a quarrel. There was no doubt that the base was ours. We would never allow even an inch of our territory to be under the control of foreigners. By clear official agreement signed by the two governments, without leaving the slightest ground for equivocation, the Vlore base belonged to Albania and, at the same time, was to serve the defence of the camp. It was stated in the agreement that the Soviet Union would provide twelve submarines and a number of auxiliary ships. We were to train the cadres and we trained them, were to take over the ships and we did so, as well as four submarines. Our crews were trained and were waiting ready to take over the remaining eight.

However, the ideological differences between the two parties had begun, and with Khrushchev, they were bound to have repercussions on such a sensitive spot as the Vlore Naval Base. He and his men would distort the official agreement for two aims: First, to put pressure on us, to make us submit, and second, if we did not bend the knee, they would try to seize the base themselves, as a powerful starting point from which to occupy the whole of Albania.

Especially after the Bucharest meeting, the Soviet experts, advisers and other militarymen at the Vlore Naval Base stepped up the frictions, quarrels and incidents with our sailors. The Soviet side stopped all supplies of the materials they were supposed to provide for the base according to the agreement concluded. All the work commenced was suspended unilaterally and the provocations and blackmail were increased. The staff of the Soviet Embassy in Tirana, as well as the main representative of the general command of the armed forces of the Warsaw Treaty, General Andreyev, placed themselves at the head of this savage anti-Albanian and anti-socialist activity. Countless acts of the filthiest vandalism were carried out by the Soviet personnel at the base on orders from above, and despite this, "to be in order," they tried to accuse our people over the acts of hooligans they committed themselves. Their shamelessness and cynicism reached the point that the "chief representative," Andreyev, sent a note to the chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Albania in which he claimed that "unpleasant acts were occurring at the base" from the side of the Albanians. And what were these "acts?" "Such and such an Albanian sailor threw his cigarette butt on the deck of the Soviet ship," "the children of Dukat tell the Soviet children 'go home.'" "The Albanian waiter in a club told our officer, 'I am in charge here and not you,'" etc. General Andreyev even complained to the chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Albanian state that an unknown child had allegedly relieved himself secretly near the building used by the Soviets.

With completely just indignation one of our officers answered Andreyev:

"Comrade General," he said, "why do you not take up the key problems, but involve yourself with such trifles, which do not come within the authority

even of the ships' commanders, but of the boatswains and the volunteers of the front organization in charge of the residential blocks?"

Keeping cool, we vigilantly watched the development of the situation and continually instructed our comrades to act cautiously and patiently, but never to submit and never fall for the provocations of Khrushchev's agents.

"In order to avoid disorder and incidents, the Vlore base should be placed completely under the command of the Soviet side," proposed the Soviets.

We would never, never accept such a solution. It would be signing ourselves into slavery. We firmly opposed them and referred them to the agreement, under which the base was ours and ours alone.

In order to give their proposal the colour of a joint decision, in March 1961, they exploited a meeting of the Warsaw Treaty, at which Grechko insisted that the Vlore base should be left entirely in Soviet hands, and placed "under the direct command" of the general commander of the Warsaw Treaty, that is, of Grechko himself.

We firmly and indignantly opposed this proposal and, although the decision was adopted by the others, we declared:

"The only solution is that the Vlore base must remain in the hands of the Albanian army. We will not permit any other solution."

Then the Khrushchevites decided not to hand over to us the eight submarines and other ships which, according to the agreement, belonged to Albania. We insisted that they were ours and demanded that the Soviet crews should be withdrawn and everything handed over to our sailors, as had been done with the first four submarines. Besides the "chief representative," Andreyev, the Soviet revisionists also sent a certain rear-admiral to Tirana. This whole team was comprised of officers of the Soviet security services, sent to organize disturbances, sabotage and diversion at the Vlore base.

"We shall not give you the ships," they said, "they are ours."

We confronted them with the state agreement and they found another pretext.

"Your crews are not ready to take them over, they are not completely trained."

These were all pretexts. Our sailors had gone through the respective schools, had been training for years and had always proved they were completely capable of taking over the submarines and the other ships. Just a few months before the situation became tense, the Soviets themselves had declared that our crews were ready to take over the vessels that belonged to us.

On this, too, we gave them the answer they deserved. Our officers and sailors at the base carried out all the orders we gave them coolly, with determination and iron discipline. The Soviet provocations at the base were stepped up,

especially at the time when we were in Moscow at the meeting of the 81 parties. The comrades of our Political Bureau kept us informed from Tirana about everything that occurred, and from Moscow we gave them guidance and advice to keep cool, to guard against provocations and to strengthen their vigilance, as well as on the military measures they had to take in Vlore and throughout the whole country to ensure that the army was in full readiness.

The orders to the Soviet officers in Albania on how they should behave came from Moscow, where we were holding fierce debates with Khrushchev, Mikoyan, Suslov, etc., during those days.

At the first meeting we had with Mikoyan and his colleagues in Moscow, on November 10, as soon as he started speaking, he tried to frighten us:

"Your officers are behaving badly with ours at the Vlore base. Do you want to leave the Warsaw Treaty?"

We immediately gave Mikoyan the reply he deserved. After years of filling us up to the neck with his "criticism" and "advice," now he was threatening us. We mentioned the unworthy behaviour of Soviet officers at the Vlore base, especially the villainous actions of one of the Soviet "read-admirals," who, I told Mikoyan, "might by anything, but certainly not a rear-admiral." I mentioned the statements of Grechko and Malinovsky, who had also threatened that they would expel us from the Warsaw Treaty, etc.

My reply made him wriggle and squirm, trying to dodge my responsibility, but two days later Khrushchev made the same threat.

"If you like, we can dismantle the base," he shouted, while we were talking about the major disagreements created.

"Are you trying to threaten us with this?" I said.

"Comrade Enver, don't raise your voice," Khrushchev interrupted, "the submarines are ours."

"Yours and ours," I said, "we are fighting for socialism, the territory of the base is ours. We have a signed agreement about the submarines, which recognizes the rights of the Albanian people. I defend the interests of my country. Therefore, take good note that the base is ours and will remain ours."

When we returned from Moscow, the provocations at the base were increased and in order to exert pressure on and impress us, the Soviet deputy foreign minister, Firyubin, came to Tirana with two other "deputies": the first deputy-chief of the general staff of the Soviet army and navy, Antonov, and the deputy chief of the supreme staff of the Soviet nay, Sergeyev.

They came allegedly "to reach agreement," but in fact they brought us an ultimatum:

The Vlore base must be put completely and solely under Soviet command, which was to be subordinate to the commander-in-chief of the armed forces of the Warsaw Treaty.

"We are the masters here," we told them clearly and bluntly. "Vlore has been and is ours."

"This is the decision of the command of the Warsaw Treaty," threatened Firyubin, the former Soviet ambassador in Belgrade, at the time of the Khrushchev-Tito reconciliation.

We gave him the reply he deserved and, after trying to frighten us by saying, "We shall take the ships and the imperialists will gobble you up," he left, accompanied by the two other generals.

After them, the commander of the Black Sea Fleet, Admiral Kasatonov, came to Tirana with the mission of seizing not only the eight submarines and the floating dock with Soviet crews, which were also the property of the Albanian state, but even the submarines which we had taken over earlier. We told him bluntly: either you hand the submarines over to us according to the agreement, or within a short time (we set the date) you must withdraw immediately from the bay, with only those ships on which your crews serve. You are violating the agreement, you are stealing our submarines, and you will pay for this stand.

The admiral wriggled and tried to soften us, but in vain. He did not hand over the submarines, but went to Vlore, boarded the command submarine and lined up the others in fighting formation. We gave orders to close the Sazan narrows and to train the guns on the Soviet ships. Admiral Kasatonov, who had wanted to frighten us, was frightened himself. He was caught like a rat in a trap and if he attempted to implement his plan he might find himself at the bottom of the sea. In these conditions the admiral was obliged to take only the submarines with Soviet crews, and he sailed out of the bay back home with his tail between his legs, a great evil was removed from our land, once and for all.

In the last year in particular, the Soviets at the Vlore base committed innumerable vile and revolting acts. However, at those delicate moments the group of our officers at the base capably and intelligently defended the party against the plotters, provocateurs and chauvinists, who corrupted the feelings of the Soviet sailors to the ultimate degree. They holed the reservoirs, smashed the beds and windows in the buildings where they lived and worked, etc. They tried to take away everything, down to the last nut and bolt, but did not succeed in their aims. We took a stern stand, defended our rights properly and replied to the attacks and provocations with cool tempers, while they lost their heads.

> Efforts made by the Khrushchevites to split the Party of Labour of Albania. The steel unity of our party around its Central Committee was outstanding at the 4th Congress of the P.L.A.

The Soviet revisionists were furious. They committed every act of sabotage and broke the agreements. They were compelled to recall Ambassador Ivanov

and sent a certain Shikin in his place. He was to try to prepare the final act of the hostile work of the Soviet revisionists--to split the party. The Khrushchevites hoped to bring about the split at the 4th congress which we were preparing. They deceived themselves that what they had failed to achieve in other ways, might occur at our congress. They expected that the congress would denounce the line pursued by the leadership of our party in Bucharest and Moscow. At that period, the bourgeoisie and reaction, informed and directly and indirectly incited by the Khrushchevites, Titoites and their agents, had launched a campaign of slanders against our country and party. They hoped that the revisionist cataclysm would occur in Albania, too. "Enver Hoxha, chief of the Albanian Communist Party, will soon be relieved of his post, as a result of the conference of communist leaders of the world which was held last month in Moscow," reported a Western news agency, in a commentary stemming from Belgrade, on the eve of the opening of our 4th congress.

"Observers of Eastern Europe say that Moscow will use its influence to bring about changes in the Communist Party of Albania, which took a hard line at the Moscow conference,"said the imperialist news agencies during those days, and continued: "Although even Communist China accepted the Soviet line, the Albanians have persisted in their stand."

We read these reports of the sooth-sayers of imperialism with scorn and knew very well who had a hand in compiling them.

At the meeting which was organized on November 25, 1960, between the delegations of the PLA and the CPSU, Mikoyan personally, told comrades Mehmet and Hysni:

"You will see what difficult situations will come about within your party and people with this change you are making in your relations with the Soviet Union."

We heard such threatening statements, sometimes open, sometimes camouflaged, from all directions.

Nevertheless, we calmly continued our course: We invited delegations from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and from other communist and workers' parties. From the Soviet Union came Pospyelov and Andropov, from Czechoslovakia a certain Barak, who was minister of the interior and was later jailed as a thief, etc. Let them come and see with their own eyes what the Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian people were, let them try to achieve their secret aims. They would catch their own fingers in the trap.

The congress opened in an atmosphere of indescribable enthusiasm and unity of the party and our people. The opening day was turned into a real people's celebration. The people, singing, dancing and carrying flowers, escorted the delegates to the entrance of the building where the congress was to be held and while the work began within, the celebration continued outside. This was the initial reply which the Khrushchevites, Titoites and other revisionists received right at the start. They would continue to receive other crushing blows inside.

It had never crossed the minds of Pospyelov, Andropov and their lackeys that they would find themselves in the midst of such a fire, which warmed and strengthened our hearts and seared and blinded them. Throughout all the days of the congress, the steel unity of our party around its Central Committee, the high degree of maturity and keen Marxist-Leninist sense of the delegates, the vigilance, keen-wittedness and readiness of every delegate to give the proper reply to any provocation on the part of revisionist "friends," were outstanding.

> Pospyelov's speech was received with contempt by the delegates to the 4th Congress of the PLA

Pospyelov's speech, with which the revisionists hoped to create the split in our congress, was not applauded at all. On the contrary, it was received with silence and contempt by the delegates to the congress. From his box Andropov openly directed his puppets as to when they should clap, when they should remain seated, or rise to their feet. It was a ludicrous spectacle. They discredited themselves completely, both with the stands they adopted and with the base things they did.

> The representative of the C.P. of China Li Xiennian "advised" us to be patient and cautious and not to break off the talks with Khrushchev. We went about with our own business

The representative of the Communist Party of China at the congress was Li Xiennien, who sat in stony silence through the sessions when he saw the enthusiasm of the delegates. From the tribune he said some good words addressed to our party, but "advised" us to be patient and cautious and not break off the talks with Khrushchev. We went about our own business.

> The Khrushchevites intensified their interference, pressure and blackmail

When they saw that our ranks were very solid, without any sign of a breach, the Khrushchevites intensified their interference, pressure and blackmail. They provoked us everywhere.

"What is this?" Andropov angrily asked one of our comrades, a functionary at the apparatus of the Central Committee of our party who was accompanying him. "Why do the delegates cheer so much for Enver Hoxha?"

"Go and ask them," said our comrade. "But tell me," he continued, "for whom should they cheer, apart from Marxism-Leninism, the party and its leadership, or do you intend to propose that we should put someone else at the head of the party?"

The blow went home and Andropov pulled in his horns. The Greek delegate and Rudolph Barak of Czechoslovakia were brought into action. Apart from other things, the Greek delegate considered incorrect the reply which we had given to the anti-Albanian talk which Sophocles Venizelos had held with Khrushchev about "northern Epirus." "Venizelos is not a bad man, he is a progressive bourgeois democrat," the Greek delegate told our comrade accompanying him.

Our comrade replied that the views of the "democrat" Venizelos about "northern Epirus" were no different from those of the rabid chauvinist and anti-Albanian, Eleutherios Venizelos. Apart from other acts, even the speech which the Greek delegate was to deliver at our congress was in an openly provocative spirit, and Mehmet, becoming angry, gave the Greek the reply he deserved in front of everybody, by describing him with this true name: provocateur.

Khrushchev's other agent, Barak, also exploited the occasion along with others, who through actions worthy of the dirtiest scoundrels, tried to vent their spleen, but only discredited themselves and those who had sent them even more. They operated from the boxes, or in the intervals between sessions. In the meantime, the Soviet journalists had also gone into "action."

What did they and those who commanded them not do in order "to discover" some shortcoming at which they could grasp to launch their attack. But they achieved nothing. The congress went like clock-work. With a profound sense of responsibility, the Albanian communists drew up the balance of the past and defined the tasks for the future. However, the revisionists could not go away entirely "empty-handed," because they would have to render account to their masters. And they found the "shortcoming":

"There are many ovations and consequently the sessions go on for more than one hour and a half," an alleged journalist of TASS, just arrived from Moscow to follow the proceedings of the congress, "protested" angrily.

"What can we do? Should we tell the delegates not to applaud?" asked our comrade accompanying him, in a sarcastic tone.

"The time-table should be respected, an hour and a half and tochka," (full stop, Russian in the original) said the "journalist."

"However, it's not the journalists, but the elected Presidium that presides over the congress," replied our comrade. "Nevertheless, if you consider it reasonable, make some protest against ovations..."

> At a meeting with the envoys of Khrushchev. Khrushchevites' hostile demands, which concealed sinister plans

Before they departed after the congress, Pospyelov and Andropov sought a meeting with us.

"We want to talk about some matters which have to do with our mutual comradely relations," said Pospyelov, who spoke first. "We want to strengthen the friendship between us, to have a strong friendship."

"This is what we have always wanted, too," I said, "but don't think that this close friendship will be strengthened through the 'holy spirit.' This friendship can be achieved by applying the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism correctly and consistently."

I went on to list to Pospyelov some of their anti-Marxist and anti-Albanian actions, and I stressed that there could never be friendship on the course which the Soviet leadership was following.

"You are interfering in the internal affairs of the Soviet leadership," he said.

I told Pospyelov: "To say that this or that view or action of this or that leader is not right, is not in any way interference in the internal affairs of a leadership. We have never intended to interfere in your internal affairs. However, you must understand clearly that neither have we permitted, nor are we going to permit the Soviet leadership to interfere in the internal affairs of our party in any way. Every party is master of its own house.

"Is it true," I continued, "that there are major ideological differences between our two parties. We told you of our opinions about these things openly and according to all the Leninist norms. You reacted angrily to this, and apart from other things, extended these ideological differences to other fields. Mikoyan wanted to frighten us with 'the difficult situations' which would emerge for us in the party and this was a threat. You have seen our situation," I said, "therefore tell Mikoyan what you saw at the 4th congress of our party and tell him to what degree our party is 'split.'"

The aim of these scoundrels was to tell us that, among other things, all the agreements and protocols on credits, which they had accorded us for the five-year plan, would have to be reexamined. To this end they demanded that I should go to Moscow.

We resolutely rejected these hostile demands, which concealed sinister plans.

"The economy is another field to which you have extended the ideological differences which exist between us," he told Pospyelov and Andropov. "This is not Marxist, nor is it befitting a party and state such as yours."

"We do not understand you," interrupted Pospyelov. "In what do you see this?"

"There are scores of facts," we said, "but let us look at your stand towards our economic delegation, which went to the Soviet Union last November. This delegation was kept hanging around in Moscow for months on end. No one received it, no one listened to it. Apart from other attempts, our economic delegation sent more than 20 letters and telegrams to the respective organs of your side, just during the days of its stay there, but no reply came, nothing was discussed and nothing was signed. Do you think that we don't understand these stands of yours, which have the smell of blackmail?"

"When the Yugoslavs go there you finish the talks with them in 10 days," said Mehmet.

"The war minister of Indonesia went to Moscow and agreements were signed immediately. You gave him big credits for armaments," I said, "while you neglected little socialist Albania, with which you have agreements."

"You must come to Moscow for talks," they said, repeating Khrushchev's constant demand that I should go there.

"We have replied to you in writing," I told them. "There is no reason for me and Mehmet to go to Moscow to discuss problems which have been discussed and decided long ago. As you are well aware we have discussed and jointly drafted the agreement on credits for our coming five-year plan, not just in principle, but giving details of all the projects. On the basis of this agreement, Soviet experts came here, drew up the designs, etc., while now you want us to go back there to re-examine the agreements. Why? We cannot agree to remove one comma from all those very detailed documents, which have been signed at the top level by the two sides," I replied to the revisionists, and went on:

"There is no reason for me to go to Moscow and I do not want to go. As for the agreements, there are two ways open to you: either you respect them or you violate them. It depends on you which way you choose. If you violate the agreements and continue your hostile anti-Marxist course, the world will judge you and condemn you. We told you openly, like Marxists, everything we had against you. Now you must choose: either the road of Marxist-Leninist friendship or the road of hostility."

The Khrushchevites became more furious and more shameless in their actions. Imperialist-revisionist plot to launch a military aggression against Albania

As was natural for them, the Khrushchevites chose the road of hostility to the People's Republic of Albania and the Party of Labour of Albania. They became more furious and more shameless in their actions. As is known, at that period we discovered and smashed the plot of several imperialist and revisionist foreign powers, which, in collaboration with their agents in our ranks, wanted to launch a military aggression against our country and people. At the 4th congress of the party we announced that the plot had been discovered and that the conspirators, Teme Sejko and others, would render account to the people's court. The conspirators admitted everything with their own mouths.

Precisely at this time, our "friends," members of the Warsaw Treaty, headed by Khrushchev, apart from their threats, declared to us: "A special commission of the Warsaw Treaty should come to Albania to verify how well-founded were the things you said about the plot." Their perfidy had gone as far as this. They wanted to come to Albania to achieve what the others were unable to achieve. For this, too, we gave them the reply they deserved.

Khrushchev's final act against Albania

Khrushchev was left without another move. He tried all his manoeuvres, cunning, traps, and blackmail on us and none of them yielded results. Then he came out openly against us. At the 22nd congress of his party, in October 1961, Khrushchev publicly attacked and slandered the Party of Labour of Albania.

We replied at once, openly, to his base anti-Albanian attacks and through the press made known to the party and the people both Khrushchev's accusations against us and our stand towards those accusations and attacks.

Khrushchev immediately received not only our reply but also that of the whole Albanian people: In thousands of thousands of telegrams and letters which came to our Central Committee from all corners of the country, from the most varied strata of the population, the communists and our people, while expressing their profound and legitimate indignation at the treacherous actions of Khrushchev, supported the line of the party with all their strength and pledged that they would defend and apply this correct line to the end in the face of any test or sacrifice.

Then Khrushchev undertook his final act against us--the only thing left undone--unilaterally, he broke off diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of Albania. This was his final desperate gesture of revenge: "Since they did not want to stay under my wing, let the imperialists gobble them up," he thought. But he was terribly wrong, just as he had been wrong all his life. We gave a resolute reply to his hostility and that of the Khrushchevite lackeys. Heroically and with Marxist-Leninist maturity, the Party of Labour of Albania resisted the attacks of modern revisionism led by Khrushchev and counter-attacked hard, with exemplary solidarity, with great Marxist-Leninist clarity and with indisputable and undeniable arguments and facts.

> The struggle of the PLA against the treacherous, fascist, social-imperialist activity of the Khrushchevite and Brezhnev revisionists did not cease and will not cease

The revolutionary words and opinions of the Party of Labour of Albania were listened to with respect everywhere in the world. The proletariat saw that this small party was successfully and gloriously defending Marxism-Leninism agaisnt the revisionist cliques that were in power. Modern revisionism, headed by Soviet revisionism, was exposed and is still being exposed with revolutionary courage by our party.

The revisionist Soviet Union has suffered colossal defeats in every field. Its pseudo-Marxist disguise was torn from it and it lost the prestige and authority which had been forged by Lenin, Stalin and the Bolshevik party which they led. The communists, the revolutionaries and fighters for people's liberation were not to be deceived by the demagogy of the Khrushchevite revisionists. Our party has made, is making and always will make its contribution to this revolutionary work.

Thus, the relations of socialist Albania with the revisionist Soviet Union came to an end. However, our struggle against the treacherous, fascist, social-imperialist activity of the Khrushchevite and Brezhnev revisionists did not cease and will not cease. We have attacked them and will go on attacking them until they are wiped from the face of the earth, until the joint struggle of the peoples, revolutionaries and Marxist-Leninists all over the world triumphs everywhere, including the Soviet Union.

One day the Soviet people will sternly condemn the Khrushchevites and will honour and love the Albanian people and the Party of Labour of Albania, as they loved us in better times, because our people and party fought unflinchingly against the Khrushchevites, who are our common enemies.

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EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1829

CONTENTS

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Report on Conference of Firefighters From Socialist Countries
(Mircea Marinescu; PAZA CONTRA INCENDIILOR, Sep 80)..... 1

ALBANIA

Labor Code Approved by People's Assembly
(GAZETA ZYRTARE, Jul 80) 9

Greater Efforts Required To Combat 'Uncultured' Acts of Students
(ZERI I POPULLIT, 30 Sep 80) 31

Backward Religious, Family Customs Persi in Kruje
(ZERI I POPULLIT, 24 Sep 80) 33

HUNGARY

Briefs
New Deputy Minister of Agriculture 34

POLAND

Foreign Ministry Official Interviewed on Poland's Foreign Policy
(Jozef Czyrek Interview; WALKA MLODYCH, 17-24 Aug 80) 35

French Journalist in Poland Says Strike Results Positive Overall
(Jacques Estager; REVOLUTION, 26 Sep-2 Oct 80) 41

ROMANIA

'ERA SOCIALISTA' Chief Editor Criticizes 'LUCEAFARUL'
(St. Voicu; ERA SOCIALISTA, 5 Oct 80) 44

Shortcomings in School, Extracurricular Activities
(Toma Mares; ERA SOCIALISTA, 5 Oct 80) 48

REPORT ON CONFERENCE OF FIREFIGHTERS FROM SOCIALIST COUNTRIES

Bucharest PAZA CONTRA INCENDIILOR in Romanian Sep 80 pp 10, 11, 14, 15, 16

[Article by Mircea Marinescu]

[Text] The 14th Conference of Firefighters From Socialist Countries was held in Brasov Municipality from 2-9 September 1980. In the attendance were delegates of firefighters from the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, the Korean People's Democratic Republic, the Republic of Cuba, the German Democratic Republic, the Polish People's Republic, the Hungarian People's Republic, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and the Socialist Republic of Romania. Invitees included officers and engineers from the Firefighters' Command, commanders of some county firefighters' groups, experts from design and research institutes, representatives of a number of enterprises and institutions, and newsmen.

After the opening of this important meeting, George Homostean, member of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party, minister of interior, conveyed a warm welcome to the foreign guests. He pointed out the concern shown in this country by the party and state executives and party secretary general Nicolae Ceuasescu himself for the activity of protection of human life and the national wealth against fire. After emphasizing that the proceedings of the conference which is held in this country provide an opportunity for asserting our party and state foreign policy of friendship and cooperation with the socialist countries, with all countries in the world, the minister wished every success to the participants of the conference and stressed that the conference's role is to upgrade the humanitarian and noble work of firemen in protecting human life and material assets from fire.

On behalf of the delegations in the attendance thanking for the greeting were the heads of the Soviet and GDR delegations. The participants of the conference then saw the philatelic show "Pompierfila IV" and the exhibit of posters which displayed instructional-educational material combating various causes of fire printed in most countries represented at the conference. Both shows were well appreciated.

Subsequently, proceeding from the idea that the tremendous economic development of each socialist country and the rapid introduction of scientific and

technical advances in production require the constant upgrading of the activity of protection against fire, the participantsin the conference proceeded to debating the topics set forth at the September 1978 meeting in Riga (USSR), that focus on the current concerns of firefighters' bodies in the participant countries.

For instance, the report "Greater Safety Against Fire in High-Rise Buildings" given by the Polish delegation aroused great interest. The matter discussed, the recommendations made, and the conclusions presented at the conclusion of the debates by the head of the Romanian firefighters' delegation, major-general Gheorghe Briceag, commander of the firefighters, pointed out the chief directions in the effort of firefighters' organs to handle the problems posed by safety against fire in high-rise buildings. They involve the determination of designers to follow the safety regulations prescribed; continuation of research for a technical solution to the problems posed by smoke and toxic gases, so as to prevent the occurrence of human victims; ensuring of the evacuation of persons; elimination of panic, which, as a rule, creates difficulties in the firefighters' work, and so forth. In light of the Soviet experience gained during the construction of the Moscow Olympic facilities, the participants in the conference endorsed the Soviet firefighters' delegation's proposal on continuing to study the problem of protection against fire in high-rise buildings, with a subsequent exchange of information in this area.

On the topic "Upgrading Statistics in Protection Against Fire," presented by the Czechoslovak delegation, those who participated in the discussions were unanimous in stating that statistics is a tool which could be an important factor in improving prevention and control and also in making effective decisions in protection from fire. Experience, however, shows that the data available at one point on a fire are not sufficient and that there must be a greater concern of the firefighters' units in training the personnel that provides the statistical figures. The participants of the conference endorsed the proposal on the Soviet and Czechoslovak delegations' continuing their research in this field and providing the data obtained to the parties concerned.

Another topic which aroused great interest involved "Prevention of Fire in High Plant of Chemical and Petrochemical Combines," discussed by the delegation of Romanian firefighters. The report and speeches of the Hungarian, GDR, Bulgarian and Soviet delegates pointed out the great fire hazards involved in chemical and petrochemical plant with tall columns and hence, the constant concern of firefighters and specialists to eliminate the factors that generate explosions and fire. The speakers also pointed out that it was necessary, in the designing stage, to specify adequate measures for prevention, provision of facilities with efficient extinguishing equipment and provision of measurement and control apparatus which adequately signals the critical levels. The complexity of the problems involved in the protection of the facilities concerned during operation (observance of the technical parameters, ensuring of tightness, quality of control and inspection and training of personnel) focused the attention of the participants,

who agreed with the proposal for achieving a permanent exchange of information in this area.

The report " Safety Regulations Against Fire in Large Agricultural Facilities (Large Warehouses, Silos, Complex Zootechnological Units), in Designing, Building and Operation" was presented by the Hungarian firefighters' delegation. The matters surveyed in detail, with specialized data on the conditions of location, the technical measures characteristic of the various functions of agricultural facilities, the procedures for storing and ensilaging the feed, plus the additions provided by speakers who discussed the report and enlarged on issues involved in heating systems of large zootechnological facilities, evacuation of animals and ensuring intervention in fire extinguishing were factors in achieving a useful exchange of experience and clarification of the questions tackled.

Furthermore, the participants listened with great interest to the reports given by the delegation of Soviet firefighters on the "Current Status and Prospects for the Development of Means of Extinguishing With Powder" and "Use of Scientific Methods of Control in Protection Against Fire." During the debate on the first topic emphasis was placed on the efforts which are being made to obtain powder that is very effective in extinguishing and recommendations were made for mutual transmission, for the purpose of testing and comparison, of samples of extinguishing powder produced in the countries represented at the conference and documentary material on methods and equipment employed to determine their qualitative features. Moreover, on the second report, recommendations were made for intensifying the study on the scientific control of prevention and extinguishing of fire and for organizing national debates on this matter (together with economic experts) so that at the next conference each country may provide the conclusions drawn.

Great interest also was aroused by the report "Unified Terms in Technically Characterizing Substances and Materials" given by the delegation of GDR firefighters. The participants in the deliberations pointed out the need for expanding the exchange of documentation on the standardization of the specialized terminology and for requesting the national standardization organizations to develop and supplement the terminology standards with the input of experts who use the notions involved in the context of international cooperation.

The participants in the Brasov conference also warmly received the announcement of the head of the Polish firefighters' delegation, colonel Tomasz Ostrovsky, regarding his country's agreement on organizing in 1982 the 15th Conference of Firefighters From Socialist Countries and the 11th International Firefighters' Contests. Equally warmly received was the announcement of the head of the Hungarian firefighters' delegation, colonel Karoly Varga, on the organization of the 1984 conference and contests in Hungary.

At the Brasov conference, in the protocol concluded on the basis of the proposals made by the participating countries, it was stated that at the next conference, which will be held in Poland, the following topics will be

developed and discussed: "Fire prevention and extinguishing in mechanized warehouses with tall stacks;" "Fire protection in museums, art galleries and historical structures;" "Fire prevention and extinguishing in major cable centers. Standards in designing and operation of cable centers. Methods for determining the combustion characteristics of electrical cables. Methods and means for extinguishing fire;" "Psychological training of firefighters for action under special conditions;" "Optimal methods for directing the action of firefighters, by using modern means of television, radio and computer technology;" "Conclusions and lessons derived from big fires."

Moreover, the conference recommended that firefighters from participating countries focus their efforts on resolving problems which will be considered in specifying the topics for the 16th meeting in 1984. The topics include: "Tactical procedures and technical methods used to ensure saving people during a fire;" "Modern trends in building and utilizing fighting machines for various types of fire;" "Research on determining fireproof substances for man-made fibers and yarn;" "Methods and substances for extinguishing light metal fires;" "Evolution of fires in light of the nature of combustible substances and their burning speed;" "Research on the prospect for using airplanes in extinguishing building fires" and so forth.

The 14th Conference of Firefighters From Socialist Countries developed in a spirit of full understanding and friendship, of solidarity and fraternal cooperation. It opened new and broad prospects for fire prevention and control and marked a significant stage in the further development of the cooperative relations among firefighters from participating countries. Moreover, the warm reception extended to the members of the delegation by minister George Homostean and by Ion Bujenaru, first vice chairman of the People's Council of Brasov Municipality, the cultural-artistic and sports events held on the Tractorul Stadium, which was the scene of the 10th International Contests of Firefighters and of the exhibit on the modern fighting technology used by Romanian firefighters, plus the visits organized in Brasov Municipality and in the adjacent areas and counties closely acquainted the guests with the accomplishments of working people in this country, the scenic beauty of Romania and the well-known hospitality of the Romanian people.

Views of Guests

Lieutenant Colonel Engr Georgi Stefanov Bozukov, head of the Bulgarian firefighters' delegation: The proceedings of the 14th Conference of firefighters From Socialist Countries in Brasov were characterized by a high scientific-technical standard. Due to the organizers' efforts, the tasks set were successfully completed. The conference pointed out the trend toward resolving the problems with which firefighters' bodies are confronted in a more profound manner and at a high scientific level, for the purpose of expanding the activity of protecting material assets. We also thank our hosts for the fact that, simultaneously with the examonation of the topics at the conference, they provided us with the opportunity for getting acquainted with fire prevention and control in the Socialist Republic of Romania. The same as in the other socialist countries, fire prevention and control in Romania has

developed considerably. Primarily noticeable is the significant involvement of citizens in fire prevention.

Moreover, we have been especially impressed with the provision of technical equipment for the Romanian firefighters, who now have ample and diversified technical facilities, such as, for instance, the turbojet. Significant also is the structuring of the interaction between the military units and civilian units of firefighters.

The conference provided us with the opportunity for discussing a number of issues and also for getting acquainted with life in firefighters' units in some towns and regions. The outstanding tidiness, the order and discipline have impressed us considerably.

All this results in high appreciation for the 14th Conference of Firefighters From Socialist Countries.

., myself, am grateful to the organizers of this conference and to Romanian firefighters who provided the conditions for discussing the major problems of prevention and control at this stage, for usefully exchanging opinions and getting to know the latest accomplishments in our area of activity.

I want to use the opportunity provided for wishing the Romanian firefighters new successes in the fight to protect the wealth of the socialist country.

Major Engr Ian Olsansky, head of the Czechoslovak firefighters' delegation: Prepared in detail, the proceedings of the conference developed on the highest level, as the proceedings of such a conference of firefighters from socialist countries ought to develop. From the outset I would like to point out that the organizers and the other agencies on our visit gave us much consideration, and we wholeheartedly thank them for this. The decisions taken at the conference must be discussed and examined by the proper bodies of each participating state. Steps must be taken so that all the proposals made at the conference may be implemented by everyone, in compliance with the conditions in the state involved.

I want to wish good health to the readers of this journal and to the Romanian firefighters, to obtain, under the leadership of the Romanian Communist Party, new achievements in fire prevention and control.

Senior Colonel So Denk Yong, head of the delegation of firefighters of the Korean People's Democratic Republic: We are grateful to the Romanian comrades for organizing the 14th Conference of Firefighters From Socialist Countries. We point out not only the conference but also the international contests in which the Romanian firefighters recorded outstanding results. The conference and the contests were valuable factors in strengthening the friendship among firefighters from our socialist countries and also involved a useful exchange of experience for working as well as possible. We shall use in the future all that we have learned here, the experience of the other socialist countries. The conference and the other events were very well organized by the Romanian comrades, who prepared a very detailed work program.

We wish the Romanian firefighters even greater successes in their work to protect the national wealth against fire.

Lieutenant Colonel Engr Rafael Pupo Santiesteban, head of the Cuban firefighters' delegation: We feel that this meeting, this conference was a positive thing. The reports given were of a very good quality. Of course, our activity has not reached the high level which was attained in the other socialist countries. That is why the discussions held at this conference will be of great use in our future activity.

The scientific and technical standard of the reports given and the proper organization provided optimal conditions for the development of the conference proceedings.

The Romanian firefighters who took part in the sports contests obtained good results. I take this opportunity to warmly congratulate them.

Colonel Herbert Pohl, head of the GDR firefighters' delegation: The participants in the 14th Conference of Firefighters From Socialist Countries thank the local bodies and the organizers of this conference, that was characterized by a high scientific standard. It was determined that the socialist countries have obtained added results in socialist construction. The firefighters in socialist countries do their share in building socialism in their countries. This was also reflected in the reports given and in the discussions held on these reports.

We have been very impressed with the progress of fire prevention and control in the Socialist Republic of Romania. We visited with several firefighters' units and noted their good provision with technical equipment for accomplishing their missions.

The conference was instrumental in strengthening the friendship and cooperation of firefighters. Therefore, we thank the organizers for the good conditions provided, forthe amity with which we were surrounded. We also thank the organizers for the opportunity created for our getting better acquainted with the people of this country and for witnessing the successes obtained in building socialism in Romania. We, all of us, are making efforts to stabilize peace and therefore we wish to obtain greater and greater successes.

In regard to the international contests, I would like to point out that the sports competitions of firefighters have helped to strengthen their fighting capacity. We have been impressed with the good results obtained by the Romanian team and wish to take this opportunity for warmly congratulating them.

We are returning home with the firm belief that the proceedings of the conference will help to upgrade the future activity of firefighters.

Again we thank for the efforts made for the success of the events in which we took part.

Colonel Engr Tomasz Ostrovsky, head of the Polish firefighters' delegation: The 14th Conference of Firefighters From Socialist Countries was very well organized. It discussed a wide range of topics on fire prevention and the methods and equipment for fire control. I wish to emphasize that this conference was prepared in detail by the organizers and this made it possible for us to survey and discuss all the topics proposed.

I am confident that the exchange of knowledge on fire prevention and control in various areas, the exchange of information and experience conducted at the conference were of great use to all participants. I also believe in the usefulness of sports competitions of firefighters from the participating countries. This kind of meeting of firefighters from socialist countries for discussions on fire prevention and control and for international sports events are organized every 2 years. Consequently, the next conference and contests will be organized in the Polish People's Republic.

Now that the conference has concluded and all of us will be going home, I wish to wholeheartedly thank the organizers for their concern with the proper preparation and development of the conference and sports events. I take this opportunity to point out the outstanding training of the Romanian firefighters and congratulate them for taking the first place in the contests.

We are very moved by the warmth of the reception, by the hospitality and attention shown to us at every step by the organizers and everyone we met on various occasions.

We take home impressions of your beautiful and rich country.

Colonel Karoly Varga: It is our view that we have attended a well prepared conference. The Romanian comrades have provided the best possible conditions for the successful development of the conference proceedings. The topics included in the agenda were well selected and meet current requirements. They involve a useful experience which all will be able to use in their own activity.

At the conference, by common consent, were specified the most topical issues which we must handle, in the context of mutual support and information. The future tasks on which we have agreed involve the need for further cooperation in the area of fire prevention, for sharing of the results obtained. As we agreed on this matter, we may firmly assert that everyone's work will improve.

We also attended contests of a high caliber and noted that each participating country made efforts to obtain best possible results. All this provides lessons for our delegation and, I believe, for the other delegations as well.

Colonel Dimitri Ivanovitch Iurchenko, head of the Soviet firefighters' delegation: The conference proceeded at a very high scientific-technical level and, consequently, was of great use to all the participating countries. This

conference discussed the problems which concern us all and devised approaches to handling them.

The delegates to the conference are pleased with its high level in terms of preparation and thank the organizers for this. We also thank them for having organized the 10th professional contests which were very interesting. Moreover, the opening and closing mass events were very impressive.

I would like to also thank the organizers for the opportunity afforded for seeing the firefighting technique and the provision with specific equipment. We thank the hosts for the opportunity afforded for visiting the splendid city of Brasov and its environs and for getting acquainted with its industrious people and the results obtained. We wish them even greater further successes.

Furthermore, we were very impressed on visiting the firefighters' units in the city of Brasov, where we noted perfect discipline, tidiness and a high level of training, both in the area of town fires and fires in industrial facilities.

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LABOR CODE APPROVED BY PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLY

Tirana GAZETA ZYRTARE in Albanian No 4, Jul 80 pp 65-92

[The Labor Code of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania; passages between slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] The Labor Code of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania

The People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania has decided:

To approve the Labor Code of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

Chapter I

/Content, Bases and Tasks of the Labor Legislation of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania/

Article 1

The Labor legislation expresses the will of the working class and of the other working masses and is an important tool of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat to regulate the social labor relations of workers and of employees, Liberated from exploitation of man by man in the enterprises, institutions and social organizations.

Article 2

Labor legislation is guided by the policy of the Albanian Workers Party and is based on the ideology of the working class, on Marxism-Leninism.

Labor legislation stems from the Constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

Article 3

Labor legislation has the task of assisting the building of socialism in the country, in accordance with the principle of relying on one's own forces, of helping in the perfecting of socialist organization of work, of stimulating the uninterrupted increase of labor productivity, the rapid development of social production and the continuing improvement of the wellbeing of the workers.

Labor legislation ensures the full implementation of the rights and tasks of workers and of employees, serves to educate them to maintain a socialist attitude toward work and socialist property and to strengthen proletarian discipline at work, in the struggle against bureaucratic and liberal manifestations.

Chapter II

/The Main Principles of Labor Legislation/

Article 4

Labor legislation adheres to the principle of the development of the class struggle in the field of socialist labor relations.

Article 5

The enterprises, institutions and social organizations, in protecting and developing socialist labor relations, execute the mass line and rely on the principle of democratic centralism, by interweaving centralized and planned management with the initiative and the creative thought of the workers and employees.

Article 6

The working class, as a leading class of the society, under the leadership of the Albanian Workers Party, exercises its direct control over the activity of institutions, of enterprises and of social organizations in the field of labor relations and of the execution of labor legislation.

Article 7

Work is at the foundation of the socialist social order and is the main source of earning a living for the workers and employees.

Article 8

Work is a duty and a right for every citizen able to work.

The state guarantees to the citizens work there where the needs of the economic and cultural development of the country require it.

Aware that only through work can socialism be built and the socialist social order strengthened, the workers and the employees work where they are assured work.

Labor legislation is permeated by the socialist principle "from each one according to his abilities, to each one according to his work."

Article 9

In particular, the state protects minors and women.

The female worker and employee, liberated from political oppression and economic exploitation, enjoys equal rights with the man in work, vacation, compensation,

social security, in all other areas associated with work, as well as other benefits specified in this Code and by special decrees.

Article 10

The state assures material means for living to the workers and employees for work disability and old age.

Article 11

The enterprises, institutions and social organizations, as well as all the workers and employees are obligated to fully honor socialists labor legislation.

Chapter III

/Trade Unions/

Article 12

The workers and employees have the right to join the Trade Unions.

The Albanian Trade Unions are political-social organizations of the working class, which voluntarily accept in their ranks workers and employees, citizens of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania who work in enterprises, institutions and social organizations. They act according to their statute.

Article 13

The Albanian Trade Unions, as schools of communism, carry out a general activity for the communist education of the workers, for the strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat, for the deepening of socialist democracy and for the moral-political unity of the workers around the Worker's Party. They take care of the educational, cultural and technical-professional development of the workers and employees, and their physical and military training, so they will be ready and able to defend the freedom and independence of the fatherland.

Article 14

The workers and the employees, organized in the Trade Unions, aware of the role of the rapid, uninterrupted, planned and harmonized development of the socialist economy, take part in the drawing up and executing of state plans. The Trade Union develop socialist competition, inspire creative thinking, study and expand progressive experience, help to expand the technical-scientific revolution, increase labor productivity and improve the quality of production.

Article 15

The Albanian Trade Unions work to increase among their members the awareness of their responsibility for their duties, to strengthen proletarian discipline, to protect socialist property, to know and execute socialist legislation.

They are concerned about the continuous improvement of the working and living conditions of the workers, the implementation of the rights of the workers and employees, and work to resolve disagreements at work.

Article 16

The Trade Unions cooperate with state organs and with other social organizations to draw the working masses in an organized manner in the economic management and administration of the country. They struggle for the participation of the workers in exercising direct worker control, under the leadership of the party, over the activity of the administration of the enterprise and of the institution for the proper functioning of their work, against manifestations of bureaucracy and liberalism.

Article 17

The Trade Unions make proposals, take active part in the discussions for the drawing up of the main draft laws which have to do with the work and life of the workers and employees, exercise control over the implementation of the decrees which regulate work relations and living conditions, and listen to the reports of the administrations of enterprises or of institutions regarding these problems.

Article 18

It is the task of state organs to listen to the opinion of the Trade Unions on the issuance of normative acts which deal directly with the job status, with work, wages, living conditions, and the state social insurance of the workers and employees.

Article 19

The administration of the enterprise, of the institution and of the organization creates for the Trade Union organs the means for the normal exercise of their activity and provides them offices and the necessary equipment, free of charge.

Trade Unions administer vacation homes for workers, employees and their dren.

Article 20

The elected organs of the Trade Unions are legal entities.

/Chapter IV/

/Employment/

Article 21

Employment takes place through an agreement between the worker or the employee and the administration of the enterprise, of the institution or social organization.

The work agreement with the workers is concluded according to the special provisions of the Council of Ministers, and for the employee after approval by the competent organs for employment.

The work relations of the workers and employees, who are elected to state organs or to social organizations, develop on the basis of the rules established by law.

Article 22

A citizen becomes eligible for employment when he reaches the age of 15.

A person is employed on the basis of profession, abilities and personal inclinations and in accordance to the needs of the society.

Article 23

The work agreement is signed for an unspecified period.

When the agreement is signed for a set period, it cannot be longer than 6 months; it is made in writing and, when necessary, it can be extended up to 3 months.

For the workers and employees who are employed on a temporary basis, special rules can be applied by provision of the Council of Ministers.

Article 24

The worker and the employee, for work which continues for a long time, can be placed on a trial basis prior to employment. The trial period can be up to 12 work days, and in special cases, up to 3 months.

When the worker or employee is employed, the trial period is calculated as work seniority.

Article 25

The worker or the employee has no right to transfer his job assignment to someone else.

Article 26

When a person is employed for the first time he receives a work card from the enterprise, institution or social organization.

Article 27

Any work agreement which contains conditions in violation of legal provisions is invalid.

When the work agreement is invalid and the worker or employee has entered the agreement in good faith, relations between the individual and the administration of the enterprise, institution or social organization are regulated on the basis of the provisions of this Code.

/Chapter V/

/Work and Vacation Time/

Article 28

The normal work time for workers or employees is 8 hours a day.

For workers or employees who work in difficult jobs or those harmful to health, and for some categories of workers who besides their main job, are also involved in creative scientific, literary, artistic and sports activities, a shorter work time, without reduction in pay, is set by decision of the Council of Ministers.

For minors under 16 years of age, work time cannot exceed 6 hours a day.

Article 29

For night shift work between 2200 hours and 0600 hours, work time is reduced by one hour without reduction in pay.

For work or services when the job is carried out without interruption for 24 hours, night work time is the same as for day work time, but in this case the worker or employee receives overtime pay for one hour.

Article 30

For some week-days a longer work time can be set, and for other days a shorter, but on condition that the weekly norm of work hours is not exceeded. Moreover, the normal work time for some seasonal jobs may be extended, with a proportional increase of payment.

The extension of the normal work time can also be set for workers and employees who are paid state wages for work in agricultural cooperatives and in social and cultural institutions in the village.

The types of these jobs stipulated by decision of the Council of Ministers.

Article 31

In special cases, for essential needs of work, the worker, on written request by the administration and with his own assent, may work overtime.

Overtime work is that which is carried out in the same enterprise, institution or organization before or after normal work time, or in excess of the weekly or monthly norm of work hours.

For seasonal work, overtime work is that which is completed beyond the limit of the extended work time.

The work of employees, and workers, which because of its nature, cannot be completed within the established time is not considered to be overtime. The types of these jobs are stipulated by provisions of the Council of Ministers.

Article 32

Overtime is allowed when:

1) work is carried out which is necessary for the defense of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, or to help overcome various calamities;

2) it is necessary to complete a job which has been begun and, which, because of unforeseen delays or due to circumstances, caused by the technical conditions of production, could not be completed within the normal work time, and the interruption of the job may cause harm to material or machinery;

3) it becomes necessary to take measures to protect socialist property from damages which may be caused by natural phenomena or other things;

4) temporary operations are carried out for the repair or reconstruction of machines, installations or work sites, if the failure to execute them on time creates work shutdowns for a large number of workers.

5) large and pressing seasonal jobs must be completed and there is a lack of workers or the number of workers cannot be increased due to technical reasons;

6) there is an essential need to execute loading and unloading work, to empty warehouses and to transport the goods, so the means of transportation will not be idle;

7) Essential works are carried out for the replacement of the water supplies, electricity, the sewer system, transportation and the telephone and telegraphic lines.

The total amount of overtime hours cannot exceed 180 hours per year for every worker.

Article 33

Pregnant women or women with infants up to one year of age, minors who have not reached the age of 16 and the workers with medical problems are not allowed to work between 2200 hours and 0600 hours and past the normal work period.

Article 34

A female worker or employee with children up to the age of 9 months, receives every 3 hours after breast-feeding, a rest period of no less than half an hour to feed the child. This rest period is calculated in the work time.

Article 35

The worker or the employee has one day off per week, as well as on official holidays.

The worker or the employee who has worked during the weekly day off or during official holidays, gets a day off during the week, and on special occasions,

with his approval, these days may be used consecutively within the month. In the foreign maritime transportation service, the weeks' days off may be used successively, as a rule, within 3 months.

The worker who is assigned to work during an official holiday which does not coincide with the week's day off, and, with his approval, does not get another day off, receives normal pay.

Article 36

The weekly rest period for the worker or the employee extends without interruption for no less than 36 hours, with the exception of shift work, when it cannot be less than 24 hours.

Article 37

The worker or the employee receives an annual leave of 12 working days.

Annual leave is used within the calendar year and, in special cases, no later than the end of the first quarter of the following year. Within the context of annual leave, the time of temporary work disability is also calculated in the work time.

Minors who have not reached the age of 16, receive 24 working days.

Supplementary leave is also given in addition to annual leave. The length of this leave and the categories of the workers or employees who receive this leave is determined by decree of the Council of Ministers. When the worker or the employee is eligible for supplementary leave for one or more reasons, he enjoys only the more favorable leave.

Article 38

The worker or employee, who is concerned with scientific, sports or artistic-amateur activities, receives special annual leave with pay.

This leave is not calculated against the normal or supplementary leave. Its length of time and the criteria are determined by decision of the Council of Ministers.

Article 39

The worker or white collar worker who gets married, or the one who has a death in his family, receives special leave of up to 5 days.

Article 40

The enterprise, institution or social organization, when it considers as legitimate the request of the worker or of the employee to stay away from work, and when this does not cause any harm to the work, it may provide leave without pay for up to 12 work days per year.

The criteria and length of this leave are determined by the Council of Ministers.

Article 41

The female worker or employee, in cases of pregnancy and childbirth, receives, leave with pay for from 12 to 15 weeks, according to the provisions of state social insurance.

The woman who has used up maternity leave without being able to find a nursery for the child, may receive unpaid leave for up to 3 months.

The female worker or employee, who has children up to the age of 3, may receive unpaid leave up to 3 months per year.

The length of unpaid leave is calculated by the work seniority for state social insurance purposes.

Article 42

When the worker or employee misses work due to occupation with state or social tasks or due to annual, supplementary or sick leave, the enterprise, the institution or social organization has the right to employ another person on a temporary basis as a worker or employee, until the person replaced returns to work.

Chapter VI

/Wages, Salary Increases and Compensations/

Article 43

The worker or white collar worker is paid according to the quantity and quality of work completed.

Equal pay is given for equal work, regardless of sex, race, nationality and age.

In setting wages, the state is concerned that the wages of employees are in correct proportion to those of the workers in order not to allow great differences in the level of income and in the way of living and in order not to allow the creation of some privileged stratum.

The state harmonizes the correct use of moral and material incentives, by giving priority to moral incentives, so that the worker or employee is stimulated for highest achievements possible in work.

Article 44

The state, on the basis of the achievements in the field of narrowing down differences between mental and physical work, between work in industry and work in agriculture, between skilled work and simple work, is also concerned about narrowing down the respective differences in wages, without permitting equalitarianism and by maintaining the interest of the workers in improving their skills and increasing labor productivity.

The wage is set on the basis of the level achieved in the development of the socialist order, of socialist production and labor productivity and on the basis of the fulfillment of the needs necessary for living, by maintaining a correct proportion between personal work and work for society, between the personal consumption fund and the social consumption fund.

Article 45

The worker or employee is compensated on the basis of the work measured and verified in terms of quantity and quality, and according to work and production norms, or on the basis of the effective time of completed work and of the category of the work process or place of work. In special cases, in the apportionment of work compensation, the level of skills of the worker or employee is taken into consideration.

Article 46

The work norms are set in accordance with work conditions, with the technical and technological level, and the organization of production.

The work norms can be reexamined when changes have taken place in work organization and conditions, in techniques and technology, which influence labor productivity. They may be reexamined also when it is noticed that mistakes have been made in their calculation and establishment.

The rules for the establishment of norms and for their types, the period and the procedure for reexamination and approval are decided by the Council of Ministers.

The setting and changing of work norms is done only following their discussion with the workers and after listening to their opinions.

The workers are notified about the new work norms at least 12 days before they go into effect.

Article 47

The categorization of work processes and work places are approved by the ministries and other central institutions, by taking into consideration the level of complexity of the work, the preciseness which it requires and its responsibility, work hazards and the difficulties encountered in doing the work.

Article 48

The worker or employee under the age of 16, in addition to the payment for the completed work, also receives overtime pay equal to two hours of work per day, which is given according to the level of categorization.

Article 49

For the workers or employees of some branches, by special provisions of the Council of Ministers, pay or compensation increases can be set for seniority in work, difficult work and work places.

Article 50

The worker and employee is compensated for the annual leave time on the basis of the average wage of the preceding year, which he receives prior to commencement of leave.

Article 51

The worker receives overtime pay for each case of overtime work in the amount of 25 percent above the base salary for the category of the work process or work place.

Article 52

During the period of trial work the worker or employee is paid according to work completed.

Article 53

The worker or employee is not paid when he is not working because of work stoppage caused by him.

When work interruption occurs due to no fault of the worker, and the administration of the enterprise, of the institution or social organization does not provide him with other work, the worker along with the administrative, engineering-technical and economic management personnel who have caused work interruption or have not provided other work, receive half pay for the period of the interruption.

Persons who work in the highest organs also receive half pay when work has been interrupted due to their fault.

Article 54

Some 50 percent of the pay of the person who is guilty of work stoppage, is withheld by order of the manager of the enterprise, institution or social organization.

Appeal can be made against the order to withhold wages within ten days from the date of notification, to the immediately higher organ.

When work interruption occurs due to the fault of the manager of the enterprise, institution or social organization or due to the fault of other persons in the highest organs, wages in the amount of 50 percent are set, according to the case, by decision of the chairman of the executive committee of the district people's council, or by decision of the minister or manager of another central institution. The order in this case is irrevocable.

Article 55

It is considered to be work interruption when the worker or employee is forced not to work for the following reasons:

a) atmospheric conditions;

b) lack of raw materials, other materials, work tools and electric energy;

c) breakdown of machinery, equipment and other work tools.

d) interruption of work due to failure to observe regulations on technical and hygiene and health safety.

Article 56

When the production, construction or service is totally useless, the guilty worker or employee receives no payment and is obligated to make restitution.

When production, construction or service is partially useless (the quality does not meet set conditions) due to the fault of the worker or employee, reduced wages are given for the time spent on the production, construction or services, which cannot exceed half of that established in the wage scale.

The amount of wages is decided by the enterprise, institution or social organization in proportion to the value of wasted production, which is assessed according to the instructions of the ministry of other respective central institutions, not exceeding half of the wage.

Article 57

The worker or employee receives payment for the time which he has remained unjustly unemployed, but no longer than for one month, and when he leaves work for reasons of penal responsibilities and the case is decided to be closed or he is found to be innocent, payment is received for the entire period of unemployment.

Article 58

The worker or employee is paid by the enterprise, institution or social organization in which he works when he:

a) participates in the meetings of the People's Assembly or in the people's councils in the capacity of the people's representative;

b) performs the duty of assistant judge, is summoned as a witness or as an expert by the court or the organs of investigation;

c) takes part as a delegate in congresses, conferences and plenums;

d) is summoned by the military commands or offices for control or for military educational training (the worker or employee, when called for military training, receives 3/4 of his wage);

e) or when provided for in the provisions of the Council of Ministers.

Article 59

The wages of the worker and employee and any other compensation due to him for completed work are untouchable. Exception is made for the return of advance-pay, of overpayment, or if called for by law.

The total sum of withholdings cannot exceed 50 percent of the wage of the worker or employee; withholding continues until the entire sum is repaid.

Article 60

Withholdings for the return of wages, increases and compensation above the set wage, may be carried out no later than three years from the date of their payment, and for advance pay, from the day decided for their return.

Article 61

Wages and every other compensation due the worker or white collar work for his work, may be demanded within the three years from the day of eligibility.

/Chapter VII/

/The training of workers and employees/

Article 62

The state is concerned about the continuous raising of the ideopolitical, educational, cultural and technical level of the workers and employees.

The training of the workers or employees and the continual improvement of their skills is carried out in accordance with the demands presented by the growth of social production on the basis of the uninterrupted deepening of the technical-scientific revolution, and in accordance with their participation in the management of the economy and in governing the country.

Article 63

For the training of young workers, and for teaching skills and specialized knowledge to workers and technical-administrative workers and employees, the following forms are used in addition to the schools of the educational system;

a) lower technical-vocational schools for the training of young workers on the basis of eight-year education with a fixed profile;

b) courses on the basis of eight-year and middle education for the training of young workers who are not engaged in work;

c) courses on the basis of eight-year and middle education to raise the level of skills, for specialization and to teach second professions to the technical-administrative workers and employees who are engaged in work;

ch) courses and other forms for teaching skills and specialized knowledge to workers who have completed higher education;

d) school children in the economy who are being trained for ordinary professions and simple jobs in special branches of production, construction and services.

Article 64

The skill-training and specialization of workers or employees, is organized, as a rule, without separation from work. In special cases, when it is necessary, training is also organized with separation from work, according to special provisions.

Article 65

The administration of the enterprise, of the institution or of the social organization creates for the workers and employees proper conditions to attend various schools without separation from work as well as the forms for their further skill-training and specialization, according to special provisions.

Article 66

The worker or employee who continues school without separation from work has the right to paid leave, the length of which is set by decision of the Council of Ministers.

Article 67

The right which the workers or employees enjoy according to article 66 of this Code, also benefit those workers and employees who have completed the general middle school and, when the needs of the enterprise, of the institution or social organization require it, follow courses without separation from work in order to acquire professional education.

Article 68

The worker or employee who has been absent from school without explanation or who has not participated in consultations or in laboratory work, who has not taken examinations or has missed seminars and who has profited from easy conditions, receives no pay compensation for that particular period. The order is the executive title.

The worker or employee who repeats a year, enjoys only one leave for examinations, but with the right of pay.

Article 69

The worker or employee, who pursues courses with separation from work for further skill-training specialization, for raising his ideological and professional level and for acquiring a second profession, for the time separated from work enjoys the right to pay in the amount decided by the provisions of the Council of Ministers. The wages of the school-children in the economy are regulated in the same manner.

Article 70

The criteria and the rules of procedure to evaluate the skill-training of workers, and to acquire scientific grades and titles, are decided by special provisions.

/Chapter VII/

/Work Safety/

Article 71

The state is concerned about and takes measures for work safety, so that the worker or employee can work in normal conditions and without risks to his life and health.

Article 72

The mines, plants, factories, loading sites and the construction projects, as well as their branches and sectors, are designed, built, re-built and utilized according to the rules of technical safety, and health and work hygiene rules.

The putting into operation of the machines, equipment and mechanisms is permitted only after receiving approval from the respective inspectorate, and when they have been equipped with safety means.

Article 73

The administration of the enterprise, of the institution or of the social organization is obliged to provide the workers and employees with normal technical and hygenic conditions for work, in compliance with the requirements and rules for work safety established by the ministries and by other central institutions.

The administration is obliged to explain, prior to work commencement and continually, to the workers and employees the rules of technical safety to avoid hazards at work, to protect health, and all the other rules which have to do with work safety.

Article 74

In enterprises, institutions and social organizations social-cultural projects are set up to serve workers and employees.

Article 75

Any worker or employee who has not reached the age of 18, and anyone who works in heavy jobs or in places which are potentially harmful to life and health, is hired to work after taking a medical examination, which is repeated according to the rules established by the Ministry of Health.

Article 76

The female worker, the minor has not reached the age of 18, and the worker with a medical problem, is not allowed to work underground or in heavy jobs, harmful to health, which are specified in the rules and recommendations for technical safety and work hygiene.

Article 77

The worker or employee who works in work processes which are potentially harmful to life and health, or when clothing is quickly damaged or contaminated, receives gratis from the enterprise, institution or social organization safety devices, special clothing, antidotes, polyvalent and supplementary foods, soap, and when required by the conditions of social hygiene, work clothes too, according to the criteria set by the Council of Ministers, after receiving the opinion of the Central Council of Trade Unions.

Article 78

The administration of the enterprise, of the institution or social organization is obliged to hire and to place in a suitable job, within the plan of the approved number of workers, the disabled and workers with medical problems, and take measures for their rehabilitation.

Article 79

State control over the implementation of the provisions of this Code, of the ordinances, decisions and recommendations concerning the issues related to working conditions, to the length of work and of leave, and to work safety, is exercised by the respective inspectorates, by the organs of state social insurance and by the other state organs, the rights and the tasks of which are determined by special provisions.

/Chapter IX/

/Work discipline/

Article 80

The administration of the enterprise, of the institution or social organization is obliged: to take measures for the fulfillment of the state plan, for the protection and correct administration of socialist property, for the fulfillment of tasks in the field of defense, for the socialist organization of work, for the education of the workers and of employees and to raise their level of skills, for the strengthening of work discipline, of the rules of technical safety and of hygiene at work, for knowing, strengthening and implementing socialist legislation, as well as to solve the demands and the complaints of the workers and employees.

Article 81

The worker and employee is obligated to work with a high socialist awareness, to fulfill the plan tasks, to produce goods, or to execute constructions and services with high quality, to protect socialist property, to conserve raw materials and other materials, to raise the ideopolitical level and the technical-professional capabilities, to carry out the tasks for the defense of the country, to respect the rules of work safety, to implement accurately the laws, decisions, orders, recommendations and the demands of proletarian discipline at work.

Article 82

The worker, employee or working collective, who works with a high awareness for the fulfillment and over-fulfillment of the plan tasks in quantity, quality, types and assortments, for the increase of labor productivity, for reduction in cost, for the protection of socialist property, for implementing the new elements of science and technology, for inventions and rationalizations, is honored, according to special provisions, with various moral and material incentives, with priority being given to the moral incentives.

Article 83

The worker or employee, for the non-fulfillment of set tasks, as well as for acts committed at work which harm the moral-political standing, is first of all, criticized and helped by the collective; but, when necessary, the administration of the enterprise, of the institution or social organization takes against that person the following measures with an educational character:

a) advising;

b) pointing out;

c) warning;

ch) demotion at work or assignment to a job with less pay for up to six months in the same enterprise, institution and social organization, or in special cases, in another enterprise, institution or social organization within the district, through the executive committee;

d) dismissal from work, according to letters "dh," "e," and "ee" of article 98 of this Code.

Article 84

In selecting the disciplinary measure of an educational character, the degree of violation of discipline, the circumstances under which this has been violated, the former behavior of the worker or employee and, the attitude toward work and society are taken into consideration. The disciplinary measures, as a rule, range from light to heavy; in special cases they may be taken without following the order set in article 83 of this Code.

Article 85

The disciplinary measures of an educational character, which are called for in the letters "a," "b," and "c" of article 83, are taken by the manager of the enterprise, of the institution or social organization, of the factory, of the sector, of the department, as well as by their highest organs, whereas those which are called for in letters "ch" and "d" are taken only by the competent organ for work placement.

The disciplinary measures of an educational character are given within one month of the day of the discovery of the violation and not later than a year from the

day it was committed. They cannot be given prior to listening to the worker or employee, against whom the measure will be taken.

Article 86

The disciplinary measures of an educational character, with the exception of those called for in letters "ch" and "d" of article 83 of this Code, are invalidated if within one year from the day they have been issued against the worker or employee no other disciplinary measure has been taken.

The measure may be retracted earlier by the organ which has issued it, on request of the person concerned or on proposal of the basic organization of the Trade Unions and when it is considered that the worker or employee has improved.

/Chapter X/

/Material Responsibility/

Article 87

The worker or employee who during the execution of his job intentionally or unintentionally causes material damage to the enterprise, the institution or social organization where he works, is obligated to make restitution for the actual damage.

When the damage has been caused by several workers or employees, indemnity is charged according to the degree of each one's fault.

Article 88

The management-administrative, engineering-technical and economic personnel are materially responsible, up to one month's salary for all damage caused during work by the other employees who are under their direction, if these damages or violations of plan discipline and financial discipline have occurred due to their fault in management activity.

The criteria and the cases of this responsibility are established by decision of the Council of Ministers.

Article 89

Indemnities are decided, according to the case, by order of the manager of the enterprise, institution, organization, factory, sector, work site or also by other organizational units with their own financial assets. When the damage has been caused by the managers themselves, or when the damage is discovered by the financial control and auditing organs of the executive committee of the district people's council, of the ministry or of another central institution, indemnities are decided, according to the case, by order of the chairman of the executive committee of the district people's council, or by order of the minister or of the manager of the other central institution. These same organs order indemnity even when the damage has been caused by the manager together with his subordinates.

Article 90

The setting of indemnity is done within 6 months from the day of the discovery of the damage, but not later than three years from the date on which it occurred.

Indemnity cannot be fixed without first hearing the worker or the employee who has caused the damage.

When indemnity cannot be implemented because of the passing of these deadlines, the guilty person who has failed to meet the deadline becomes materially responsible.

For acceptable reasons, the organ which examines the complaint against the indemnity order can reestablish it with a new deadline.

Article 91

The indemnity accepted by the worker or employee is deducted from the wages and other incomes according to the provisions on deductions of income.

Article 92

When the worker or employee is penally punished for the damage which he has caused to the enterprise, institution, or social organization, indemnity is decided by the court.

When it is decided to close the penal case initiated or innocence is established, indemnity is set by the enterprise, institution or social organization within 6 months from the day of the notification of the decision.

Article 93

In special cases, by taking into consideration the circumstances under which the damage has been caused and the personal conditions of the worker or employee, indemnity can be reduced to 50 percent of the value of the damage caused.

/Chapter XI/

/Transfer and separation from work/

Article 94

The employee or the worker with low, average or high skills, when it is necessary may transfer, according to his profession, to another enterprise, institution or social organization, regardless of location.

The transfer within the district or within the enterprise, institution or social organization is done, by decision of the executive committee of the district people's council or of the administration of the enterprise respectively, and. outside the district, by decision of the minister or of the managers of the other central institution.

Article 95

The worker or employee, when there has been work interruption or for reasons of production, may be transferred temporarily to another job by the manager of the enterprise, of the institution or of the social organization.

Article 96

The enterprise, institution or social organization is obliged to transfer the worker or employee to a more suitable job within the same enterprise, institution or social organization, if, because of sickness (or for women, because of pregnancy) he or she is unable to carry out the former job, for as long a period as stated in the medical report.

The enterprise, institution or social organization, when there is a lack of suitable places compatible with the health condition of the worker or employee, is obligated to place him in a suitable job in another enterprise, institution or social organization, in the same place, through the executive committee of the district people's council.

Article 97

The worker or employee, when there are justified reasons and when he considers that leaving his work does not hurt the interests of the enterprise, institution or social organization, may leave his job by giving a 15 days notice.

The enterprise, institution or social organization, when it considers that the departure of the worker or employee hurts the work, may lengthen the time that he remains on the job up to 30 days for the worker with low skills and up to three months for the worker with simple, average and high skills, and also for the employee.

Article 98

The administration of the enterprise, of the institution or of the social organization has the right to suspend the worker or employee from work when:

a) he has achieved the right to a full old-age pension;

b) he is unable to perform the work or assigned task;

c) the enterprise, institution or social organization is dissolved, a reduction takes place in the staff's personnel or in the number of workers, or there is interruption in work;

ch) conditions are lacking for completing the work or the assigned task;

d) he has been employed in violation of the legal provisions;

dh) he violates work discipline repeatedly and seriously;

e) he damages socialist property seriously or in a repeated manner;

ee) he commits a penal act in connection with his job, and this is proven by clear decision of the court, or sentences with loss of freedom for longer than two months, or a measure of internment or expulsion has been taken against him;

f) according to the decision of the respective organ he must be replaced by another worker or white collar worker who first had this job, but who quit without authorization.

g) he does not return to work before 6 months from the date that he has become temporarily disabled for work.

In the cases specified in letters "b," "c," and "ch" of this article, the worker or employee cannot leave his job without being placed in another job.

In the cases specified in letter "f" the worker or employee is given a 15 day notification.

Article 99

When the worker or employee is on normal, supplementary or health leave, the enterprise, institution or social organization cannot suspend him from work, with exception of cases when he is punished for a penal act with loss of freedom.

The work place is kept for the worker or employee in cases when disciplinary measures are taken against him according to the letter "ch" of Article 83 of this Code.

/Chapter XII/

/Settling of Disagreements/

Article 100

In regard to disagreements which arise between him and the administration of the enterprise, of the institution or social organization, when it has not been possible to solve them directly between them, the worker or employee has the right to appeal to the trade committee of the basic-organization of the Trade Unions of his work center.

The appeal is made within 10 days from the day of the notification of the decision of the administration, and the trade committee of the basic-organization of the Trade Unions must examine the appeal within 10 days from the date of its presentation.

Article 101

The worker or employee, when he does not accept the decision of the trade committee of the basic-organization of the Trade Unions, may appeal himself to the district court within 10 days from the issuing of this decision.

When the manager of the enterprise, of the institution or of the social organization does not accept the decision of the trade committee, he is obligated to notify the worker or the employee in writing within 3 days. In these cases too, the worker or employee can appeal to the court within 10 days from receiving this notification.

For the disciplinary measures of an educational character which are called for in letters "a," "b," "c," and "ch" of article 83 of this Code, the decision of the professional committee is final.

An appeal made within the deadline in the case stipulated by letter "ch" of article 83 of this Code, cancels the execution of the decision.

Article 102

The trade committee and the district court may examine the appeal presented by the worker or employee even after the deadlines set in articles 100, 101, under circumstances which are considered legal.

/Chapter XIII/

/Final provisions/

Article 103

With the coming into force of this Code, the Law No 4170, of 12 September 1966, "the Labor Code of the People's Republic of Albania," as well as any other provision which comes in contradiction with this Code, is abrogated.

Article 104

This Code comes into force on 1 October 1980.

Tirana, 28 June 1980

Law No 6200

Secretary of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania
Xhafer Spahiu

Chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania
Xaxhi Lleshi

5112
CSO: 2100

GREATER EFFORTS REQUIRED TO COMBAT 'UNCULTURED' ACTS OF STUDENTS

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 30 Sep 80 p 1

[Article: "A Continuing Duty of the School"]

[Excerpts] The revolutionary education of the youth is a continuing process. The party constantly tells us that we must keep our youth pure and always educate them in the revolutionary spirit, with a relentless attitude toward foreign traces and manifestations. Our society reacts in a critical manner not only when it comes across unsuitable, foreign manifestations in the attitude toward work and property, in life styles, in attitudes, in appearance and in artistic tastes, but also when it comes across cases of a liberal attitude toward these things.

The bases of the multilateral communist education of the younger generation are laid, in an organized and programmed manner, at a very early age in the kindergartens and, especially, in the 8-year school. This education continues in the intermediate and higher schools, inside and outside the classrooms. The perfection of all activity in this field requires that the cases of narrow concepts of educational work in the schools be strongly combatted, attitudes which restrict this activity to one or two class hours a week or to some special educational activities. As a result of such a weak understanding and inadequately developed activity in the entire educational and teaching process, some pupils in schools in Berat, Shkoder, Tirana, Vlore and other districts have manifested foreign attitudes, especially in the areas of the damage and abuse of state and cooperative property, as well as uncultured behavior in regard to adults and have committed uncultured acts, etc. The pupils who have acted in this way are mainly those who have repeated grades, who have had poor attendance and poor progress, who have dropped out of school, etc. This shows the need for the further improvement of the work of the school in the entire teaching and educational process.

The teacher plays an important role with his personality and his role as an educator. The multilateral education of the teacher, his intellectual world, his moral figure, scientific training, culture and speech, his use of the language and his ethics, and his appearance are of special importance for the children. The further improvement of work in this field requires a closer and more specialized cooperation of the school with the family,

without the globalism and formalism which are manifested in some cases. A broader activity is required on the part of the cultural front so that social, pedagogical and psychological studies are undertaken and the quality of publications, broadcasts, newspaper columns and artistic events is improved in order to put the scientific work for the moral and civic education of our younger generation on scientific bases.

CSO: 2100

BACKWARD RELIGIOUS, FAMILY CUSTOMS PERSIST IN KRUJE

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 24 Sep 80 p 2

[Article: "In the Struggle Against Old Customs, New Socialist Norms Are Affirmed"]

[Excerpts] In Kruje District, we still meet traces of the customs and prejudices of the past. In the village areas there are various instances and forms of backward customs in life styles, in regard to food, in regard to heavy clothing for women, in personal hygiene, etc. Instances of this type appear especially in the mountainous areas of Kruje and in Ndoje, Gallate and other localities. In some cases, attention is given to furnishing and supplying with beds only the homes of friends and not the homes of family members.

Backward customs are often linked to religious prejudices. The organizations of the Democratic Front where such cases have appeared have done and are still doing work on an individual basis with those who have such prejudices, explaining the emptiness and danger of their beliefs. Good work has been done in replacing religious feasts with new popular socialist festivals, such as the Liberation Day, 1 May, and New Year festivals, the festival for the liberation of the district, etc. There has been noticeable progress in the area of marriage relations, in the further democratization of the family, etc. However, there are still, here and there, foreign manifestations which are remnants of backward customs. They are an obstacle to the contracting of marriages on the basis of the young people's knowing each other.

CSO: 2100

BRIEFS

NEW DEPUTY MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE--Recently appointed deputy minister of agriculture, Dr Janos Eleki was born in 1939. He has been a party member since 1967. He holds a degree in agricultural engineering with a specialty in seed management. He has worked as a member of an agricultural cooperative, as chief agronomist and as TSZ head. He was elected to this position in 1978. His 20 years of practical experience are combined with 15 years in managerial positions. He was organizer of the foreign trade association known as Hungaroseed. He has held various jobs at the council and county level. In the course of his county work he served on economic policy committee of the county party committee. This year he was elected National Assembly representative. In his new assignment Dr Eleki will be responsible primarily for tasks related to agricultural production, organization and technical development. [Budapest MAGYAR MEZOGAZDASAG in Hungarian No 42, 15 Oct 80 p 2]

CSO: 2500

FOREIGN MINISTRY OFFICIAL INTERVIEWED ON POLAND'S FOREIGN POLICY

Warsaw WALKA MLODYCH in Polish No 33-34, 17-24 Aug 80, pp 5, 10

[Interview with First Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs Jozef Czyrek, by Ludwik Luzynski; date and place not given]

[Text] [Question] With the beginning of the 1980's we have entered a difficult phase in international politics. During the final years of the preceding decade, phenomena and tendencies existed which were at odds with international security and detente. The decisions of NATO in the field of armaments, particularly with relation to the constant increases in military budgets and the introduction of medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe, and the reaching out across a broader area for an economic weapon have had repercussions on the atmosphere of international relations. Nevertheless, the efforts of socialist countries, including Poland, aimed at reversing these unfavorable trends have continued unabated in this difficult period for peace. Comrade Minister, can you characterize these efforts?

[Answer] Indeed, the efforts of socialist countries, including Poland, aimed at reversing unfavorable tendencies in the development of the international situation have continued unabated. These efforts have been undertaken both on a bilateral and on a multilateral plane.

Among these multilateral efforts should be numbered, above all, a meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of Warsaw Pact nations in our capital. At this anniversary meeting an accounting of 25 years of the work of our alliance was given. This accounting may be briefly characterized as the guarantee of security and peace on our continent through this period.

Of principal significance was the designation of the directions we must travel to reduce international tension and to solve the resounding problems of the international situation. The Political Consultative Committee has developed such programs as a common line of States-Sides policy of the Warsaw Pact.

In characterizing this program, I would like to note the importance of the corroboration by socialist countries of a course for strengthening peaceful coexistence both in Europe and throughout the world.

This represents the affirmation of the most important task of the present era--protecting humanity from a stage in the armaments race, which is even more

threatening in military and economic terms, by means of political and military detente and the building of confidence.

A significant initiative in this area for our continent has been the presentation of a proposal concerning the convocation of a conference on military detente and disarmament in Europe, and the outlining of the contents of the first stage of such a conference devoted to confidence-building measures.

Alongside the multilateral efforts, bilateral efforts were very significant (although certain ones went beyond that framework). I would include among those efforts the meeting in Wilanow of Leonid Brezhnev and President Valery Giscard d'Estaing with the participation of the first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee Edward Gierek. This meeting represented the initiation of a dialogue at the highest level between representatives of East and West, and by the same token represented the affirmation of a policy of international relations which favors resolution of problems by means of discussion, contacts and negotiations, and which opposes the policy of escalation of tensions, of armaments and of the various so-called means of retaliation. For this very reason international public opinion has attached such great importance to the meeting.

Without a doubt, the contacts which took place in Vienna in conjunction with the anniversary of the signing of the state treaty with Austria should also be included in this series of meetings. I mean, above all, the first meeting in a long time of representatives of the Soviet Union and the United States, i. e., Minister Andrey Gromyko and Secretary of State Edmund Muskie. Very important contacts among heads of state also came about in Belgrade on the occasion of the funeral ceremonies of Marshall Tito. Among these contacts was the meeting of the first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee with FRG Chancellor H. Schmidt, among others. These contacts also include the visit of Chancellor Schmidt to Moscow, in the course of which Leonid Brezhnev introduced new initiatives and a new impetus towards avoiding the danger of so-called Eurostrategic armaments. As we know, Brezhnev's proposals received much attention on our continent. The appropriateness, importance and timeliness of these proposals is attested to by the fact that the U. S. Government expressed its readiness in principle to take up this initiative and begin discussions with the Soviet Union.

[Question] Certainly, indications of a developing dialogue must be seen as a positive sign for the atmosphere of international relations. Thus we may hope that this process will have a favorable effect on the meeting in Madrid, which is devoted to a discussion of the situation in the context of the Final Act of Helsinki, which was signed exactly 5 years ago.

[Answer] The meeting in Madrid should be as autonomous a meeting as possible with regard to the order of the day, work procedure and the like. However, with regard to the content and atmosphere of the meeting, the Final Act and the situation on our continent will certainly have an effect on the course of the Madrid meeting itself. In any event, at this point there is a clear consensus that the Madrid meeting should be held at the appointed time and that the topics under discussion should be consistent with the spirit and determinations of the CSCE Final Act. It should be concerned with equalizing all of the "baskets" of the Final Act as much as possible and should not deal selectively with only certain subjects, as was the case in Belgrade. Finally--and this is most important--it should bring about positive results and incentives for detente in Europe.

[Question] Does this consistency refer to the detailed discussions of subjects as well?

[Answer] With regard to the contents of the meeting in detail, it is possible that several countries will make use of the topic of the so-called evaluation of the status quo of the implementation of the Final Act, or of certain international occurrences to attempt to present issues in the course of deliberations which are not only of a controversial, but even of a confrontational nature. However, the decisive majority of states, as indicated both in our discussions with them and in the many consultations which we have had recently (including the visit of Premier Babiuch in Vienna, of the Norwegian and Danish ministers of foreign affairs in Poland, of our minister in Paris and the Netherlands, and consultations with the UK, Spain, Italy and the FRG) is opposed to encumbering the Madrid meeting with topics and problems which could threaten the course of the meeting and hamper the process of European dialogue and detente.

The passage of a mandate by the Madrid meeting concerning a conference on military detente and disarmament in Europe would have special significance for Poland and the issue of detente. Such a mandate could apply both to the convocation of the conference itself as well as to the setting in motion of preparations for the conference.

Conversations with our partners in the West have shown that most of these states appreciate the importance of and the need for the passage of such a mandate at the Madrid meeting. Many of these nations share our view that the inception of the process of military detente and disarmament can be an act as important on a military plane as the decision concerning the creation of the CSCE was on a political plane. To put it concisely, what would occur here could routinely be called complementing political detente with military detente. In any event it would be the inception of a process which would be in complete accord with the feeling of community of interests of European security and would have a decisive significance in lending a universal and irreversible quality to the processes of detente.

[Question] From what you say, Comrade Minister, it is understood that the majority of European states accepts the idea of calling a European conference on detente and military disarmament in Warsaw. I would like to ask you, however, whether the initial conditions on which the states of Western Europe base the setting in motion of this conference have been manifested in conversations and consultations?

[Answer] I do not think the phrase "initial conditions" is appropriate here, although some states have expressed specific requests with reference to such a conference. These include, e. g., the definition of the territorial range of the first stage of the conference which is to be devoted to donfidence building measures.

As is known, both the proposal of socialist countries with regard to such a conference and the proposals of France concerning a European disarmament conference have projected two stages. The first stage is to be devoted to confidence building measures on our continent. The second stage is to be devoted to concrete steps in disarmament, i. e., reducing the human potentials and armaments arsenals connected to these potentials.

[Question] What is involved in the confidence building measures? Why are they so important for ideas of disarmament?

[Answer] In the most general sense confidence building measures are those steps taken to strengthen a sense of security, although they do not comprise a reduction in armed forces and armaments. They are measures of a political nature or a political-legal nature, such as for example, the idea of concluding an agreement not to be the first to strike with atomic weapons, or the idea of concluding an agreement relinquishing the use of force and the threat of its use in international relations. They are also such measures as, for example, being informed of the movement of troops in general or within a specified zone, or being informed beforehand of maneuvers and the number of troops participating in these maneuvers. We also number among these measures several national, and not only national, measures of observation or control, as for example the possibility of inviting representatives of foreign nations for maneuvers in the role of observers, as provided for by the CSCE Final Act in Helsinki. This is an important, already tested method of mutual information and strengthening of confidence that no unfriendly steps of a military nature will result from a given operation.

I am of the opinion that even these confidence building measures given as examples convey the idea that, at least at a certain stage, until a lower ceiling of armed forces and armaments is achieved, they can indeed lead to the strengthening of confidence, to reinforcing the feeling of security and in this way they can bring about the establishment of premises for the second very complex stage, the reduction of armed forces and of armaments.

[Question] I propose that we return to the subject.

[Answer] Yes, the second matter relates to the voluntary or the obligatory character of duties in the area of confidence building measures and control. The Final Act of Helsinki was based on the voluntary character of states' obligations. On the other hand, the NATO states advance the idea of the obligatory character of these measures. It seems to us that what is most important is that these measures be effective. Thus, one of the basic premises of the effectiveness of these measures is the voluntary assumption by states of the obligations connected with their observance and application. In other words, we would favor the voluntary character of obligations as more effective and conforming to the letter and spirit of the CSCE Final Act.

In summary it may be stated that the idea of calling a European conference on military detente and disarmament may be approved by the Madrid conference, or a mandate may be passed to make preparations for such a conference and to convene it. I would like to supplement this by saying that several countries have advanced the proposal that, in between the proposition of the Warsaw Pact and the proposition of Poland and France, which receives the support of NATO and the Common Market countries, a rapprochement of both propositions should be worked out before the Madrid meeting enabling a general European consensus on this basis. Of course we are in the midst of such efforts. It appears, however, that setting ourselves the task of achieving a full substantive understanding between the positions of the West and East before the November meeting, before the beginning of the conference itself, would be indeed unrealistic. It would be impossible to achieve in such a short time, even with the best feelings of good will on the part of both

sides. The process of preparing the CSCE itself lasted years and not months, as experience demonstrated. Practically speaking we have 2 months before the Madrid meeting begins on 11 November 1980.

[Question] Should we not take it for granted, however, that the dialogue which has taken place concerning detente in recent weeks can be brought to a standstill by some force?

[Answer] Can this process be interrupted by any force? If we take as 100 percent certain and real what the Republicans presented in the United States on the platform of their nominating convention, then the danger is evident, since their plank in the international field is based on the idea of a policy of force and a policy of confrontation and arms race.

I believe, however, that the existing structure of power between the detente tendency and the Cold War tendency gives no indication that the antidetente tendency may become dominant. I think that every condition and possibility exists for guaranteeing that the detente tendency will dominate.

[Question] In conclusion I would like to ask about something which often rankles our readers, namely: how is our foreign policy developed and what role do diplomats play in this regard?

[Answer] Although I have worked in diplomacy for nearly 30 years, I certainly am not an adherent of an isolated emphasis on the role of diplomats and diplomacy. Diplomacy in this way is understood as a group of measures and efforts which are to lead to a specific goal. On the other hand, if what is underlying is the activity of specific services, groups of people, then I think that the role of diplomacy in the classic sense of this word is undergoing greater and great transformation. For example, with the existence of mass means of information and communication and all such phenomena which have caused the world to become small indeed, but more diverse--characterized by a growing interdependence of various issues, regions and interests--informational functions of the diplomatic service have become more limited. At present, policy is conducted on an unusually broad front. Let us take, for example, international contacts. The important practice of meetings at the highest and at high government levels has developed, and these are not meetings of ministers of foreign affairs alone, but ministers of various fields, representatives of political powers, parliaments and the like, a practice which virtually did not exist before World War II. Today, comprehensive national interests decide actions in foreign policy. For this reason it may also be said today that the deciding factors with regard to the directions of the policy of a given country--besides its basic structural and ideological assumptions and class interests--are its economic problems, its guarantee of the best peacetime conditions of development of the country through international cooperation, its raw materials needs, its technological, educational and credit needs, and all of its other needs.

For this reason as well, the highest agent in determining our foreign policy is the congress of the leading political force of our country, the PZPR, its Central Committee and Politburo. Of course, in thinking of the party, I also think of other allied parties, which--in the case of the last program of our foreign policy for 1980--joined to consider and undertake decisions with regard to its content.

With regard to the international situation and the foreign policy of the country, the place of Poland in the international arena is thus determined by almost every one of its citizens through his contribution to the development of the country--whether he is a technician or a worker producing for export, or an artist who makes a significant contribution to the wealth of culture, or a sportsman whose attitudes and successes create the so-called mass portrait and understanding of a given country. All of this plays a part today in the building of the international position of the nation, its role, its significance and the good name of Poland throughout the world.

8536
CSO: 2600

FRENCH JOURNALIST IN POLAND SAYS STRIKE RESULTS POSITIVE OVERALL

Paris REVOLUTION in French 26 Sep-2 Oct 80 p 51

[Article by Jacques Estager: "This Summer - Positive On the Whole"]

[Text] The Polish crisis, that wave of strikes all over the country, the unions being challenged, the crisis of confidence affecting the party, the tremendous working class pressure resulting in changes in the party leadership and in the government, an entire nation hanging on the Gdansk negotiation, days of extreme tension and afterwards the agreement, the right to strike, the independent unions, the door opened to pluralism, the great debate over democracy, 18 days which changed the face of Poland: since all of this had never been seen in a socialist country, how was a French Communist journalist whose work put him in the middle of events to feel about it? Nothing fit the traditional image of socialist countries any longer. And journalists from the international press, rapturously discovering strikes and strikers here which they had always ignored in their own countries, were already proclaiming if not the end at least the failure of socialism and ironically asking the question: "Well then, has it been positive on the whole?"

It is true that anything could happen during those events which were no longer being ordered by any kind of logic. But even during the periods of extreme tension Poland never departed from its tranquil state. The working class carried on its battle in its own environment, in the factories. There was no demonstrating or disorder or violence. There was an extraordinary political maturity on both sides. And in that movement in which the workers by their action made their right to strike a legal one, the socialist state paid wages for strike days, gave the strikers job guarantees, treated them as equal partners, and proclaimed its respect for their demands and its intention of meeting them, the only limitation being the country's actual resources.

Faced with the most serious crisis of the entire history of the Polish People's Republic, the socialist state announced: "We will settle the crisis on a political level and with political means. Our only weapons will be dialogue and negotiation, a joint search with the working class for solutions to the problems we are presented with." This is a line from which neither the party nor the government was to depart, going above and beyond leadership changes.

Yes, it has been positive on the whole.

Taking either October 1956, December 1970, or 1980: Socialist Poland has set out and resolved its problems in terms of a sequential social and political crisis which

on each occasion has entailed leadership changes in the party and in the state. The fact that the solution for contradictions arising from within the Socialist society's evolution itself could be found through the confrontation of the governed and those who govern in a country where the state is designed to be the state of all the people, this at the very least bears witness to the failure of democracy's political structures to adjust and unclog. The crisis itself could not have been a positive phenomenon. It brought weakness, backwardness and error to light. It gave expression to unsatisfied aspirations. And yet Engels' phrase about the violent labor pains of any society pregnant with a new society could be applied to it. For the crisis did not challenge socialism but rather the deficiencies of socialism. Many people reckoned too quickly on socialism's defeat. When the working class has less and less intention of delegating its powers and more and more intention of exercising them itself, when it has recourse to striking in order to give democracy real substance and to obtain the guarantee of fully exercising workers' rights, this is not a defeat, but a step forward for socialism. It is the real exercise of the working class' leadership role. "Nothing," they say here, "will ever be like it was before. Neither the party nor the state nor society."

Yes, it has been positive on the whole.

That catastrophic vision of Poland that an entire press corps tried to convey - did it conform to reality? No, it did not. The actual crisis did throw all the negative factors into relief. But for all that, it did not obscure the economic and social achievements. During the decade which has just run its course Poland has made great progress. It has shortened the distance which separated it from highly developed countries: but it has yet to adjust to that. It faces contradictions which by a priori reasoning are surprising. Its industry is modern and well developed, but its economic strength is dwindling and productivity is not increasing. Industrial potential is considerable; the land can produce much more than it does. But neither industry nor agriculture are satisfying the actual needs of the population. Those are the problems faced today. They stem in large part from the methods used to manage the economy. A Paris weekly has written that Polish workers have just won what French workers gained in the nineteenth century. What is true about that is that strikes and the right to strike are taboo subjects in a Socialist society. That restraint has just been removed in Poland. What is false is to attempt in that way to say that social gains do not exist in that country, that Polish workers in that sense are still in their nineteenth century. A comparison of social legislation in France and Poland does not show the latter at a disadvantage. Better still, when the strikers called for and obtained veto rights over all the decisions made by factory management, they were starting out from an already considerable base of established rights. And it was in the name of the principles of socialism that the working class reacted against abuse, against privelege, and against violation of social ethics.

Yes, it has been positive on the whole.

The problems of democracy have been at the heart of this crisis. French Communists are not surprised by that. But it is not that the Polish political system did not include democratic structures. There are in particular structures in place for social self-government and for self-government in factories. They work badly. There is too much congestion. One of the major strike demands was for self-government to really function, starting from what is in place, and based on new more extensive

rights. The problems Poland is currently presented with serve to verify what Stanislaw Kania has expressed in these terms: "Democracy is not a gesture towards society but a growing and fundamental need of socialism." The anticommunist press has made an error of judgment regarding the Polish crisis. This crisis is not and has never been a challenge to socialism. It is a demand for further democracy and further socialism. It is leading to the implementation of new forms of political life and of participation by the masses allowing contradictions which have occurred naturally in the development of socialist society to be overcome.

Yes, it has been positive on the whole.

And this Polish summer has been on the whole positive because of the amount of reflection it will force, the challenges it implies, and the perspectives it opens up.

9631
CSO: 3100

'ERA SOCIALISTA' CHIEF EDITOR CRITICIZES 'LUCEAFARUL'

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 19, 5 Oct 80 pp 50-51

/Article by St. Voicu: "Foot Literally and Figuratively"/

/Text/ The column "Review of the Journals" in LUCEAFARUL No 38, 1980, devoted to ERA SOCIALISTA rates as "varied and interesting the ideological and cultural-artistic section" in our journal No 16, 1980. We were about to thank the entire collective of LUCEAFARUL for this, who get the credit for the entire content of the "Review of the Journals" because the column is unsigned and therefore expresses the editors' opinion.

But we gave up thanking them with regret because as we went on reading the column we saw that a sensible reference to a review signed here by Petru Berar is followed by an avalanche of distortions and mystifications of an article in our journal, spread over seven columns at the foot (foot literally and figuratively) of the second page of LUCEAFARUL. You inevitably wonder whether it is a matter of inability to understand the content of a "varied and interesting ideological and cultural-artistic section," bad faith, or who knows what else.

An article was published in our journal wherein Victor Ernest Masek advocates (and we along with him) "accessibility and effectiveness of the artistic message," as the very title of the article says.

From this article the editors of LUCEAFARUL extract a certain passage in which the author speaks of "the necessity of bringing an entire people, in our case one of nearly 20 million, up to the spiritual and cultural level at which the need of art and the capacity to receive it become definite needs of each."

LUCEAFARUL's interpretation of this passage is incredible. It says, "According to V. E. Masek, the 20 million have lived in caves until now waiting for the providential missionary V. E. Masek to liberate them." Rubbish!

But V. E. Masek states (And it seems to us a perfectly correct theoretical and political point) that once a people (any people) have begun to construct socialist society, for the first time in history it is no longer enough to form a relatively limited category of people who fill a few concert halls, a theater or an exhibition but it is a question of "the necessity of bringing an entire people, in our case one of nearly 20 million, up to the spiritual and cultural level..." (See the above quotation).

The necessity of elevating millions of people to a high cultural and spiritual level is determined by the circumstance, more than evident on the social-historical level and very clearly expressed in the passage incriminated by LUCEAFARUL, that "Socialism is not built with an elite but with the contribution of all."

It is my personal opinion that those at LUCEAFARUL agree with this point and do not think it possible either to build socialism with an elite alone. Therefore I do not in the least understand why they dishonestly and incorrectly cut Masek's sentence in two, quote it in truncated form to distort its meaning without reproducing its conclusion, and distort it.

But if, absurdly enough, they hold another opinion (which is incredible because it would be too great a blunder) they have the right to state it openly.

We shall refer to another quotation taken out of context, truncated and interpreted in the same manner. V. E. Masek's article brings the gratifying fact that, thanks to the party's and our socialist state's cultural policy of course, Alecsandri, Eminescu, and Caragiale are known to practically anybody today and that the paintings of Aman, Grigorescu and Luchian are eliminating the old errors of the "gang picture" from more and more interiors.

The author of the article in our journal says this is a good thing, but he adds, "It is not enough" because "The art of the past centuries, however good, cannot answer all the questions or meet all the spiritual needs and expectations with which the public approaches contemporary art."

How does LUCEAFARUL interpret this text? It says, "ERA SOCIALISTA asks us no more and no less than to put 'aside Alecsandri, Eminescu, Caragiale, Aman, Grigorescu and Luchian...' and to install 'the great hieroglyph of the latest contemporary art' in their place."

Of course it is primarily the business of literary, dramatic and artistic criticism to decide whether our contemporary art is entirely or only partly a "great hieroglyph." What we can state, even without any more detailed study, is the fact that a good many of the poems published in LUCEAFARUL are unintelligible and devoid of "the accessibility and effectiveness of the artistic message" and are indeed "hieroglyphs." If the evaluation in LUCEAFARUL were of any self-critical nature at all, we could regard it with some good will. But it is in no way noble or correct of this publication with a literary mission and published by the Writers' Union to disseminate this judgment and to declare "hieroglyphic" in a pejorative sense our entire contemporary literature and even our entire latest or recent contemporary art.

What we are to do with a false, disloyal evaluation is indicated by the very collection of LUCEAFARUL, which has contained, in addition to many "hieroglyphs," a great many literary creations of high artistic value (prose, verses, fewer literary criticisms) with "accessibility and effectiveness of the artistic message" and acclaimed by us and Masek in ERA SOCIALISTA.

But to return to LUCEAFARUL's rancor, we wonder if we can be satisfied solely with the outstanding art of centuries past, the precious treasure of Romanian and world culture upon which we rightly pride ourselves and the wide dissemination of which among the masses is an accomplishment and a gratifying fact, as our journal clearly says?

It would be very hazardous and awkward for the literary and artistic critics at LUCEAFARUL to try to show that "Alecsandri, Eminescu, Caragiale, Aman..." and the other great creators of art in the past answered "all the questions and spiritual needs and all the expectations with which the public approaches contemporary art today."

If we heeded the statement in LUCEAFARUL, the creators of art in our day (writers, painters etc.) would have nothing to communicate and would not be the bearers of any message and, in the words of those at LUCEAFARUL, we could proclaim "Down with contemporary art, down with the art that will answer the questions and spiritual needs of the members of socialist society. We do not need it because they were all answered in the last century and at the start of our century by Alecsandri, Eminescu, Caragiale, Aman, Grigorescu, etc. etc."

Anyone can see in what an absurd position LUCEAFARUL is placed by its reckless remarks.

I do not think there is need of any theoretical demonstration to convince our creators of art that we must not stop artistic creation today because we had great artistic values in the past. On the contrary, we must go on, we must demand of the creators of art that they give us great new artistic values, better than those of the past if they can, artistic creations that will meet the spiritual needs and social aspirations of the people of today as well as the ethical, aesthetic and ideological requirements of the historical process in full course in Romania, that of forming the new man as a purposeful builder of the socialist society.

This in no way means "down with Alecsandri, Eminescu, Caragiale, Aman, Grigorescu, etc., etc." but just the opposite. I stop and wonder how our colleagues at LUCEAFARUL got such a thing into their heads!

The stand taken by the footnote in LUCEAFARUL No 38, 1980 is a strange one because this publication, as its entire collection shows, is not satisfied itself solely with Alecsandri, Eminescu, Caragiale etc. but fills its pages week after week with contemporary literature either hieroglyphic, unfortunately, or of good and sometimes even very good artistic quality.

Since this is so (and this is my position too), I am puzzled and wonder why they cheat and why this avalanche of distortions and mystifications? Of what use are they?

The fact is they are of no use to anyone and are even harmful.

In the same "Review of the Journals" in LUCEAFARUL we have also read a brief reference to a note published in our journal by Ion Pop of Cluj-Napoca, entitled "Rejection of the Bourgeois Way of Life. A Constant of the Literary Avant-Garde Movement Between the Wars."

In this note Ion Pop shows very clearly that the literary avant-garde movement between the wars was a chaotic and anarchic form of criticism and challenge of the bourgeois way of life, and that under the ideological influence of the antifascist movement and the revolutionary workers movement some of the most talented avantgardists in Romania began to challenge capitalist society, taking the stands of the Romanian working class.

It is good that LUCEAFARUL has discovered what we have known for over 50 years, namely that the confused and anarchic individualism of avantgardism cannot be equated with

the radical militantism of the left perceived in the political program of the working class. But our comrades of the aforesaid journal have not yet discovered (but they still have time to discover it) that the anarchic individualism of avantgardism in Romania was not "bourgeois" but antibourgeois, which favored the evolution toward the purposeful left.

And the moral of the note in ERA SOCIALISTA is that any evaluation of the role of the literary avant-garde (and that too, we now add, of any literary trend or in general of any ideological and artistic-cultural trend) in any given historical period must "allow for the particular dialectics of the phenomenon, its program background, and the many motivations of a language impossible to judge outside of the social-historical context that determines it and to which it reacts."

I do not think that those at LUCEAFARUL have any other opinion, since this is an interesting problem in the history of Romanian literature and the political history of the 1930's, and more than that, a problem of the philosophy of history. They are now acting as if they would like to say something but they do not know what or how, because Ion Pop's point (and ours) is invulnerable. They do not like this. The errata in the following number of LUCEAFARUL, occasioned by an error in proofreading (We are inclined to take them at their word), do not change matters in the least. As it is well said in the same "Review of the Journals" in No 39, 1980 (third column, line 11 from the bottom), LUCEAFARUL has made "a prize blunder."

5186
CSO: 2700

SHORTCOMINGS IN SCHOOL, EXTRACURRICULAR ACTIVITIES

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 19, 5 Oct 80 pp 13-15

/Article by Prof Toma Mares: "Requirements for Education of School Youth"/

/Text/ Nicolae Ceausescu said, "Development of socialist awareness and education of of the workers and of the young generation in general are among the problems of vital -- I might even say essential -- importance to formation of the man and the young builder of the socialism and communism of tomorrow."

Education is a continuous process, a function that is performed throughout the individual's whole life by the family, school, children's and youth organizations, the collective of the institution or enterprise wherein he works, public opinion and the mass media. And the effectiveness of education is indicated by the extent of the individual's social integration and participation and by the responsibility with which he thinks and acts at his place of work, in his family and in his social existence in general.

Unquestionably the educational process as a whole is based primarily upon the schools. They have a varied arsenal of educational means and center around themselves all the contributing factors. In addition to the classes, which are the basic unit of the process of instruction, productive experience is provided in workshops or enterprises, which activities were initiated by the youth organizations in collaboration with the teachers and families. Continued improvement of the material base of the schools and the educational system as a whole as well as the efforts to modernize the programs, textbooks and teaching methods require emphasis upon the educational and formative function of the process of instruction and education. The need of an interdisciplinary and long-range view, constant correlation with the facts of social experience, and encouragement of youth's creative capacity are aspects of the new and the qualitative leap that must be achieved in the field of education.

Activities of the circles and clubs for organized ideological discussions in schools, in youth's homes and in the houses of the Pioneers and Falcons of the Fatherland are highly important. These activities are also intended to familiarize pupils with the laws of the state and to explain some concepts in philosophy, political economics, sociology and political science. The ways of conducting these activities are many and varied (visits and meetings with leading workers in enterprises, subject excursions, conferences, evenings of questions and answers followed by cultural and

educational performances from the National Cintarea Romaniei Festival, etc.).

But this kind of educational activity is not satisfactory in all schools, mainly because some teachers, as I have observed, fail to make these activities as attractive as possible in keeping with the age and particular interests of the young pupil. In general the main emphasis is upon organizing the number of events planned in a month or a quarter and much less consideration is given to the effectiveness expected of the various events. Naturally, with such an approach to educational work the criteria of quality are subordinated to those of quantity.

This tendency to emphasize the quantity of the actions is often aggravated by inadequate coordination among the educational elements of the schools, resulting in duplications, overloading and tiring of the pupils by the form and content of educational efforts that have become monotonous and dull through repetition. The plans and subject matter of the hours of classroom instruction and the programs of the children's and youth organizations often overlap (analysis of the situation in studies, discussion of the same political events, health, traffic and other subjects of instruction).

This situation is maintained not only by the school elements but sometimes even by the organs whose duty it is to guide and control educational and instructive activity. The school inspectors generally judge professors solely as specialists in a discipline and their recommendations are confined to the methodology of the specialty and rationalization of the scholastic documents (plans of lessons, records of regular and extracurricular activities, instructor's notebook, etc.).

The elements contributing to the education and formation of school youth have made a practice of periodically discussing various aspects of the educational process. This is very good, but the reason is unclear for instituting other measures and other methods every time even before conclusions can be drawn about the effectiveness of the previously adopted ones. This results in many programs, and sometimes well-established and efficient methods of political indoctrination as well as good experience and ideas are abandoned in the desire to keep lending them novelty and originality. I think this is illustrated by the way some schools have given up organizing and holding some cultural-artistic and sports events and the applied technical demonstrations, excursions etc. that are highly regarded by school youth. And so the question arises of a better selection of those called upon to guide and control educational activities, which selection should take more account of the calling and preparation of the persons in question.

The ineffectiveness of the various educational efforts, especially those aimed at the pupils' political-civic education, is largely due to disregard of some elementary pedagogical standards. It is well known that a lively exposition or presentation that is richly illustrated by audio-visual aids and directly related to specific realities and the audience's concerns is followed with interest and has a high educational effectiveness. And as I often found in schools, the most frequent defect in efforts of this kind is failure to adapt them to the pupils' age characteristics. Forms and procedures suited to adults are borrowed, the children's comprehension and mentality are strained, and a knowledge and judgment of social relations as well as an experience of life in general that they do not have are demanded of them. Sometimes too many theoretical concepts are presented, with recommendations, instructions, principles and definitions, without giving the pupils sufficient opportunities to understand them, to say nothing of applying them purposefully.

In attending a number of activities with a political-educational content initiated by the Pioneer and UTC /Union of Communist Youth/ organizations or the hours of classroom instruction, I could see the tendency of some teachers to conduct education in a forbidding and imperious fashion, to the neglect of the basic pedagogical principle that feelings and convictions can be formed only by specific reasoning and demonstration.

Pupil's Spare Time and Family Participation in Education

Use of young pupils' spare time is a problem with major implications for education that is still an open question. In general the pupils are involved in many activities both in school and outside it during the period of instruction and vacations as well. A good deal of their spare time is taken up by the sports events in the Daciad or those in the National Cintarea Romaniei Festival and social-public activities (agricultural, embellishment of communities, environmental protection etc.). But the organization and proportioning of these activities and attraction of pupils by providan interesting content and attractive ways of conducting them are still not up to the standards of high educational effectiveness in all cases. The pupils' lack of interest and sometimes poor participation in the spare-time activities are also due to misuse of meetings and lack of variety in the forms the educational efforts take.

If the pupils are to take an interest in these activities they must be more individualized, organized for smaller groups, and conducted outdoors with much activity and the broadest possible horizon of knowledge. Certainly this wish, often expressed by the pupils themselves, is feasible if the professors and teachers themselves have the necessary time. I think a study of the use of teachers in various scholastic activities and especially extracurricular ones would be illuminating, because the opinion still persists at points that the educational activities in school are less urgent than the extracurricular social-public tasks.

Of course organization of spare time also involves proper proportioning of the time the school and the children's and youth organizations reserve for organized activities and that left available to the pupil. Monopolizing all the young pupil's spare time with organized activities is to be entirely avoided.

In their relations with the family, the schools mainly emphasize points in connection with the standard of instruction, discipline etc., and that is necessary. Three years ago the civic committees were formed as consultative bodies constituted up to the national level in order to expand the schools' field of cooperation with the family and with representatives of the various institutions and public organizations on the entirety of educational problems. Although these committees are composed of various elements engaged in instructive-educational activity, including the pupils' parents, it cannot be said that they invariably succeed in making any really substantial contribution to improvement of the content and forms of education. They are generally limited to solution of managerial problems in schools, and in many schools family participation is still confined to periodic discussions with some pupils' parents.

Many teachers complain of inadequate cooperation from parents, especially the parents of pupils with poor results in their studies and unsuitable behavior, pupils sometimes regarded as "problem cases." I do not think there is any family that is not interested in raising and educating its children. But parents' cooperation with the schools

very heavily depends upon their attitude and the tact with which the teachers know how to proceed. The parents' attitude will be one thing if the professor only comments and reproaches them for their child's behavior and another thing when they see and understand the educator's efforts to change certain unsatisfactory situations.

Lectureships have been organized in all communities for parents' pedagogic instruction. But I think their structure and subject matter should be better defined by determining the problems that actually and specifically interest the pupils' families and avoiding too particular points that concern only some parents as well as too general advice and treatments that are banal and quite useless for that reason. Discussion of problems in experience, with adequate psychological and pedagogical documentation, would interest and greatly encourage the families in their regular collaboration with the schools.

Integration of education with production is basic to Romanian schools. One third of the instruction time of the pupils, especially of those in the higher grades, is devoted to practical activities in shops and enterprises. Hence the importance of the educational influence that the workers and youth organizations in enterprises can and must exert upon school youth in order to form their moral and political traits in direct contact with productive work and its exponents. In this way the enterprise collectives are added with a great responsibility to the other elements with an educational role.

But I do not think the important educational potential of the activities and the actual presence of the pupils in enterprises is being adequately exploited. The fact that there still are workers who, by their attitude toward work, set a bad example for the pupils who have come for experience, while the youth organizations in many enterprises take no steps at all to strengthen the ties between school and plant, has an undesirable effect upon the image the pupils form of work in production and the qualities and traits characteristic of the worker.

Training of Educators

The demands of education on all levels require a good preparation and continuing improvement of the teachers. In the 1971-1978 period over 250,00 educators, teachers and professors were improved, with a favorable effect upon the entire process of education and instruction. But some defects still appear in the teachers' practical activity. Many teachers regard their improvement and self-improvement to do effective educational work merely as a formal, professional obligation. This mistaken view is brought about, among other things, by the very way in which the improvement system is designed. It is true that in general the teachers attend professional improvement courses, but without interest and to no great advantage. The chief reason is that essential problems of educational work are not presented or discussed in these courses, not much attention is paid to innovations, and ways of enhancing the educational function of teaching the various disciplines are timidly advanced. Moreover, few practical activities are specified in the schedules of courses of this kind. When all Romanian education is integrated with research and production, why is improvement of teaching personnel still excluded from this principle?

Development of the creative spirit, originality and innovation in all workers is one of the basic requirements of Romanian social progress. But can the teachers' creativity as to the instructive-educational process be developed solely by speeches, seminars and colloquiums in which matters are usually discussed that have been known to

them since their college years? I am convinced that it cannot. Therefore I think there must be a shift from talk to action in the system for improving all teaching personnel, and consequently they must be trained not by speeches alone, however masterly they may be, but through practice and discussion to the point. Discussion entails exchanges of ideas, comparison of opinions, and presentation of personal experience in educational work.

The papers the teachers are required to write to maintain grade I and to graduate from the retraining courses should reflect the result of a personal investigation in a field of instructive-educational work. But it can be seen that these papers often reflect the essential defects of the improvement system. They include generalities emphasizing thoroughly familiar theoretical principles and abound in quotations from other works. Such shortcomings could be avoided if the teachers were encouraged to devote their efforts and interests to creative research to improve their work.

The houses of the teaching staff should not be limited to routine activities, since their sole function is often that of requesting guests from outside to collaborate by giving speeches. They must initiate more field studies as well as practical activities required by the local conditions and followed by discussions. They must direct beginning educators and present them periodically with the conclusions from innovating experiments concerning particular aspects of educational work that are more difficult to resolve.

In higher education the future teachers' practical psychopedagogic training is limited to 10-12 hours of class and 3-4 final teaching lessons. But the professor, whatever his specialty, should be an educator who knows how to work with pupils and how to collaborate with all the elements engaged in education. Therefore he should be trained not only as a good specialist who will impart knowledge in a given field but also as a pedagogue able to form convictions and attitudes and to mold the youths' moral and political makeup.

Inadequate psychopedagogic training of the future professors causes many deficiencies and difficulties in educational work, some of which I have mentioned above. When he reports to a department, the young professor-educator is often unprepared for the many and varied problems of education because he was given no opportunity during his university training to familiarize himself with the ways of collaborating with families and youth organizations or with the performance of the various forms of political-educational work included in the scholastic program or in the extracurricular activities.

To be sure these aims are pursued in the pedagogic high schools especially, but their practical application is not always adequate. It is hard to imagine the effectiveness of a pedagogic experience of 1 month that the pupils in the pedagogic high schools receive, after the pupils of grades I-IV have gone on vacation. This leads to improvisations that detract from the educational value itself of the experience, making it a mere formality.

In order to eliminate the foregoing defects in the teachers' psychopedagogic training, I think it would be advisable to review the very objectives of psychopedagogic training (both theoretical and practical) as well as its structure and duration, because the professors often consider themselves obligated to concern themselves solely with the scientific aspects of the discipline they teach, ignoring its educational implications and generally minimizing their vital role as molders of the consciousness, to

say nothing of the fact that poor psychopedagogic training often leads to lack of initiative on the teachers' part, and fear of error. That is why they wait for instructions, directives and ready-made outlines and plans of activities or the arrival of a representative of the guidance and control organ to help them organize and conduct the various political-educational demonstrations. This adversely affects the permanence and efficiency of political-educational work and interferes with its adjustment to the local conditions and the particular requirements of the school.

A common effort of all elements responsible for the education of the young generation and continuing improvement of the teachers' training for this purpose will bring about the qualitative leap so necessary in the formation of the new man.

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East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1830

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28 November 1980

EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1830

CONTENTS

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Briefs
Soviet Intervention Feared 1
Soviet 'Preparation' Seen 1

ALBANIA

Conservative Attitude in Admitting Women to Party Attacked
(Agron Lekdushi; ZERI I POPULLIT, 18 Sep 80)..... 2

Attempt of 'Traitors' To Undermine Unity at Peze Recalled
(Xhorxhi Robo; BASHKIMI, 15 Sep 80)..... 4

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Socialist Internationalism Reasserted As Governing Principle for Bloc
(Various sources, various dates)..... 5

West German Commentary
Sovereignty Secondary to Cooperation, by Bernhard Graefrath

Popular Upset Over New Minimum Exchange Rates Reported
(Karl-Heinz Baum; FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU, 11 Oct 80)..... 14

HUNGARY

Hegedus Stresses Need for Sanctioned Opposition in East Europe
(Andras Hegedus Interview; DER SPIEGEL, 25 Aug 80)..... 17

Sociological Education at College, University Level Surveyed
(Pal Peter Toth; FELSOOKTATASI SZEMLE, Sep 80)..... 25

POLAND

New Social Control Committees Set Work Programs
(TRYBUNA LUDU, 4 Aug 80)..... 30

'LE MONDE' Views Polish TU's 'Victory,' East Bloc Concern
(Editorial; LE MONDE, 12 Nov 80)..... 32

Briefs
Independent Trade Union Registration 34
Independent Student Association 34
Railway Workers Hunger Strike 34
New Deputy Defense Minister 35
U.S. Nuclear Strategy Attacked 35
'LITERATURA' on Power Abuse 35

ROMANIA

'Judases,' 'Visitors Avid for Profit' Condemned by Cultural Weekly
(Editorial; SAPTAMINA, 5 Sep 80)..... 36

Commission Set Up To Certify Aeronautical Personnel
(BULETINUL OFICIAL, 11 Oct 80)..... 38

Briefs
Data on Foreign Students 40

YUGOSLAVIA

Serbian Priest in Bosnia Criticized for Nationalism
(Djuro Kozar; OSLOBODJENJE, 6 Nov 80)..... 41

BRIEFS

SOVIET INTERVENTION FEARED--High-level French military officers fear that the Soviets will intervene in Poland before the end of October. [Text] [Paris LE POINT in French 29 Sep 80 p 49]

SOVIET 'PREPARATION' SEEN--According to Berlin sources, the Soviets are said to be making the necessary military preparations for a future military intervention in Poland which the majority of observers, however, do not believe will occur in the near future. [Text] [Paris LE POINT in French 27 Oct 80 p 66]

CSO: 3100

CONSERVATIVE ATTITUDE IN ADMITTING WOMEN TO PARTY ATTACKED

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 18 Sep 80 p 2

[Article by Agron Lekdushi, worker in the apparatus of the Central Committee of the Albanian Workers Party: "Bringing New Blood Into the Party and the Struggle Against Sectarianism"]

[Excerpts] A secretary of the basic party organization in the "21 December" construction enterprise in Tirana, when discussing the fact that admissions to the party were not going well in his organization, said, as an excuse, "there are no elements with the qualities required by the party in our sector." Other opinions of this nature can be found. These create obstacles in some basic party organizations for young and necessary elements to enter these groups. The petit-bourgeois concepts and practices manifested and held by some communists nurture sectarianism. One of these concepts is lack of confidence in young elements. This happens where communists overestimate their experience and seniority in party work. Actually, the various organizations need new blood and their leadership is not up to the level of the requirements of the party at the present time.

Patriarchal family concepts also nurture sectarianism in some cases. There are some cases where relatives are admitted to the party so they can take control in basic organizations. These cases have been criticized and strongly combated by the party organs in the districts and basic organizations where they have appeared. The necessary organizational measures have been taken and educational work has been done to explain the ideological sources of these manifestations and their danger. Concrete duties have been assigned to communists who have such concepts. But this attention and concern should not be relaxed; it must be constantly increased.

Underestimating concepts in regard to women are also nurtured by sectarianism intertwined with conservatism. There are some basic party organizations who know the strength of the women but, when it is time to accept the most outstanding women into the party, show lack of confidence in their abilities as political militants of the party line and as social activists. For example, the basic organization of the clothing enterprise in Elbasan, although the majority of the workers are women, does not admit them as party members.

The causes of sectarianism are both ideological and social. The patriarchal attitude of some male communist comrades is present whenever there is lack of confidence in female comrades. The forms of the manifestations of sectarianism

and conservatism are varied. Sometimes they appear as "concern for protecting female comrades as mothers since they are very busy," sometimes they say, openly, "they do not perform their jobs."

As a result, only 20 and 30 percent of the young people admitted to the party in Tropoje and Elbasan districts, respectively, during the first half of this year were young women. Shortcomings of this nature also exist in Durres, Kruje and other districts.

This matter must be raised to the highest level of work of the basic party organizations and must be combated on the two fronts: The struggle against manifestations of liberalism and against manifestations of sectarianism, manifestations and attitudes which seek to close the doors of the party to those who deserve party membership.

CSO: 2100

ATTEMPT OF 'TRAITORS' TO UNDERMINE UNITY AT PEZE RECALLED

Tirana BASHKIMI in Albania 15 Sep 80 pp 1, 3

[Editorial article by Xhorxhi Robo: "The Peze Conference--An Event of Great Historic Importance"]

[Excerpts] At the initiative of the Communist Party of Albania, the Albanian National Liberation Conference was held in Peze on 16 September 1942, marking an event of extraordinary great importance for the future of the country. The Peze Conference was held a few months after the establishment of the Albanian Communist Party. The situation in the country was very serious. The fascist occupiers were trying to maintain their hated system by means of arms. The Anti-Fascist National-Liberation Struggle, under the leadership of the party, was beginning to take on a broader character.

In this situation when the enemy was gathering its forces to act, by all means, against the party and the Anti-Fascist National-Liberation Struggle, the Albanian Communist Party prepared its platform of the militant unity of the Albanian people in a single anti-fascist front. This unity was the key link which would assure the execution of the great tasks of the struggle against the occupiers and traitors. The bases of this unity were cast in the anti-fascist stand but this had not yet developed as it should have. It had to be placed on the appropriate political and organizational bases. For this purpose, the Central Committee of the Albanian Communist Party decided to convoke a national-liberation conference at the national level. In addition to the Communist Party, various currents of Albanian nationalists would be represented in order to unite the people in a single National-Liberation Front, to approve the political platform of this Front and to set forth appropriate forms for organizing the revolutionary people.

during the proceedings of the conference, the traitor Abaz Kupi and someone else who called himself a nationalist did not dare to openly oppose the leading role of the Albanian Communist Party but tried to prevent a further increase in its authority. They proposed that the cells should not be called "partisans" and that they should not display the red star, etc. Their aim was to undermine the Front and the program of the party so they set forth the idea that the youth should not take part in the struggle saying that the youth "is the future of the country" and that they "do not have the maturity for serious work." They set forth these hostile ideas to weaken the Front, excluding from it the largest part of the members of the various partisan units and of the National-Liberation Army.

CSO: 2100

SOCIALIST INTERNATIONALISM REASSERTED AS GOVERNING PRINCIPLE FOR BLOC

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 147, 29 Sep 80 p 2

[Report from Berlin: "East Berlin Defends 'Brezhnev Doctrine.'" A translation of the East Berlin NEUE JUSTIZ article cited below follows this commentary]

[Text] The East Berlin journal NEUE JUSTIZ [No 9, 1980] emphatically defended the principle of "socialist internationalism" (known simply as the 'Brezhnev Doctrine" in the West) in the relations of socialist countries with one another. The sovereignty of the socialist countries cannot be considered separately from the principle of socialist internationalism. Functionally socialist sovereignty is not characterized as separation from other socialist countries, but rather "by the organization of socialist international cooperation and mutual assistance." The protection of the sovereignty of the socialist state is "consequently not only its own concern, but is also incumbent on the entire socialist community."

Sovereignty Secondary to Cooperation

East Berlin NEUE JUSTIZ in German Vol 34 No 9, Sep 80 pp 395-398

[Article by Prof Dr Bernhard Graefrath, Jurisprudence Section, Humboldt University, East Berlin: "On the New Quality of the Sovereignty Principle"]

[Text] In addition to the right of peoples to self-determination, questions of the sovereignty of countries occupy a central place in coming to terms with the bourgeois doctrine of international law.[1] This is related to the fact that the influence of democratic forces on international relations is steadily growing and general international law is being developed increasingly more clearly as a universal international legal system which builds on the right of peoples to self-determination and on the principle of the sovereign equality of countries.

To a substantial degree ideological discussions of sovereignty are a reflex of the collision of opposing ownership structures and thus of different class interests in international relations. Almost without exception bourgeois specialists in international law proceed on the basis that advancing economic, scientific and technical internationalization will result in a breakup of sovereignty. They maintain that sovereignty stands in the way of this process, than an unsolvable contradiction exists between the advancing level of organization of international society and state

sovereignty. They attempt to overcome this contradiction by models of world states and world law, or they develop conceptions of a system of international law which integrates socialist countries and the young national states into the system of bourgeois international law. In the process, a "world government," an international legislature or the inflation of international organizations as functional international administrative organs are promoted on the one hand as instruments. On the other hand, individuals and international monopolies are declared subjects of international law and thus removed from national jurisdiction; at the same time the country's immunity in important sectors is diminished and an international protection mechanism for private capital is established.

It is obvious here that we are not dealing with theoretical children's games. Under current international conditions these conceptions are in the interest of guaranteeing and developing monopolism as compared with peoples' right of self-determination. This explains the apparent contradiction of strengthening international central authorities in respect to the individual country with simultaneous strengthening of party autonomy for the organizational forms of monopolism. The bourgeois doctrine of international law is not opposed to sovereignty per se, but rather is against any kind of sovereignty which is understood to be an expression of peoples' right of self-determination and which can take effect within this meaning.

In the models provided by bourgeois theoreticians the sovereignty principle does not have the function of guaranteeing equal and peaceful international cooperation between countries on the basis of peoples' right of self-determination. Rather, it is integrated into a regulatory system whose function consists in guaranteeing, under the conditions of contemporary social and scientific-technical development, the international development of monopolism. The process of internationalization is understood and shaped as a process of internationalizing capital and its forms of movement. Bourgeois theoreticians attempt to combine an international guarantee of private ownership and the guarantee of its freedom of movement with political power mechanisms as compared with unusual interference in the market which originates with the working class, the socialist countries and the peoples struggling to reinforce their independence.

In the ideological coming to terms with these conceptions it is essential, in my opinion, to work out the new quality of the principle of sovereign equality of countries in the system of international law and to make its new legal manifestations much more visible. In this I am obviously assuming that "absolute" sovereignty (for example, with the consequence of a "right" to war) is incompatible with present international law[2] and that the substance of the sovereignty principle cannot be limited to delimiting varying national power, although it continues to exercise this function.

Sovereignty Principle in Relations Between Socialist Countries

The new quality of the sovereignty principle is most clearly reflected in the relations relating to international law of socialist countries among themselves. "Sovereignty of socialist countries is, according to its sociopolitical content, the sovereignty of the guiding force of socialist society, the working class, which, with its allies, holds and exercises the state's power. As a result, its essence is determined by the international character of the historical mission of the working class and its exercise of power."[3] Socialist state power, which--unlike capitalist state power--

is not a patron saint of the uninterrupted development of private ownership, but rather is the organizer of social production based on socialist ownership of production means, can and must also in relations with other socialist countries, which exercise a similar function, play a different role than in relations with capitalist countries.

In respect to content, the sovereighty principle in relations between socialist countries is not restricted to peaceful international cooperation. By resting on like political and economic bases and accepting the international element of the working class it goes beyond that. It is oriented toward solidifying friendly relations for the benefit of the socialist countries, their people and the socialist community of states and toward implementing the necessary process of further reconciliation and growing together of socialist countries and nations.

Socialist internationalism as a constitutional principle of every individual socialist state[4] is at the same time the fundamental principle of relations relating to international law of socialist states among themselves. It combines the various manifestations of socialist state power which are consonant with concrete historical and national conditions. The sovereignty of socialist countries cannot be considered separately from the principle of socialist internationalism: joint international action in the struggle against imperialism, joint defense of socialism, joint help in establishing a socialist world economy and the constant reconciliation of socialist nations are part of the essential tasks of every socialist state, they are essential features of its sovereignty.

Socialist sovereignty--although an expression of political independence and territorial integrity--is functionally not characterized as separation from other socialist countries, but rather by the organization of socialist international cooperation and mutual assistance. The protection of the sovereignty of a socialist state is consequently not only its own concern, but is also incumbent on the entire socialist community.[5] This is stated in Article 5 of the Warsaw Pact, 14 May 1955, and of course in the treaties between the socialist countries concerning friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance.[6]

Cooperation between fraternal socialist states is realized in a variety of ways, and in particular through agreements relating to international law and with the help of socialist international organizations. Thus, with the 29 July 1971 comprehensive program for further deepening and perfection of cooperation and development of the socialist economic integration of the CEMA member countries, which is aimed at a systematic development of the socialist world market and the socialist community of states within the context of CEMA, cooperation has acquired a long-term definition with respect to substance.

Duty of Peaceful International Cooperation

As the UN declaration of 24 October 1970[7] concerning the principle of international law, in respect to friendly relations and cooperation between countries in accordance with the UN Charter, and the 1 August 1975[8] definition of the principle of sovereign equality in the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference concerning Security and Cooperation in Europe show, a positive definition of the sovereignty principle in respect to substance has been achieved in international law. The duty of peaceful international cooperation has been accepted as a determining element in the definition of sovereign equality.[9] Thus, it is unfounded to distinguish between an

international law of coexistence and an international law of cooperation, to set them in opposition to one another and to join the international law of cooperation with extensive renunciation of sovereignty, or to orient cooperation along the model of the so-called EC, as is frequently attempted in bourgeois writings.[10]

Extensive studies are not needed in order to determine that the existence of sovereign countries is today no longer conceivable without the obligation for peaceful cooperation. A model of sovereignty, which is reduced to the bourgeois notion of laissez-faire, contradicts current international law and is in practice no longer possible. It could not be made compatible with the prohibition on the use of threat or force (Article 2, No 4 of the UN Charter) nor with peoples' right of self-determination. In spite of distortion by imperialism, today the common interests of peoples in international relations are becoming increasingly clearer. In international law, controls that are new in respect to substance, are opposed to the individualistic bourgeois way of thinking and regulation and are aimed at realizing common goals reflect this. They do not restrict the sovereignty of the countries, rather they make possible its equitable application. Some examples of this:

The Open Sea (High Seas) was treated in bourgeois legal thinking basically either as the property of individual countries or as "ownerless property" (res nullius). The freedom of the sea guaranteed everyone the right to do on the sea anything and everything that he wanted. The idea that actually no further control was needed was quickly shown to be an illusion. The 29 April 1958 Convention on the Open Sea[11] restricted itself to identifying the freedoms in one article. All other articles, however, and many special conventions contain detailed rules which carefully control and limit the use of these freedoms. A steady stream of new conventions has become necessary in order to make use possible at all. The lack of any regulation that protects the individual country has resulted in the fact that, according to the capitalist principle of the free market economy, the economically strong powers practically monopolized use, that is, they exclude all others from enjoyment of the freedom. The efforts for new regulation of the Law of the Sea[12] were triggered by young national states precisely as a reaction to the destructive effects of the free market economy. Expansion of territorial waters and the establishment of an economic zone of 200 nautical miles are basically an attempt to counter exploitation by foreign monopolies.

As in the case of natural resources generally, sovereignty here is not really being insisted upon in order to organize equal international cooperation and to avoid letting the Open Sea become, under the pretense of "freedom for all," the object of monopolistic exploitation by several large imperialist powers or several multis.

Application of the principle of sovereign equality of countries is interesting also in respect to the Antarctic. Since 1908 various countries have laid claim to specific sectors of this continent. The 1 December 1959[13] Antarctic Treaty establishes new forms of cooperation here between the contracting states. The Antarctic may be used only for peaceful purposes; all measures of a military nature are forbidden. Scientific research is open to all countries. While the treaty is in force (30 years), no new claim and no expansion of a previously asserted claim to territorial sovereignty can be made. Forbidding new territorial claims has the same effect here as excluding claims of ownership.

The contractual regulations in respect to exploration and the use of space or to specific questions of environmental protection are additional examples of new forms which, with the application of the principle of sovereign equality of countries,

organize a kind of peaceful international cooperation which is in accord with the interests of the peoples. The 5 August 1963 agreement prohibiting tests of nuclear weapons in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water[14] as well as the 1 July 1968 treaty on nonproliferation of nuclear weapons[15] or agreements on zones free of nuclear weapons point a direction which demonstrates the fruitfulness of using these principles in the sector of questions of disarmament, too.

In any case, practical international cooperation shows that the principle of sovereign equality today is utilized and functions not as an obstacle, but rather as an instrument of organizing equal, peaceful international cooperation between different countries.

Equal Economic Cooperation Between Countries

In connection with the sovereign equality of countries and peaceful international cooperation the economic cooperation sector has been playing an increasingly greater role in the past few decades. The system of the capitalist world market thus far has destroyed all the UN's development strategies. With the aid of the free market economy the exploitation by several international multis of the wealth and the people in the developing countries is more intensive today than during periods of open colonial dominance. International monopolism endeavors to restrict the function of national governments to guaranteeing the freedom of action of capital, or in any case to establish the function. This contains a genuine threat to the sovereignty of the developing countries and the peoples' right of self-determination.

Thus, for years the developing countries have been trying to define more precisely the concept of peaceful cooperation in the economic sector. In the process, the principle of sovereign equality is clearly utilized in order to ward off the harmful effects of the capitalist world market. This is expressed in a concentrated fashion in the 12 December 1974 Charter on Economic Rights and Duties of countries, which was adopted by the UN General Assembly;[16] this was expressed in the demand for the creation of a new international economic order.

It seems to me that many studies by bourgeois specialists in international law, who concern themselves with the legal character of this charter, miss the basic question. It consists in the fact that in the universal sector, for the first time, means relating to international law are being used in order to classify economic cooperation with the principles of peoples having equal rights and the sovereign equality of countries. The problem is less one of how much legal obligation is due to the individual determinations of the Charter on Economic Rights and Duties of countries; in general it is not meant to do away with conflicting rules. Rather, the problem is more one of to what extent the peoples are in a position to implement more equitable principles of order for economic cooperation against the real power of international monopolism.

Respect of private ownership of production means and respecting freedom of action for multinational monopolies are, of course, not universal rules of international law. The attempt to pass off such rules as a binding basis for international economic relations is directed against the peoples' right of self-determination and the principle of sovereign equality of countries. Thus, it is not by chance that such attempts are linked with conceptions to restrict the sovereignty of countries, to put countries and monopolies in international relations on one level, to develop a transnational law independent of the legal system of the countries, to restrict respect for foreign acts of sovereignty and to remove foreign investments from the

jurisdiction of the receiving country. All that is countered in the Charter on Economic Rights and Duties by a conception, based on the principles of international law, of an international economic order which is oriented toward cooperation and which stimulates the development of universal rules for international economic cooperation with respect for peoples' right of self-determination.

In this connection the principle of sovereignty over natural resources occupies a central place.[18] Today it is no longer restricted at all to questions of nationalization, but rather embraces questions of economic policy in general, and in particular questions of foreign investment and the control of the activity of transnational monopolies.

In Article 2 of the Charter on Economic Rights and Duties, following the declaration of the basic principle that every country has full and permanent sovereignty over its entire wealth, its natural resources and its economic activity, three aspects of sovereignty over natural resources are stressed:

1. The right of every country to regulate and control foreign investment in its national territory in accordance with its laws.

2. The right of every country to control and supervise in its national territory the activity of transnational companies and to take the measures necessary to guarantee that their activity is in harmony with its laws and its national economic policy.

3. The right of every country to nationalize foreign property and to control questions of compensation according to its right and in the event of a dispute to decide it through its courts.

Quite rightly in this, as a basic condition for realizing sovereignty over natural resources, there is repeated reference to national legal sovereignty, to respecting sovereignty. Directly opposed to this are imperialist theories and practices which subject to review by foreign courts or arbitration courts foreign acts of sovereignty that arise when exercising national sovereignty over natural resources, or which respect national legislation only to the extent that they agree with alleged principles of international law--principles which are derived from the practice of capitalist countries. An example of this is the convention on the World Bank in respect to the settlement of investment disputes[19] or the arbitration award by Dupuy in the Libyan-American petroleum dispute.[20] As long as capitalist industrial countries and their arbitration courts maintain that acts of nationalization without prompt, adequate and effective compensation are contrary to international law, national sovereignty over natural resources is thus sobordinated to the laws of the free market economy, that is, it is virtually abolished. Transferring such principles of bourgeois laws governing aliens to current international law openly contradicts the principle of sovereign equality and would mean perpetuating economic exploitation by former colonial powers.

Sovereign Equality of Countries and Responsibility in Respect to International Law

Implementing the principle of sovereign equality as an organizational principle of peaceful international cooperation between countries with different social orders also produces interesting changes in the sector of responsibility relating to international law. This concerns the development of international crimes, doing away with pleas for immunity in the case of war crimes and crimes against humanity

(including the crime of apartheid) and also the expansion and concrete organization of the principle that countries are responsible for seeing to it that no activities emanate from their sovereign area which impair the sovereignty or security of other countries. As examples, mention may be made of the responsibility of countries according to the 14 December 1974 definition of aggression and according to the 5 August 1963 treaty prohibiting tests of nuclear weapons in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water, the responsibility of the countries for the recruiting of mercenaries within their sovereign territory and finally the duty of the countries, which is affirmed in Article 30 of the Charter on Economic Rights and Duties of countries, "to guarantee that activities which are implemented in their national territory or under their control do not cause any damage to the environment of other countries or regions outside the boundaries of national jurisdiction."

What we see here is a substantial expansion of the responsibility of countries for acts which are directed against the sovereignty of countries, the peoples' right of self-determination or international security, or which could endanger these. The responsibility of countries in these cases is in practice broadened by the fact that the obligation itself in respect to international law refers to hindering a certain result, no matter whether it is caused by state agencies or private parties.[21]

Such rules serve to implement the principle of sovereign equality. They take on special importance under the conditions of the existence of countries with different social orders. They work against a policy of the imperialist states to remove themselves from obligations relating to international law by referring to the fact that it is a question of actions by private parties, of the exercising of bourgeois freedoms. International law does not guarantee the bourgeois freedoms of the private owner, but rather the peoples' right of self-determination and the sovereign quality of countries. Guaranteeing the mutuality of basic obligations relating to international law is possible only under strict respect of the sovereign equality of countries. This requires the development of protection in respect to the economic arbitrariness of the monopolies.

It is an important task of the socialist science of international law to show in detail how, in positive international law, the principle of sovereign equality of countries fulfills its function as an organizational principle of current international society. In the theoretical analysis this makes it possible to unmask the allegedly modern antisovereignty conceptions of the bourgeois doctrine of international law as belonging totally to the past: as being constantly new attempts to perpetuate the dominance of capital vis-a-vis the peoples' right of self-determination.

FOOTNOTES

1. Compare H. Kroeger, "The People's Right of Self-Determination and The Bourgeois Doctrine of International Law," NEUE JUSTIZ, No 7, 1980, p 290 ff.

2. Compare "International Law. Textbook," Pt 1, Berlin, 1973, pp 54, 164, 183 f.

3. H. Kroeger and others, "Socialist Community of States and International Law," Berlin, 1979, p 105. Compare also B. Graefrath and H. Zapf, "The Dialectic of the International and National Element in Socialist International Relations," NEUE JUSTIZ, No 1, 1973, p 1 ff.

4. Compare for example Article 6, Paragraph 2 of the GDR constitution and Article 30 of the USSR constitution.

5. Compare H. Kroeger and others, "Socialist Community of States and International Law," ibid p 105.

6. Compare for example the 7 October 1975 friendship treaties by the GDR with the USSR (GESETZBLATT [Legal Gazette] II, No 11, p 238), with Hungary, dated 24 March 1977 (GBL II, No 10, p 190), with Poland, dated 28 May 1977 (GBL II, No 10, p 199), with Bulgaria, dated 14 September 1977 (GBL II, 1978, No 1, p 2) and with CSSR, dated 3 October 1977 (GBL II, No 1, p 5).

7. "International Law, Documents, Pt 3," Berlin, 1973, p 1,164 ff.

8. Reprinted in: "For Detente and Lasting Peace in Europe," Documents, Berlin, 1979, p 128 ff.

9. Compare B. Graefrath, "Declaration Concerning the Basic Principles of International Law," DEUTSCHE AUSSENPOLITIK, No 3, 1971, p 476 ff.

10. Compare U. Scheuner, "Solidarity Among Nations As a Fundamental Principle in the Present-day International Community," in "Law in the Service of Peace," Festschrift for E. Menzel, West Berlin, 1975, p 270 ff; G. Langer, "The 'New World Economic Order'--Does It Presuppose a 'New International Law'?" in "Law of International Economy/Foreign Trade Service," Heidelberg, 1977, p 456 ff.

11. GBR GBL II, No 24, 1974, p 466.

12. Compare for example G. Goerner and H. Wuensche, "New International Law of the Sea Must Contribute To International Detente," NEUE JUSTIZ, No 2, 1978, p 50 ff.

13. GDR GBL II, No 4, 1975, p 69.

14. GDR GBL I, No 3, 1964, p 32.

15. GDR GBL I, No 9, 1969, p 52.

16. "UN Balance 1974-1975" (DEUTSCHE AUSSENPOLITIK, Special No, 1975), p 181 ff. Compare in this connection also K. Becher, "The Charter On Economic Rights and Duties of Countries and the Contribution to Further Organization of Democratic International Law," DEUTCHE AUSSENPOLITIK, No 4, 1980, p 77 ff.

17. Compare for example I. Seidl-Hohenveldern, "The Charter on Economic Rights and Duties of Countries," in "Law of the International Economic System," 1975, p 237 ff.; I.G. Todenhoefer, "Growth for All--Plea for an International Social Market Economy," Stuttgart, 1976; Ch. Tomuschat, "The Charter on Economic Rights and Duties of Countries," ZEITSCHRIFT FUER AUSLAENDISCHES OEFFENTLICHES RECHT UND VOELKERRECHT, Stuttgart/West Berlin/Cologne/Mainz, 1976, p 444 ff.; E.U. Petersmann, "International Law and New International Economic System," ARCHIV DES VOELKERRECHTS, 1978, p 17 f.

18. Compare G. Brehme, "Sovereignty of Young National States Over Natural Resources," Berlin, 1967; M. Kemper, "National Control Over Natural Resources and New World Economic System," Berlin, 1976.

19. "Convention on the Settlement of Investment Disputes Between States and Nationals of Other States, 18 March 1965," in "Multinational Conventions and Other Instruments on Arbitration," Rome, 1974, p 115 ff. Compare in this connection also A. Broches, "The Convention on the Settlement of Investment Disputes Between States and Nationals of Other States," RECUEIL DES COURS DE L'ACADEMIE DE DROIT INTERNATIONAL DE LA HAYE, Vol 2, Leiden, 1972, p 330 f.

20. Text in Clunet, Vol 104, 1977, p 350 f. German-language summary by I. Seidl-Hohenveldern in "Law of the International Economic System Foreign Trade Service," 1977, p 502 f.

21. Comprehensively treated by B. Graefrath, "Responsibility of Countries In Respect to International Law--A Important Instrument to Implement International Law," NEUE JUSTIZ, No 6, 1980, p 252 ff (254 f).

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CSO: 2300

POPULAR UPSET OVER NEW MINIMUM EXCHANGE RATES REPORTED

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU in German 11 Oct 80 p 3

[Article by Karl-Heinz Baum, Berlin: "Friends and Relatives Were Quickly Invited--How Citizens in the GDR Reacted to the New Exchange Rates--No More 'Secret Holidays'"]

[Text] "Bzzzzz..." The busy signal has been sounding since Thursday [9 October] from the telephone receiver in East Berlin whenever the number 849 or 0649 is dialed. These numbers are the area codes for West Berlin and the Federal Republic of Germany. Since the GDR government announced an increase of the minimum exchange rate for travel to East Berlin and the GDR, the telephone wires between East and West have been humming.

Also from West Berlin people rarely succeed in establishing a telephone connection with the eastern part of the city or with places in the GDR on the first try. What is being discussed between East and West can easily been guessed. GDR citizens are asking their friends and relatives to come to visit quickly this weekend, at the old rate in other words, before the new regulation takes effect on Monday [13 October]. Already on Friday morning [10 October] there were waiting lines of 2 hours in the West Berlin visitor office.

The "regulation concerning the implementation of a compulsory minimum exchange of currency" was published on Friday by the GDR dailies on the second page, in text but without commentary. The citizens in the second German state certainly know that they--once again--will be the sufferers from their government's actions. Above all, those citizens who have contacts with West German or western foreigners are affected. It is difficult to say how many there are. According to the Statistical Pocket Book of the GDR, in 1979 approximately 7.6 million residents traveled from nonsocialist states into the GDR. Of these, the majority came from the FRG and from West Berlin, approximately 6 million.

GDR citizens with officially censured western contacts know from experience that an increase of the mandatory exchange will directly affect the quality of their lives. A person forced to fork over more at the border no longer has so much money for gifts (the famous pound of coffee). That was the same 7 years ago when the GDR increased the exchange requirement from the then 5 to 10 marks (for East Berlin visits) and from 10 to 20 marks (for GDR visits).

The figures published by the [FRG] Inner-German Ministry show how much the action taken at that time affected the tourist and visitor traffic. After the GDR had

dropped the rates to 6.50 M and 13 M, the number of visitors took a sharp upward turn: in 1975, 1.2 million FRG citizens and 600,000 more Berliners traveled into the GDR. Also the number of short-stay crossings rose by approximately 130,000.

"My mother lives in West Berlin on a pension," an East Berliner said on Thursday evening, "and she scrimps and saves to buy gifts for our family. If she now must convert 25 marks at each visit, very little remains for us."

The mood in the GDR one day after the announcement of the new measure can be defined as "shock." As the ostensible reason, people cite the SED's fear of a possible repercussion from the Polish events on the GDR. They are starting to fear the effects of detente policy and are trying once more to close the bulkheads. The campaign of the SED press against western visitors has borne little fruit in the past, said one person and recalled that it was also said, "They eat us out of house and home." The GDR press has shot off whole broadsides against "Aunt Frieda from Hamburg" and "Uncle Kurt from Duesseldorf," who allegedly are spreading their anti-communist and revanchist slogans in the GDR.

"Politically dumb, economically foolish, and psychologically wrong"--to this short formula an East German reduced the action of his government on Friday. It is politically dumb because the GDR's best trading partner, the FRG, is inevitably annoyed. It is economically foolish becuase the GDR's action will hardly be able to bring in more money. Whatever is taken in additionally in exchange money will be lost again elsewhere. Fewer visitors leave fewer gifts and also considerably less remains for Intershop. After all, the sales in GDR Intershop stores, where western goods can be purchased in a roundabout way with "Forum checks," amount to 700 million marks a year according to the SED general secretary. On the other hand, the GDR proceeds from the mandatory exchange are estimated at only 300 million marks.

The visitors from the west are viewed by the GDR citizens as a kind of "secret western holiday." People hear about trips to distant coasts and participate vicariously in what otherwise they can duplicate only on television or radio, after a fashion. "If they take away our 'secret holiday,' internal demands for more trips to the west and for more freedom of movement will naturally increase," this speaker said to justify his opinion as to why the measure was also psychologically wrong.

It is inconceivable, he continued, that this step was dreamed up by the Politburo alone. Big brother in Moscow, with an eye cocked on Poland, must have helped considerably.

After all it is unusual that on the very day that all GDR citizens could read about the new measure in the press for the first time, the responsible GDR Finance Minister Schmieder was justifying the regulation in an interview with the SED central organ NEUES DEUTSCHLAND which had been publicized in advance. Certainly these arguments, which were given in a similar manner to the chief of Bonn's permanent mission, Guenter Gaus, on his visit to the GDR Foreign Ministry, do not clarify anything. If someone, such as Schmieder, speaks of inflationary growth, a doubling or quadrupling (as for the East Berlin visits) is hardly appropriate. The reason the GDR actually needs to introduce a minimum exchange rate is that the second German state, 31 years after its founding, has not managed to launch a convertible currency, as has almost every developing country in the meantime.

The residents of the GDR were agreed about one thing. The step taken by the GDR government can hardly be justified for economic reasons alone. Protection against Polish ideas, carried by western visitors also to the GDR doorstep, once again has first priority. This step will bring no new sympathy to the GDR. But the fear of possibly endangering the state was once again considerably greater than the desire to have a good image internationally, for example at the impending follow-up conference to the Helsinki decisions which begins at the end of this month in Madrid.

One GDR citizen, however, knew how, in spite of the increase of the exchange rates, one could sustain the stream of visitors from the West: "Now we must simply provide valuable gifts for our guests. Of course that means much running around for many days." That is an understandable, spontaneous reaction in human terms, but, considering the supplies and the GDR's strict export regulations, it will only be realized with difficulty.

CSO: 2300

HEGEDUS STRESSES NEED FOR SANCTIONED OPPOSITION IN EAST EUROPE

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 25 Aug 80 pp 102-106

[Interview with former Hungarian Premier Andras Hegedus by Klaus Reinhardt and Inge Cyrus of DER SPIEGEL in Vienna about opposition in the Eastern Bloc: "'I Will Never Be a Communist Party Member Again'"]

> [Text] As Hungarian premier, Andras Hegedus in October 1956 requested the Soviets to intervene against his rebellious compatriots. On 28 October of the same year, he fled in a Russian plane to Moscow. There he studied philosophy and Western sociology, particularly Max Weber, at the Academy of Sciences. After returning to Hungary in September 1958, the former Stalinist, as a sociologist and later chief editor of the journal VALOSAG, for some years advocated social reforms and democratic developments in Hungary. Because he had publicly criticized the Soviet invasion of the CSSR, he was reprimanded by the party in 1968, and in 1973 he was definitely expelled from the party. The SPIEGEL interview with Hegedus, aged 58, took place shortly before the big strikes in Poland.

SPIEGEL: Mr Hegedus, in 1956 you were the premier of the Communist Party government which triggered the popular uprising. At that time you were considered a Stalinist. Today you are one of the leading Hungarian dissidents. Is this change due to your knowing better, to the changed world situation or simply to spite?

Hegedus: The change did not take place overnight. It was a long process, lasting from the 1956 October revolution into the 1960's. I did a great deal of thinking.

SPIEGEL: The unusual second career began in 1956 with your flight from Budapest. Why particularly to Moscow?

Hegedus: You see, I judged the situation from the stupid point of view of a person in power. I was convinced that the revolt was a counterrevolution which had to be smashed in the party's interest. Only after I had become an emigre in Moscow were doubts raised in my mind.

SPIEGEL: Because of what?

Hegedus: I began an intensive study of Western sociology.

SPIEGEL: In Moscow, of all places, where there really was no sociology in the mid-1950's?

Hegedus: Where there was none and none was allowed. The Kremlin condemned sociology in no uncertain terms as a "bourgeois science." Nevertheless the library of the Academy of Sciences had the most important sociological books--those by Max Weber, for example. Those I grabbed eagerly, wanting to understand the causes of the revolution with the help of sociology.

SPIEGEL: And did you?

Hegedus: At least I understood that what had happened in Hungary was no counter-revolution, that the rebels were not necessarily to be regarded as enemies of socialism, that there were many workers and many communists among the rebels who had good reason to be dissatisfied. I also realized my own mistakes as premier.

SPIEGEL: Do you mean to say that if Hegedus had not been the Hungarian premier at that time the revolution might not have occurred at all?

Hegedus: That would be simplistic, because what was bad was not only the premier; what was bad was the whole Stalinist regime. Radical political changes should have been made in the restructuring of party and government in July 1956; instead of Rakosi, not Erno Gero but Janos Kadar should have become the head of the party, and instead of me Imre Nagy should have become premier.

Kadar represented the critical trend in the party, and Nagy was the figurehead of the extraparty intellectual opposition. With those two heading the party and government, it probably would have been possible to avoid the revolution. In any case, thanks to Kadar, I found the domestic political situation already fairly stabilized when I returned to Budapest from Moscow in 1958...

SPIEGEL: ...and decided there to stick rather to sociology than to politics.

Hegedus: Not right away. In 1961 I was, after all, already deputy president of the Statistical Office. Such a job is highly political in East Europe. Kadar wanted to make me president of that office and take me back into the government.

SPIEGEL: And you didn't want to?

Hegedus: I told him: No, thanks; I would rather work as a social scientist; let me form a sociological research group. Kadar was very disappointed at the time. He didn't understand me. He thought I was too cowardly to bear the political responsibility together with him.

SPIEGEL: Soon thereafter Kadar was not only disappointed but furious. The entire Sociological Institute you were heading quickly steered a course that was critical of the party. As early as 1964 you had your first difficulties as chief editor of the sociocritical journal VALOSAG. In August 1968, at a party gathering, you protested the invasion by the Warsaw Pact countries of the CSSR--the only one of 200 intellectuals to do so. How did you happen to?

Hegedus: A number of things were going on then. Personally I was dealing primarily with the problem of society's control of bureaucracy. In the process all leftist-oriented movements became suspect in my eyes, regardless of whether it was a question of Trotskyites or one of supporters of the Chinese Counter-revolution.

What is the use, I wondered, smashing the current bureaucracy by means of a revolution--a counterrevolution? It is no use, no use at all, for there develops again a new bureaucracy, and it is bound to be even worse than the old one.

SPIEGEL: Despite all the differences, you were still a party member. Not until 1973, according to our data, were you expelled from the party...

Hegedus: Right.

SPIEGEL: ...following a lecture you delivered in Warsaw. There you stated that socialism existed in Europe now in name only. The Communist Party leadership in Budapest thereupon accused you of revisionism, of ideological deviation.

Hegedus: What I said was a little more complex. I and my colleague Maria Markus criticized in Warsaw the two forms of the really existing socialism--that is, both the East European system of state administration on the Soviet model and the Yugoslav system of self-administration--because each in its way is bureaucratic. We looked for a third possibility, for a new alternative of socialist democratic development.

SPIEGEL: This dream of a more democratic socialism, in accord with human dignity, you have not stopped dreaming to this day. In concrete terms, what does the third model of communism, the Hegedus brand, look like?

Hegedus: It definitely looks different from what it did originally. Initially I thought the initiative for democratic development had to come from above--in other words, from the party leadership. Now I am convinced that the decisive impetus for it must come from below.

SPIEGEL: How is that supposed to come about in a totalitarian system?

Hegedus: By autonomous--that is, independent--organizations coming into being which are not only tolerated but legalized by the communist party. They are to create a public opinion contributing to modernizing the power structure and to cuasing a gradual dissolution of the bureaucratic structures which are paralyzing economic and political life today.

SPIEGEL: Do you mean interest groups which grow into parties, form an opposition and finally strive for assuming power?

Hegedus: No, that's not what I mean. I don't want to introduce any bourgeois democracy, any multiparty system in East Europe. Look, as far as West Europe is concerned, I wholeheartedly advocate the so-called Eurocommunist way with a multi-party system and a parliament. The East European single-party system would be something awful in West Europe. Just as unsuitable, however, I think, is the idea of introducing the West European multiparty system in East Europe.

The established communist power, of course, would not ever be prepared voluntarily to cede its rule to the opposition once it is demonstrably supported by the majority. That could only end in a catastrophe, and I am definitely opposed to catastrophes.

SPIEGEL: What do you mean by "catastrophe?" The counterrevolution of ill fame?

Hegedus: Civil war--primarily civil war. It might then trigger a war of all nationalists within East Europe. After all, the Croatians are not the only malcontents.

SPIEGEL: To come back to the point of departure, what you have in mind is autonomous organizations which are independent of the party but do not want to become parties in their own right?

Hegedus: Exactly. I want not a party pluralism, but a movement pluralism.

SPIEGEL: It reminds one of the Greens in the Federal Republic, who also want to be a party but at the same time are very much afraid of becoming one.

Hegedus: With us in East Europe the arguments run quite differently. There it would be dangerous to strive for power. For a member of the East European nomenclature, the loss of his power means being flung into nothingness--all privileges gone, the nice apartment gone, as well as the official car and the secretary. He therefore concentrates completely on retaining power. If one wants to dethrone him, one risks a brutal counterblow.

SPIEGEL: Where then are the autonomous organizations to come from which you hope will democratize the regime?

Hegedus: In part they already exist. It is wrong to assume, as one does in the West, that in the East discussions take place at best in fringe groups. Our societies are not dead by any means. Conflicts also reaching the masses occur constantly. At plant assemblies, for instance, workers defend their interests just as vociferously as the managers defend theirs. And because there is no right to strike, you will have migration of labor.

SPIEGEL: The West really is not as poorly informed about the East as you assume. No one regards the Eastern societies as immobile. We know that the Czech underground publishers "Edice petlice" publish much more interesting things than all the official publishers combined. And we know that in Hungary there exists a fairly large tolerated cultural opposition operating in the literary, philosophical and sociological fields.

Hegedus: This is exactly the point I had in view. In Europe today, there are a great many tolerated semioppositionist and oppositionist groups. Nor is the party unhappy about that; it needs certain outlets for popular discontent anyway.

But, as I said, it is a question of a merely tolerated opposition. It must at last be legalized and institutionalized. It must at last be able to depend on this tolerance not turning into persecution tomorrow or the next day.

SPIEGEL: If we have understood you correctly, you demand of the communist regimes in East Europe that they not only tolerate but officially encourage, and thus legalize, a certain pluralism.

Hegedus: Exactly. My thesis is the following. The East European power structure, on the one hand, and the East European opposition, on the other, are confronting a great historical compromise. Those in power have to forgo integrating immediately every movement as they have wanted to in the past. For the first time they will have to permit autonomous organizations legally. At the same time the opposition must limit itself. It has to forgo a priori the traditional political aims--attaining power, even morally questioning the current power. In addition it must also forgo the long-term aim of forming a political party of its own and be satisfied with checking the various institutions of the power structure.

SPIEGEL: Even theoretically such a thing is difficult to imagine, and in practice a great number of hardly solvable questions arise. The most important is this: What is to induce those in power to go in for such a historical compromise? In fact, do they need to do so?

Hegedus: Very much so. I would go so far as to say that basically they have no choice. Unless they go in for the historical compromise, there remain but two somber possibilities. Either there will occur a neo-Stalinism which no one wants, or there will be social convulsions in increasingly quick succession until finally the system collapses completely.

SPIEGEL: For what reason, however, should the opposition be prepared to restrict itself as required? An opposition which declares itself that it does not wish to come to power at the first opportunity surely is ineffective from the very outset. While it can talk about everything, it cannot change anything.

Hegedus: Nevertheless I see no reasonable and feasible way to get out of dictatorship. After all, it is no trivial matter for communist parties now wielding absolute power to agree for the first time that an opposition may exist outside the party. They thus give the citizen the right to his own opinion. That is a giant step forward. It gives rise to pressure of public opinion.

SPIEGEL: And how is the pressure to work upward from below? Can you cite a concrete example?

Hegedus: When I talk of autonomous organizations, I think not so much of marginal groups as primarily of large social groups such as workers, peasants, intellectuals. Nevertheless I can give you an example of even the smallest autonomous organization being able to have an effect. Just take the few critical sociologists in Hungary. They simply brought up three subjects that were taboo long enough for the official side--the press, the movie industry--not to be able to ignore them any longer. First there was the taboo subject of the "second economy"...

SPIEGEL: You mean the problem of the private side economies which often are more important than the state-controlled economy for both the workers and market supply.

Hegedus: Yes. Secondly there was the taboo of discrimination against Gypsies, which we also made a subject for general discussion. Ten years ago it would have been quite unimaginable for a journal to criticize a bus conductor for calling out, "Ladies and gentlemen, there are Gypsies on this bus; watch your wallets." It simply was not permitted to write about racial discrimination in our good socialist society. Today this is being discussed and written about, and movies are being made about it.

The third taboo, finally, tackled by the sociologists concerns poverty. They want to see to it (and in part have already accomplished it) that official cognizance is taken of the fact that poverty exists not only in the evil capitalist system. It also exists where we are. A critical opposition, you see, can react more quickly to social problems than the authorities can.

SPIEGEL: Do you regard sociology--your present work, in other words--as a sort of test stage to see how autonomous organizations operate?

Hegedus: Yes. But I am of course in a privileged, comparatively independent position, for I am already in retirement. My young students, who still work, are far worse off. Their existence still depends on the party's good will.

Thus Zoltan Zsille, for instance, lost his teaching job at the Managers Training Institute because he refused to sign a statement condemning my views. That was in 1974. He has been unemployed since.

SPIEGEL: Let us sum up once more. What you understand by "historical compromise in the East" and what somewhere else you have described as "radical reform" is based on the premise that real socialism, such as we are experiencing in East Europe, is in need of basic reform both in principle and in method, and in fact realizes this itself. Is this a correct interpretation?

Hegedus: Reform must be comprehensive. It is a question not only of economic reforms that can be seen to be necessary but also of social reforms. The prerequisite in each instance is the legitimizing of a deviating view.

SPIEGEL: Loosely after the motto "Let a hundred flowers bloom." Evidently you hope that a more widely informed public and better communication between the base and the top, between the people of the state and the power of the state, can lead to more reasonable politics.

Hegedus: I proceed on the premise that in reality there cannot be such a thing as a harmonious socialist society. If anywhere, it exists only in communist party texts. Wherever different social interests can be expressed, there will be constant struggle. I also proceed on the premise that the diverse autonomous organizations will not be socialist ones [sic]. They will be socialist, ecclesiastical, trade unionist and also nonpolitical, but not antisocialist.

SPIEGEL: The Prague Spring rather proved the opposite. But let us assume, contrary to all experience, that the autonomous organizations would let themselves be guided by indefensible socialist values into the far future. Would it then not make more sense to modernize socialism from within, in the communist party?

Hegedus: First off, that sounds highly logical. But, as is known, the party likes to argue that an external opposition is superfluous because there exists an internal opposition anyway. And in fact it does exist...

SPIEGEL: As a marginal group in the party without any real influence...

Hegedus: I do not see the power structure as homogeneous. I know of a large number of progressive elements in that power structure, but they are impotent without external pressure. They cannot prevail against the party's orthodox and dogmatic elements until the nonintegrated oppositionists help them to do so. I therefore adhere to my view that autonomous groups are indispensable.

SPIEGEL: But do you seriously believe that those in power in East Europe would be prepared to play along with such risky example of democratization? And surely you will not lure the population into the open with improved ideology and social reforms. Whoever rejects socialism, for whatever reason, withdraws into private life and wants to be left in peace.

Hegedus: Precisely this flight into private life surely shows how sick the socialist system is. In our countries there are only two alternatives as far as public activity is concerned. One can serve those in power or, to the extent that one risks heavy repression, one can be critical and advocate reforms. If one wants neither one nor the other (and, understandably, that is the case with most people) one can only retire into private life. Only if you know that you really can change something, will you get involved.

SPIEGEL: For the time being, this is no more than a hope. Moreover, the dissidents in Prague, Warsaw and Budapest are children once burned. Their distrust of state promises is profound and, as we know, not unfounded. Who guarantees them that in the long run the state power, particularly in crisis situations, will also keep to the historical compromise, that whoever takes the floor in good faith today will not be condemned as an enemy of the state tomorrow?

Hegedus: No one could guarantee this in the present situation. None of us knows what will happen. After the institutionalization of independent movements demanded by me, the individual will be protected more or less, however. The state power will then find that its hands are tied. You see, by persecuting a critic of the system it would invalidate the whole system.

SPIEGEL: Further, who gurantees to the state power, in turn, that the autonomous groups will stick to the rules of self-limitation--in other words, will never want to try to seize power?

Hegedus: Only the power itself can guarantee that. It simply must behave in such a way that the desire for its being relived does not awaken anywhere among the people.

SPIEGEL: What political position do you see for yourself in such a reformed communism in the future?

Hegedus: None. As a politician, as I see things now, I died as early as October 1956. My present role is that of a critic of society. I want to be free to express my views.

SPIEGEL: As a model for others?

Hegedus: I want to behave in such a way as also to give others the courage to think. For, you see, a dreadful disease is spreading in East Europe: even those intellectuals who actually are not threatened by any danger forgo thinking. They have become accustomed too much to the fact that one must not think about certain questions.

SPIEGEL: Can you imagine a social development in which you at least would want to become a party member again?

Hegedus: No, that is 100 percent out of the question. After what I have experienced I could never be a communist party member again. I never again want to subject my own thinking to the thinking methods of the party.

SPIEGEL: Thank you for this interview, Mr Hegedus.

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CSO: 2300

SOCIOLOGICAL EDUCATION AT COLLEGE, UNIVERSITY LEVEL SURVEYED

Budapest FELSOOKTATASI SZEMLE in Hungarian No 9 Sep 80 pp 533-537

[Article by Pal Peter Toth, research associate at the Lorand Eötvos College of Sciences: "The Teaching of Marxism-Leninism - Instruction of Sociology at Institutions of Higher Education"]

[Text] The teaching of sociology - which has been part of the curriculum at the universities and colleges for some time - has been further expanded in the last one-and-a-half or two years. The objective and subjective requisites of the instruction have been broadened, and there has been more preparatory work for establishing requisites of purport and organization for the development. The MSZMP Central Committee's Agitation and Propaganda Committee, which in the spring of 1977 looked twice at the situation in sociological research and instruction and defined the most important tasks of a further development, played an important role in this process. That definition served as a basis for the analysis, on the basis of which the Committee on Scientific Policy issued a resolution on 3 February, 1978, regarding the state of sociological research and instruction, and the tasks in their development.

Before examining the present situation in the instruction of sociology at the universities and colleges, let us briefly look at what the Agitation and Propaganda Committee emphasized at its 7 June 1977 meeting as the main tasks in the instruction of sociology and the improvement in the training of sociologists.

"As a first step", established the Agitation and Propaganda Committee, "general sociology" must gradually be made compulsory in the law departments of the colleges of sciences, in the colleges of medicine and in the appropriate departments of the humanities. As a second step, this must be accomplished - simultaneously with the development of a faculty cadre - in the technical and agricultural colleges and, finally, in the colleges of education.

"In order to insure the requisites of instruction," stated the Agitation and Propaganda Committee, "the Ministry of Education should work out the program and curriculum of general sociology."

According to this view, "the instruction of special and branch sociology must be gradually introduced or strengthened in the training programs of lawyers, physicians, engineers, economists and agrarian specialists, and the instruction of educational sociology must be expanded and improved in the departments of general education.

"In order to create the conditions for higher-quality instruction, bases and groups must be created at the universities which would be engaged in continuous research - either independently or in cooperation with other research centers.

"Beginning with the 1978-79 academic year, professional training must be reorganized at the Loránd Eötvös College of Sciences, and must be introduced at the Karl Marx College of Economics.

"In order to alleviate the shortage in sociologists, an independent two-year program must be organized under the direction of the sociology department of the Loránd Eötvös College of Sciences, and the extension training of sociologists must be institutionalized.

"All of these tasks must be carried out gradually, and simultaneously with the establishment of objective conditions."

1. The Teaching of Sociology at the Universities and Colleges

In the 1976-77 academic year, general sociology was taught at the law departments of the colleges of sciences of Budapest, Pécs and Szeged, at the Loránd Eötvös College of Sciences, at certain departments of the College of Humanities of the Lajos Kossuth Scientific University, at the Karl Marx College of Economics and at the Pécs College of Medicine.

As a result of the measures taken, general sociology was introduced in the 1978-79 academic year, in addition to the institutions above, at the College of Humanities and College of Sciences of the Attila József Scientific University in the framework of a special program of required electives, at the colleges of medicine of Budapest and Debrecen, at the Budapest Technical University and the College of Heavy Industrial Technology within the framework of a special program. In addition, general sociology was also introduced at the Semmelweis College of Medicine and certain correspondence courses (e.g., adult education, library science, scientific socialism) of the departments of humanities of the Colleges of Sciences of Budapest and Debrecen.

In the institutions above, in addition to the instruction of general sociology, a major in sociology and specialized sociology is also being offered in the framework of a special elective program.

In addition to all of these institutions, sociology is also being taught at the College of Horticulture and the College of Veterinary Medicine in the form of elective courses.

According to the practice of earlier years, special courses in sociology are still being offered mainly in the colleges under the supervision of various departments without basic training in general sociology. The College of Industrial Arts, the College of Theater and Film, the Pécs College of Education, the College of Special Education, and the Veszprém College of Chemistry, for example, have such programs of special sociology.

In order to generalize the teaching of sociology at the colleges and to conduct continuous sociological research to aid instruction of a higher quality, the past one-and-a-half to two years have seen the establishment of centers--in the university towns of Debrecen, Pécs, Szeged--which will make it possible to teach general sociology in the given city's institution of higher learning. Thus, through the concentration of sociologists and the material means in these places, units will be created which have not existed earlier in our country's higher educational structure. In addition to the units above according to plans sociological groups will begin to operate within the framework of the sociology departments or those of Marxism-Leninism at the Technical University of Budapest, the Heavy Industrial Technological College, the College of Chemistry of Veszprém and the Semmelweis College of Medicine.

In spite of the fact that the Ministry of Education has not encouraged instruction of sociology at the colleges because of a shortage of trained sociologists, there has been a certain progress. For while only the Hungarian College of Physical Education offered college-level instruction of general sociology, which since then has gained the status of a university level institution. It was offered at the colleges of education of Szeged and Szombathely and at the department of adult education of the College of Education of Nyiregyháza in the academic year 1978-79 in the form of a special required elective program. In addition to the above, instruction in political sociology, based on general sociology, has been introduced at the College of State Administration.

Under limited subjective and objective conditions, the organization of the instruction of general sociology will probably be made difficult by the fact that the students at present have a compulsory class load of 33-38 hours. In my opinion, the number of classes cannot be increased. Instead, the present class load must be examined.

The college text entitled "Sociology" will be very helpful in teaching sociology. The synopsis of the planned curriculum was discussed by the Sociology Committee of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and the Special Committee of Sociology of the Ministry of Education; it is expected that it will be available for faculty and students in the 1980-81 academic year. In addition to the unified material, college texts of political and legal sociology, instructional and educational sociology, cultural sociology, social psychology, factory and industrial sociology, organizational sociology and sociological methods will also be written in the next 2 years.

There were, of course, certain texts and collection of lectures in the earlier years as well; indeed, even in the last 2 years, two lecture-collections and two texts were published ("Basic Political Sociology" for students of the College of State Administration, and "Introduction to Medical Sociology").

2. The Training of Sociologists

According to the view of the Agitation and Propaganda Committee and the resolution of the Committee on Scientific Policy, the training of sociologists must be accomplished through the cooperation of the Loránd Eötvös College of Sciences and the Karl Marx College of Economics. The details must be jointly worked out by the heads of the two colleges of the heads of the special departments concerned.

Training in sociology has been resumed at the Loránd Eötvös College of Sciences in the academic year 1979-80 at the daytime B division. The curriculum has been modernized on the basis of the recommendation of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences' and the Ministry of Education's special committees.

The department also made recommendations for up-dating the content of the supplementary evening sociology program. Accordingly, beginning with September, 1978, instruction at the supplementary evening program was based on this modified program.

To improve sociological training, the number of faculty and research associates was increased in 1978 at the Department of Sociology. Through the improvement of the subjective conditions, the objective conditions also improved, but there was no significant change: even today, problems of space and a lack of equipment hinder instruction and research. It was necessary to establish this, partly because, despite adverse circumstances, the department's research activity plays an important part in our sociological research and, at the same time, it is a fundamental requisite for efficient training.

Of the department's extensive research activity, the following areas must be expecially emphasized: the study of jurists, the study of medical doctors, and studies dealing with the new post-war organizations of intellectuals, national consciousness and value systems, the social life of the small-town intelligentsia, the system of higher education etc.

The department's book and periodical library was in the last one or two years also significantly expanded simultaneously with the improvement of the objective conditions. In order to process the traditions of Hungarian sociology, the collection of personal documents of Hungarian history of sociology was started on the one hand, and, on the other, a volume of studies on the pre-1945 history of Hungarian sociology will be published in collaboration with the Kossuth Publishing House.

The Karl Marx College of Economics is another important Center for the instruction and training in sociology. The instruction of sociology at the college, and the state and activity of the Socio-Economic Research Team were scrutinized already in 1977 by the Ministry of Education's Special Committee on Sociology and the college and department councils of the Karl Marx College of Economics. As a result of the above conferences, there was a significant change in the curriculum beginning with the 1977-78 academic year, e.g., general sociology is being taught as a compulsory subject in the 2nd semester of the 3rd year for almost 500 students, and there are lectures about certain questions of economic sociology in the 1st semester of the 4th year.

Falling into line with the general structure of university education, there is special training, within the framework of the so-called alternative block, for students interested in sociology. The alternative section [blokk] in sociology, for example, was chosen by 20 students in both the 1977-78 and 1978-79 academic years. And for those students who want to write their theses in sociology, the Research Team offers special seminars. In addition to all of these, general sociology has been introduced - beginning with the 1979-80 academic year - for students in the evening, correspondence and supplementary courses as well making a total of about 500 students.

3. A Two-year Course in Sociology

On the basis of the resolution of the Committee on Scientific Policy, an independent two-year program was started by the faculty and research associates of the Department of Sociology of the Loránd Eötvös College of Sciences, with the latter's supervision. This program is offered to those who do not have any training in sociology. It is a high-quality program, based on the active participation of the students. It must be emphasized that, instead of listening to lectures, the students conduct specific sociological research (studies of kindergartens) with the guidance of the faculty.

It can be said on the basis of experience that the program plays an important role in temporarily alleviating the shortage in sociologists and in training qualified sociologists who will take part in teaching and research.

But since this program can only moderate the shortage of sociologists that exist in the area of higher education, an additional independent two-year program should be started in the area of higher education (mainly in agrarian and teacher training) based on the practical demands of research and the individual special portfolios.

According to the resolution in force, the continuing education of trained sociologists must also be organized by the Department of Sociology of the Loránd Eötvös College of Sciences. But since the training and continued training of instructors of sociology, and the establishment and further development of the contents and methodology of instruction in sociology that is to be introduced at the institutions of higher learning, are beyond the tasks related to the general and sociological training in the humanities, it has become necessary for the department to give an appropriate internal structure to its future tasks which is in harmony with its functions. This will be carried out under the name of Laboratory and Continuing Training Center of the Department of Sociology.

On the basis of the experiences gained in the last one-and-a-half or two years, I think it can be clearly stated that the MSZMP Central Committee's Agitation and Propaganda Committee's view and resolution on the state and development of the instruction in sociology has played and does play an important role in the establishment of instruction in sociology and the further improvement of the training of sociologists, having created an appropriate basis for the expansion of our professional training of sociologists and the teaching of general sociology.

9414
CSO: 2500

NEW SOCIAL CONTROL COMMITTEES SET WORK PROGRAMS

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 4 Aug 80 pp 1,2

[Article by J.M.: "Social Control Initiates Activities--Focus on Economic Problems and Vital Questions"]

[Text] New WKKS [Voivodship Social Control Committees] were appointed at the meetings of the Voivodship People's Council in May and June of this year. Their teams consisting of 40 to 65 individuals are composed of experienced local activists--representatives of various centers and plants, workers of large industrial enterprises, members of social organizations and self-government, and councillors.

By appointing the WKKS national councils outlines also the program for their activities linked with the initial experience of the committees during the preceding term. The word "initial experience" is used because the control committees which have been operating in national councils for barely 2 years fulfilled--in accordance with the law--the role of organs coordinating and inspiring the activity of other links of social control in our communities. Although such committees have already had many accomplishments, they continue their search for more effective methods of work.

In the first weeks of the term the new WKKS differed in the scope of their activities. A review of their operational programs may confirm that the committees are focusing their interest on matters of considerable importance, whether in terms of quality of the management or of conditions of the people's life.

Subjects Derived From Life

The WKKS in Zielona Gora, for example, is interested in the quality of housing delivered for occupation, labor discipline in plants, principles guiding price-setting of consumer goods, etc. The WKKS in Bialystok is concerned with--among other things--establishment of shopping centers in villages as well as with the condition of services to the village population and the quality of maintenance of residential housing. The committee also examines complaints addressed to housing cooperatives.

The WKKS in Bailsko Biala intends this year to assess exploitation of secondary raw materials, the situation of agricultural land protection, the conditions of animal shelters in purchasing centers, etc. Independently from the program, numerous complaints reported by residents have already been investigated (price control of fruits and vegetables, verification of reports about waste of construction materials, and so on).

As a rule, the WKKS appeal to various links of social control for investigation of selected cases, while others assess competent control links in terms of efficiency and activity, and submit proposals to them. They organized their own control less than 2 years ago. The committees are trying to stimulate other social control organs to do more efficient work. In the voivodship of Zielona Gora, for example, the quality of housing is controlled by the forces of the NOT [Chief Technical Organization] voivodship department and by the residents' self-government. Labor discipline is observed by trade union control and by the ZUS [Social Insurance Institution]. An analysis will be presented at a WKKS meeting.

At the beginning of the term the WKKS in Legnica held a coordinating conference with representatives of all links of social control and trade union control, at which directives for operations and forms of cooperation were stipulated. As early as in May of this year the control committee, in cooperation with the Commission on Agricultural Production and Food Economy of the Voivodship People's Council, reviewed the distribution and production of fodder in the voivodship. Furthermore, control teams began checking whether housing units transferred to the use of workplaces had been allocated in conformity with regulations.

Popularization of Achievements

The WKKS in Legnica has continued some of the programs from the previous term. For instance, the autumn review of the implementation of regulations on reforms of operations in communications was an issue which received lively comments from the residents. Followup of cases under investigation and concern for close ties with our society are essential preconditions for efficient control.

When outlining their social control program, national councils focused on the fact that our society has not been adequately informed about the activities of the committees, which cuts down the rate of signals coming from the people, and thus, also the opportunity for the KKS [Social Control Committee] to react to various irregularities. Therefore, the achievements of the KKS must be popularized in various ways. In view of the advantages of such advertising the most active committees are trying to inform the public about their activities as much as possible. The source of their success in fact is that they proceed in their activities not only according to a set program, but also in response to every specific social signal.

9004
CSO: 2600

'LE MONDE' VIEWS POLISH TU'S 'VICTORY,' EAST BLOC CONCERN

LD121331 Paris LE MONDE in French 12 Nov 80 p 1

[Editorial: "The Polish Trade Unionists' Victory"]

[Text] The Warsaw Supreme Court has finally recognized a fact: the solidarity trade union exists and the rules it submitted to the court responsible for registering them were in keeping with the law. Therefore the judges should not have "amended" the text submitted to them on 24 October. This 10 November is a historic date in socialist Poland's history: the birth of a big independent trade union. In the short term the supreme court's decision makes it possible to avoid a trial of strength which would have fearful consequences in a country whose economy has been exhausted. Nobody would dare to suggest that it puts an end to the crisis.

The latest developments in the conflict could appear to be the result of a blunder. However, in altering the text submitted to it on its own initiative the court was not unaware that it would be angering millions of trade unionists. Did the party leaders, who directed the court's action, not wish to humiliate the militant workers who had become daunting partners? Were they not trying to cause disturbances in order to impose their authority?

It is a fact that the Polish United Workers' Party is deeply divided, even in its leadership. How else can the events of the past few weeks be explained? Of course Mr Kania said that the reform process is irreversible. He stated that it is necessary to adapt to the existence of the independent trade unions since that is what a large section of the working class wants.

However there is reason to wonder whether these repeated assurances reflect a real desire to radically change an exhausted regime or whether they are merely given to appease the crowd, get it back to work and win the necessary respite for resuming control without any trouble. However, even if the first secretary's desire for reform is genuine, a section of the apparatus and the leadership is rejecting the development. In the enterprises cadres have attempted to intimidate the workers who joined the independent trade unions. At the highest level some leaders are dreaming of smashing solidarity and bringing the dissidents back into line. They have lost the battle in the supreme court. Does that mean they will abandon hope of restoring the traditional order?

In the face of a party which is a prey to doubt, there is now a trade union which has been swept to victory but which is naturally crossed by various currents of

thought. The trade union's founders have accepted compromises in order to obtain official recognition and to prevent the government from losing face. Mr Walesa also thinks that the right to strike must be used with caution. Some of his friends, especially in Gdansk, are already criticizing him for having given way too much to the "other side." Will he always be able to hold back a frequently impatient grass roots which has in places regarded as defeat what is, after all, a success: the supreme courts' decision? The Polish workers are not obtaining everything they want and many wage demands, however justified, cannot be met in the present situation. At least they now have a means of making their voices heard.

It is precisely that which is worrying other communist states. Although the Soviets are continuing to say that it is up to the Poles and them alone to solve their problems, the Czechoslovak and East German leaders are now showing the same restraint. For instance, a few hours before the supreme court's ruling, Czechoslovak communist party organ RUDE PRAVO wrote that solidarity was giving the government orders. The newspaper added that this crisis could "have repercussions at international level." How can anybody fail to see such remarks as a threat?

CSO: 3100

BRIEFS

INDEPENDENT TRADE UNION REGISTRATION--Warsaw, October 24 (XINHUA)--The Court of Warsaw Province, Poland, announced that the registration of the Independent and Self-Governing "Solidarity" Trade Union headquartered in Gdansk was approved by the court at local time 15:00 P.M. today after a five-hour debate. After the announcement, Lech Walesa, leader of the union, declared that the trade union fully agreed to principles of the constitution and the Gdansk agreement, and had no rejection of the leadership of the party. But he proclaimed that the trade union is a non-political organization refusing the control by any political force. [Text] [OW250140 Beijing XINHUA in English 0122 GMT 25 Oct 80]

INDEPENDENT STUDENT ASSOCIATION--Warsaw, October 26 (XINHUA)--A new Independent Association of Polish Students has been established here recently which will co-exist with the Socialist Union of Polish Students [SZSP] like the two parallel trade union movements. A communique of the Founding Committee of the Independent Students' Association said that the Warsaw provincial court has approved its registration submitted on October 20. A meeting attended by representatives from 59 universities and colleges all over the country held here earlier decided to form an eleven-member founding committee for the Independent Association. The communique voices the association's solidarity with the independent trade union movement. The 500,000 Polish students are facing a choice between the two students' organizations. [Text] [OW270741 Beijing XINHUA in English 0710 GMT 27 Oct 80]

RAILWAY WORKERS HUNGER STRIKE--Warsaw, October 27 (XINHUA)--Railway workers in Wroclaw, Poland, ended their hunger strike today after signing an agreement with the government on wage increases. According to PAP reports, the hunger strike was started by 34 railroaders on October 21 after the authorities refused to consider their demand for higher pay. Yesterday when the hunger strike entered the sixth day, vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers, Alexander Kopec, met with a delegation of the preparatory committee for the establishment of an Independent and Self-Governing Trade Union in Wroclaw area. At the same time, a working team headed by Janusz Obodowski, vice-minister of wages, labour and social affairs, was sent to the rolling stock plant in Wroclaw. In the negotiations, the government made compromises and agreed to the workers' demand on a wage hike. Thus, the workers stopped their strike. [Text] [OW271839 Beijing XINHUA in English 1833 GMT 27 Oct 80]

NEW DEPUTY DEFENSE MINISTER—Warsaw, 11 Oct (PAP)--At the motion of the minister of national defence, the chairman of the Council of Ministers appointed head of the Polish Army Main Political Board, Division General, Dr. Jozef Baryla to the post of vice-minister of national defence. Jozef Baryla was born in 1924 to a worker's family at Zawiercie. He joined the Polish Army in 1945. He graduated from the officer's artillery school and the military political academy where he received his M.A. and next doctor's degree in the humanities. During the many years of service in the army he filled many responsible posts in the army political apparatus: he was first deputy chief of the Polish Army Main Political Board, and, as from May, 1980, its head. [Text] [LD120838 Warsaw PAP in English 2011 GMT 11 Oct 80]

U.S. NUCLEAR STRATEGY ATTACKED—Warsaw, 16 Oct (PAP)--The Polish Army paper ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI today strongly came out against President Carter's Directive-59 and denounced the false concepts of the U.S. new nuclear strategy against the background of its detailed analysis. In fact, the paper concluded, the idea of this strategy is to camouflage the scope of potential losses wrought by a "limited" war. It only makes nuclear war to be more acceptable and gives grounds for an unusual adventurist philosophy, namely that this war is not only possible but also that one can win it. Such idea of war only makes the picture of it look less bleak and tries to justify the tendencies for conducting it. The paper added that it is definitely the strategy of a first strike capability and as such an aggressive one that only intensifies the threat of the outbreak of a nuclear war. "Directive-59 and the armaments resulting from it are not in the least--according to suggestions by the Pentagon--an answer to the Soviet Union's military build up. So far, all the technical novelties in the military area come from the U.S. and it is the United States that has shelved the SALT II treaty and rejected numerous proposals designed to curb the threat of nuclear war." "It is possible that in the near future the tension in Soviet-American relations will be alleviated thus creating a better climate for agreements and Directive-59 will be altered." [Text] [LD161456 Warsaw PAP in English 1400 GMT 16 Oct 80]

'LITERATURA' ON POWER ABUSE--We are of an opinion that all of the nonagricultural possessions, villas, permanent and seasonal homes which were built or acquired illegally and of which the financial and material bases originate from an abuse of power or from corruption should be turned over for public use. Wherever it is possible and essential, they should, without delay, be converted into nurseries, kindergartens, retirement homes, libraries, houses of culture, holiday camps and recreation centers. This concerns the entire administrative structure, from the gmina [rural parish] to the capital city. This is demanded by social justice, which is the foundation of our political system; this is demanded by social needs, which are severely neglected in these areas. We are requesting all newspapers, periodicals, mass communication media, trade unions, social organizations and creative and public service associations to support our appeal. We are requesting the Presidium of the Council of Ministers to issue appropriate decrees and the Presidium of the Supreme Chamber of Control to insure the implementation of the basic social interest. [signed] The staff of LITERATURA. [Text] [Warsaw LITERATURA in Polish No 43, 23 Oct 80 p 2]

CSO: 2600

'JUDASES,' 'VISITORS AVID FOR PROFIT' CONDEMNED BY CULTURAL WEEKLY

Bucharest SAPTAMINA in Romanian 5 Sep 80 p 1

[Editorial article: "Ideals"]

[Excerpts] In all times and in all their temporarily separated provinces, the Romanians have had, in addition to a unitary specific character and an acute sense of their common history, a national ideal. We can even say that when the cruelties of life were most severe, we wrapped our hearts all the more in the tricolor cloth of the ideal and we embodied all the more, in the cathedral of our hearts, the Missa Solemnis of belief in success. Our illustrious scholars, just as the anonymous brilliant creators of folklore, have left deeply disturbing testimonies in this area. And the time is not far away when they will all be seeing, once again, the light of paradise of publication. We are making a plea here, especially for the younger generation which is most desirous of culture and historic truth, for putting into circulation again the sacred texts of our civilization, grouped together in a collection which might be entitled "Bilbioteca nationala" [National Library]: the political works of Eminescu, the speeches of Simion Barnutiu, I. C. Bratianu, Vasile Boerescu, Take Ionescu, Vasile Goldis, Iuliu Maniu, Armand Calinescu, the entire historical works of Nicolae Iorga, the politicological system of Aurel C. Popovici, the trilogy of values of Lucian Blaga and many, many others. They are incomparable treasures of our heritage and even if the authors of some of these works were tributaries of errors and excesses, their works remain fundamental and are goods which have been gained, sources of an eternally alive spirit of the awareness of the Romanian character everywhere. We have the good fortune to live today closely united under the scepter of an exceptional political doctrine. It governs us and animates us; it fills our hearts with civic pride and obligates us. It obligates us to be at the summit of the ancient ideals which it is carrying on, to work with all for the prospering of the fatherland, to defend and to raise to superior heights all that has been achieved up to now with so much sacrifice. This is the Romanian line and we will never renounce it.

Of course, we are not obliged to give an accounting to anyone for what we do; we are free, of a majority and masters in our country, the historic choice of a Romanian type of communism has been made and assumed by millions of loyal sons of this country. But, to those who still accuse us we will say that if loving your country above everything else means nationalism then we are nationalists. Or we will respond with a profound thought from the great tribune, Aurel C.

Popovici: "Nationalism means concern in the present so that the future of the nationality will not be endangered" and, further on: "The culture of a people is its cult for national ideals." This is it; there is nothing more. Anyone who sees in our orientation any more than that does so on his own accord. We, the cultural figures of Romania during these heroic years, love the Communist Party not only for the new vision and fresh spirit which it has enthroned in the overall evolution of Romanian society, for the electrifying pace at which everything began to get better, to move toward quality and optimization but also, in equal measure, for its truly revolutionary courage in understanding that a nation can be built only by people of the area who have lived here for hundreds and thousands of years and who do not leave the work front when the going gets tough. The party knows this and many other things and this represents the basis of its cadre policy. It knows, for example, that those who perform patriotic deeds should receive the highest honors and, as the chronicle writer said, the honors should not go to those visitors who are avid for profit, the masters of a democratic tarantella, clothed in their foul-smelling tartan, buffoons hostile to the interests of this nation, those who jingle the spurs of their arrogance and mix some with their swindling patriotism. We do not need lazy prophets, Judases who do not have the dimensions of the Romanian sacrifice in their blood which is so easily bought. As Eminescu said so well: "A floating population cannot represent stability of institutions and cannot represent the deeply rooted sentiment of the idea of the state, of harmony and of national solidarity."

CSO: 2700

COMMISSION SET UP TO CERTIFY AERONAUTICAL PERSONNEL

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 81, 11 Oct 80 pp 7-8

[Presidential Decree Establishing the Commission for the Certification of Aeronautical Personnel in Civil Aviation]

[Text] On the basis of Article 8 of the Statute for Personnel in Civil Aviation of the Socialist Republic of Romania, approved by Council of State Decree No 413/1979, the President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees:

Sole article--The Commission for the Certification of Aeronautical Personnel in the Department of Civil Aviation is established with the following composition:

Chairman--the head of the Department of Civil Aviation;
Members --the deputy in charge of flight in the civil aviation command, in the Department of Civil Aviation;

--the technical deputy of the civil aviation command, in the Department of Civil Aviation;

--the director of the airport directorate in the Department of Civil Aviation;

--the assistant secretary for organizational problems in the political council of the Department of Civil Aviation;

--the commander of the Center for the Instruction of Aeronautical Personnel;

--the chief of the personnel, education and remuneration service in the Department of Civil Aviation;

--the chief of the service for air traffic direction and control and for patents and licenses in the Department of Civil Aviation;

--the chief of the aeronautical technical service in the Department of Civil Aviation;

--the chief of the service for the protection of air navigation and aeronautical telecommunications in the Department of Civil Aviation;

--a piloting inspector in the Department of Civil Aviation;

--a chief legal counselor in the Department of Civil Aviation;

--a master, appointed by the leadership council of the Department of Civil Aviation.

NICOLAE CEAUSESCU
President of the Socialist Republic
of Romania

Bucharest, 6 October 1980
No 250

CSO: 2700

BRIEFS

DATA ON FOREIGN STUDENTS--This year, approximately 21,000 foreign students from 124 countries, the majority of them developing countries, are studying in institutes of higher education in Bucharest, Bacau, Brasov, Iasi, Cluj-Napoca, Craiova, Galati, Petrosani, Ploiesti, Pitesti, Suceava and Timisoara. More than 35 percent of these students are attending the polytechnical institutes, 40 percent are enrolled in medical courses and the rest are enrolled in university, agronomic, economic and artistic education. The students gain practical experience in their field by working in school workshops, microproduction units, pilot stations, large factories and enterprises, laboratories, polyclinics and hospitals, oilfields, and agricultural research stations. Also, the student benefit from university textbooks, scientific treatises and other auxiliary works and libraries equipped with numerous volumes of works and publications which present new developments in different fields of activity. Intensive courses in the Romanian language are organized to help the foreign students to complete their higher education as rapidly as possible. [Excerpts] [Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 6 Nov 80 p 5]

CSO: 2700

SERBIAN PRIEST IN BOSNIA CRITICIZED FOR NATIONALISM

Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 6 Nov 80 p 3

[Article by Djuro Kozar: "Nationalistic Feast"]

[Text] Article 174 of the SFRY Constitution (the section on freedoms, rights and obligations of citizens) specifies that "the profession of faith shall be free and shall be a person's private affair," but a bit further on it states that it is "unconstitutional to abuse religion and religious activity for political purposes." This position is the basis for relations between society on the one hand and religious communities on the other, relations which on the whole have been very good. Nevertheless, from time to time, either openly or covertly, behind the shield of religious rites an isolated case of behavior will again occur in some church or mosque, rectory, temple or Moslem elementary school that has absolutely nothing in common with religion, but rather strikes at and is aimed against the greatest achievements of the National Liberation War and socialist revolution -- brotherhood and unity.

Outrageous Behavior at a Christening

The most recent example of activity outside the framework of religion, or, to put it more precisely, of sinister activity occurred at Borike, near Rogatica, some days ago. Nedjo Janjic, priest of a Serbian Orthodox church, together with other like-minded persons, who included Momcilo Janjic, Milos Basevic, Milomir Asanja, Milan Planincic, Vojko Neskovic, and members of the church committee along with certain others, abused the religious rite of baptism of his child in the rectory by singing nationalistic songs and by arousing those present to nationalistic euphoria. Shots were fired from a pistol, Great Serbian nationalistic slogans were exclaimed, intolerance toward other nationalities and ethnic minorities was displayed.... In short, it was outrageous behavior in the worst sense of the word. Thus the christening at the home of Pop [Orthodox priest] Janjic turned into an appeal for the Chetnik spirit, for nationalism and for fratricidal hatred.

Our people are quite well aware of what is religious and what is nationalistic, of who is a friend and who an enemy of this country, of its nationalities and its ethnic minorities. Our people still bear the scars of the Chetnik and Ustasha knife. There are also memorials in Partisan cemeteries where the victims of Fascist atrocities are buried.

The "christening" in the rectory in Borike did not of course pass without reaction, without unanimous condemnation and scorn. The clergymen in priest's habit or street clothes greatly erred if in their twisted minds they imagined that anyone would support them and join them. Pop Janjic and his band were vigorously condemned in a meeting of the Borike Local Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People and in the six precinct meetings held two nights ago. Honest men, believers and atheists alike, asked themselves: "Can this be possible?" They added: "Who would ever think of appealing to the Chetnik spirit today and of inciting hatred among people when we have built and achieved all the great and wonderful things we have on the basis of brotherhood and unity, socialist community spirit -- our most cherished achievements."

The parish priest Janjic had been well received when he took up his position in Borike. People who profess religious faith thought that this "churchman" was sincerely a man of faith, peace, love among men and among the nationalities and ethnic minorities. But Janjic, whose actions are premeditated and clever, had other "concerns" than religious rites. He used his priest's habit only as a screen for deeds, acts and ideas which are far from God, Orthodoxy and love for man, said the participants in the meetings of the Socialist Alliance we have mentioned. Janjic sought and found "lost souls" similar to himself, poked his nose in everywhere, he sought contacts with young people, even in the schools, where he had support even among some faculty members.

Degenerate Representatives of the Serbian People

Thus instead of the priest's nobility, Janjic openly displayed nationalism in the church and outside it. The believers listened to this and doubtfully shook their heads about what this "holy" person was muttering and saying. And then even a strange song, a nationalistic song, was heard. Older people recognized in those songs: "Sto no Drina..." [What but the Drina...], "Oj, subaro..." [Oh, fur cap of mine ...] and so on, that raving muttering practiced by the Chetniks, degenerate examples of the Serbian people, when marching off to some of their atrocities.

The people of Borike, loyal to their socialist, self-managed society, spoke out that they wanted nothing whatsoever to do with anyone who appealed to that kind of past, nor to display in any manner whatsoever anything at all that could besmirch a freedom won with bloodshed, a freedom that shines like the sun. And they added that no hostile outburst or similar action should be underestimated, regardless where it occurs. In a public place or in someone's home, in a rectory or outside it. They also concluded clearly and explicitly that all nationalism is equally dangerous -- whether it be Serbian, Moslem, Croatian or some other nationalism, regardless of whether it is displayed in a city or rural area, regardless of whether the proponent is a local person or just a passer-by, like our countryman Vojislav Lubarda, who is unceasing in his nationalistic scribbling and preaching of enmity among the nationalities.

The inhabitants of Borike were unanimous in the belief that vigorous resistance should be offered and political measures and legal sanctions undertaken against all those who openly or covertly attack the basic values of our society. In particular, they said, vigorous action should be taken against those who attack the greatest achievements of the revolution -- brotherhood and unity and the socialist community spirit of our nationalities and ethnic minorities.

It is obvious that Pop Nedjo Janjic, whose duty to perform religious services and carry on religious activity conforms to the Constitution and law, has abused religion for political purposes and has inflicted injury on this region and all the members of the Serbian Orthodox Church, insulting their patriotic and religious sentiments.

Unanimous Condemnation

Every one of our well-meaning and honest citizens, be he believer or atheist, knows that our socialist, self-managed society has guaranteed the conditions for free expression of faith and that no one has ever (except the nationalists and separatists) divided up those who are believers and those who are not. All our working people and citizens are equal regardless of ethnic background or religious affiliation, and an attack on the members of one nationality is at the same time an attack on all the others, on brotherhood and unity and on socialist community spirit. The meddling of the clergy in the field of politics has always been dangerous, but also has always been unanimously resisted and condemned and has been called by its right name.

Nor could it be otherwise. That is the error of all who think that cloaked by religious worship they can advance their own judgments and visions, "represent" believers in their relationship with society, equating the religious attribute with the ethnic attribute, appeal for a spirit of enmity, and so on. Their only destiny can be that of Pop Janjic and his band in Borike, since the people know the difference between acting as their broker and performing religious services, and no one can put anything over on them.

Finally, the conclusion of the Borike Local Conference of the SAWP: "With the blood shed by Moslems and Serbs and Croats in the concerted struggle of all the nationalities and ethnic minorities of Yugoslavia we paid dearly for the freedom we won, peace in our homes and on the borders of our country, we achieved equality, we forged indestructible brotherhood and unity, and we will not allow anyone to destroy what has been created, but rather, as Comrade Tito instructed and taught us, we will preserve brotherhood and unity like the apple of our eye.

[Box] The meeting of the Borike Local SAWP Conference on Monday and of its six precinct organizations on Tuesday took up a report on the flagrant chauvinistic outburst of Nedjo Janjic and other citizens in the Borike rectory and unanimously condemned this as a hostile act.

Both believers and atheists participated in the discussion at these gatherings, and from the abundance of opinions we have singled out some which in our judgment best indicate the political disposition of the people of that region.

Rajko Pusonja: "This is a severe blow for us all. There is no place among us for the offenders. We provided a comfortable life for this young priest and the teachers, and that is how they paid us back. There is no place in the school for educationists who have been involved in nationalistic activity. Those are terrible songs and did not come from the head of someone who was drunk, but constitute a deliberate act.... We are conscious of the number of sacrifices we made. Are we to let this priest and a handful of others among us to cast the burning ember which will return us to 1941? No, that we will not allow."

Dragica Lucic: "It hurts me to hear the Chetnik songs sung again here. I don't know what I wouldn't do to such people (sobs)... The Chetniks burned up my two sisters in a shed. They were degenerates, as are those who today remind us of them, 35 years after the end of the war."

Sejdo Poljo: "The most unfortunate part of all this is that certain teachers became implicated. Their sort can't bring up our children.... We made enormous sacrifices for brotherhood and unity, and were we to lose it, we would lose everything. We need to speak frankly about the makeup of mosque and church committees. These boards have assumed more than their rightful authority, and they are concerning themselves with matters that have no connection whatsoever with religion."

Petar Jesic: "Anyone who wants to believe in God and go to church can go right ahead. But anyone who has the intention of sowing dissension in the people and of enflaming enmity will encounter our energetic resistance and condemnation. We are preparing for defense and protection of the country, we have both units and official structure, we are constantly saying that we must recognize the adversaries of our society, while before our very eyes a priest does as he pleases, assembles people and poisons them. They had priests in Borike before him, but never before such a malicious one."

Milos Stanojevic: "I go to church. There are priests and priests. I condemn what the parish priest Janjic did. We don't need a priest like that."

Predrag Balcakovic: "I heard that Tomo Djeric, president of our precinct SAWP organization, attended the christening at Pop Nedjo's, but did nothing to put a stop to the Chetnik songs. He can no longer be our president." (Djeric was therefore unanimously dismissed from his post as president of the precinct organization.)

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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1831

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28 November 1980

EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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CONTENTS

BULGARIA

Better Training of Fighter Pilots Urged
(Stoyan Petrov; ARMEYSKI PREGLED, No 10, 1980) 1

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

September 1980 Issue of SED Theoretical Journal Reviewed
(Helmut Caspar; NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 20-21 Sep 80) 6

Socialism's Cultural Roots Found in German Classics
(Rudolf Dau; EINHEIT, Sep 80) 7

Increased Responsibilities Urged for Basic Party Organizations
(Heinz Puder; EINHEIT, Sep 80)..... 16

Listings, Summaries of Other Major 'EINHEIT' Articles
(EINHEIT, Sep 80) 23

HUNGARY

Puja Surveys Foreign Affairs, Defines Hungary's Position
(Frigyes Puja; KULPOLITIKA, No 3, 1980) 28

'NEPSZABADSAG' Editor, Young Intellectual Debate Limits of Social Criticism
(Istvan Elek; KRITIKA, Jan, Jul 80) 42

Ovari Writes on Emphases in Cultural Policy
(Miklos Ovari; TARSADALMI SZEMLE, Aug-Sep 80)..... 61

POLAND

French Press Article on Walesa Noted
(Thierry Dussard; LE POINT, 29 Sep 80) 74

YUGOSLAVIA

Catholic Paper Protests Press Article
(Zivko Kustic; GLAS KONCILA, 12 Oct 80) 76

BETTER TRAINING OF FIGHTER PILOTS URGED

Sofia ARMEYSKI PREGLED in Bulgarian No 10, 1980 pp 95-99

[Article by Col Stoyan Petrov: "Some Questions Regarding the Tactical Training of Flight Personnel"]

[Text] The first-priority goal of all commanders in the training of pilots is that they achieve high skill in piloting technique and complete mastery of the combat employment of aircraft. In addition, they must also acquire the habits needed to make a comprehensive estimate of the air situation in literally minutes, even seconds, and, taking it into account, to make the most expedient combat decision, impose their will on the "enemy" and win victory.

The necessity of an attentive approach to the tactical training of flight personnel is dictated by the importance of the missions that aviation performs.

These missions in principle reduce to decisive destruction of the enemy in the air and on the ground (on the sea) by the skillful use of the entire altitude and speed range of our aircraft, at any time of the day or night, in simple and complex meteorological conditions, in varying ground and air situations and, above all, under conditions of confusion. These are very complex and crucial missions which raise the requirements set for pilot training.

For fighter pilots the increase in the complexity of their missions is due primarily to the capabilities of aviation equipment and the aggressive intentions of our potential enemy. It is known that our potential enemies have powerful combat aviation and armament meeting the requirements of modern warfare, and as well that their cadres are training intensively for successful combat employment of this equipment.

After the Vietnam war the American command drew some serious conclusions from the great losses inflicted by air defense weapons on the U.S. air forces. The experience of the war in the Near East has been thoroughly analyzed and definite conclusions drawn.

From the analysis and conclusions it can be seen that the enemy regards air defense as a powerful obstacle in the way of his aggressive schemes, for which reason ways and methods of overcoming it are persistently sought.

The countries of the aggressive blocs, and above all NATO, spare no efforts or resources to create new improved models of air vehicles for air-space attack or to improve the methods of overcoming the air defense of the Warsaw Pact participant countries.

We are witnesses of the final work on new, and the modernization of existing, models of war materiel. Everybody knows already about the deals for the installation of medium-range missiles in the territory of the states of Western Europe and the experiments with the combat employment of winged missiles. The continuous, increasingly ardent and intense race between the enemy's air-space attack weapons and the status of contemporary air defense is apparent.

And this is natural, but this dialectical paradigm must be interpreted and analysed thoroughly and in detail. From it, correct and practical inferences must be drawn, on the basis of which the training of aviation specialists will be directed towards the stern demands of modern war. Pilots must be ready at any moment for bitter skirmishes with a strong enemy well versed in military science, his own tactics and ours.

The strength of fighter aviation and its capacity to destroy the air enemy depend on the quality of the combat training of every pilot specifically.

The fighter pilot is an air soldier. He operates as part of groups with varying tactical purpose and alone encounters and destroys the air enemy in the still-distant approaches, outside the range of other destruction weapons. He finishes up what is the main object of the great and complex labor of the many people on the ground who take part in combat organization and support.

The outcome of modern air combat, the destruction of the air enemy, depends in principle on the pilot, his firing skill, tactical know-how, daring enthusiasm, moral makeup and physical hardening. Events sternly punish those who do not measure up to the serious requirements set for pilot training.

Some of the most important requirements set for the training of a pilot are that he must possess impeccable tactical skill, have excellent knowledge of the enemy and his tactics, react speedily when the situation changes, be able instantly to assess everything affecting the course and outcome of combat, carry on precise sniper fire, and be physically hardy. In pilot training there are no second-priority matters, nor can there be any.

Flights, training exercises, and the performance of alert missions must constantly enhance every pilot's training, make it approximate the training

that is necessary in order to wage modern air combat, and improve his flying and tactical expertise.

The appearance of new, and the modernization of the existing, enemy air-attack weapons and the development of methods for employing them in combat make it imperative that every pilot have thorough and all-round knowledge and study carefully and in detail everything new that the enemy comes up with daily. To be victorious in modern combat and smash the enemy, he must know the latter's combat capabilities and operational tactics inside out, as well as the methods of fighting such an enemy.

In the effort to gain the heights of tactical training we sometimes encounter phenomena such as shallow and superficial knowledge of the enemy, i.e., knowledge only as a matter of information in general outline rather than as a target to be fought against, a deadly enemy to be outwitted and destroyed. When a pilot does not know how to compare his own and the enemy's combat capabilities, he will not notice the enemy's strong and weak points or make the right analysis of the best combat alternative. Sometimes we observe an incomplete grasp of the simple truth that to estimate the situation instantly and make the right combat decision, you must know everything cold and with certainty beforehand while you are still on the ground; you have to work out thorough theoretical calculations and the alternative method of reacting to the air situation, always remembering that the combat situation will not allow the pilot time to ransack his memory or look in the textbook.

And the overhigh hopes of some pilots that for any action in combat they can get help from the combat crew on the ground surely bode dangerous consequences, don't they? This often leads to a playing down of pilots' responsibility for, and a dulling of their watchfulness over their own personal training for air combat.

During the conduct of training exercises we sometimes also encounter phenomena such as the inability to perform the calculations necessary in order to comprehend the operations in impending combat. In a very simple situation--maneuvers, groups are dispersed and unsuccessful attacks on air and ground targets are permitted. General and detailed orientation is not conducted; departures from normal requirements are tolerated.

During "pilot on foot" games, ordinary questions are answered inaccurately and incompletely; the answer must have a precise characterization of performance data and armament and a precise conclusion as to how the enemy can best be destroyed in combat in one attack without incurring losses on our side.

Requirements for raising the tactical ability of pilots to operate singly and as part of various groups are not interpreted thoroughly enough.

Usually every kind of training concludes with a flying tactical exercise for the record, from the performance of which an evaluation is afforded of the ability of the pilot or unit successfully to accomplish various missions involving the combat employment of aircraft in an air and tactical situation of constantly increasing complexity. The crews receive practice and the ability of commanders to organize and control air combat in various aviation-group strengths improves.

Unless sufficient attention is paid to organizing, performing, evaluating and analyzing record and flying tactical exercises, the improvement of pilot training will be delayed.

Under present-day conditions, pilot and group combat is closely linked with control and support agencies and with the increase in complexity of the ground and air situation. In the execution of record and tactical-flight exercises, the pilot/control-system/support-system chain is joined together.

In organizing and conducting combat training, the most important component parts--flight and tactical training--must be inseparably interlinked as two aspects of a single whole. If attention to either of these is slighted, this will at once affect combat training as a whole, and this will inevitably affect combat readiness as well.

This is so because here and there the basic truth that flight training is not a goal in itself, but an essential means for the performance of combat missions is still not understood. This constitutes its main point and significance.

Piloting technique being the main goal of pilot instruction is a task for both military pilots and sportsmen pilots. But for military pilots the chief goal is qualitatively different, unquestionably more responsible and complex: the destruction of the air enemy in hard fighting. The air soldier needs impeccable piloting technique for combat rather than for sport.

In modern combat even the most ideal piloting technique is not enough: what is needed is the ability to organize and fight a battle. The sharpest blows must be aimed at the more vulnerable spots, i.e., every pilot must be a real tactics expert.

If we approach tactical training in this way, the importance of flight training and its specific features will by no means be lessened. Only the understanding that flying is subordinate to the interests of fast-moving combat makes tactical training genuinely intelligent and purposeful.

The role of the aviation commander as an organizer in the training of pilots follows from this. His entire attention must be given to the planning, preparation and direction of flights. He must personally get ready

for the flights himself and keep the documents. He must realize that in the sight of the laws of the flying service all are equal and he must assess and rehearse in detail all elements from takeoff to landing and the operations in special cases. All this is necessary not only in order to rehearse piloting technique, but also to assure flight safety. It is the safety in every flight of every pilot that he aims thus to assure, rather than safety in general.

As aviation equipment is mastered, there must be an increase in the proportion of attention paid to questions concerning the combat capabilities of this equipment, i.e., to questions of the tactics to match the equipment.

The study of tactics as a discipline must be headed up personally by the commander or the most qualified officers who have the necessary experience.

Some think that the question is settled with just the skills gained in firing and technical training conducted with flight personnel according to plans, and clearly allot second priority to practical application and comprehension of the acquired skills by means of flights in the relevant tactical situation.

Excellent training in firing and tactics means that we are working and learning effectively. In practice, we should be guided by the formula, "Science--equipment--tactics." These three components represent the summit of all flight training. They are interconnected by firing and tactical training. To fight under modern conditions, every pilot must be a real tactician and have sniping training. Excellent firing and tactical training must, without fail, be combined with personal ability.

The interrelationship and interdependence of tactics and equipment can be seen as in focus. The unity of the process of the mutual influence of tactics and equipment lies in the fact that tactics are developed by studying the characteristics of equipment and by finding more and more new methods and techniques for the combat employment of equipment on this basis. It is for this reason that such great attention must be paid to the above-cited formula.

The planning element and a rhythmical pace in staff operations play a great part in the organization and conduct of the entire training process for all categories of aviation specialists and especially flight personnel.

For aviation specialists, whatever is left unfinished on the ground has its consequences in the air, i.e., affects the safety of every flight. Theoretical knowledge of equipment, aerodynamics, flight and fire training must be converted into practical skills and habits of employing aircraft in specific complex tactical situations.

The contemporary international situation more than ever makes it imperative, on behalf of the defense of the socialist fatherland, to train pilot protectors of their native sky, who are mentally stable, daring, devoted to the people and party, highly trained and tactically competent.

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SEPTEMBER 1980 ISSUE OF SED THEORETICAL JOURNAL REVIEWED

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 20-21 Sep 80 p 10

[Helmut Caspar review of East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 35 No 9, September 1980, signed to press 14 August 1980, pp 865-976: "Focus on the Topic of Work." Translations and/or summaries of articles by the authors referred to below, as well as by others, are published in pages following this review]

[Text] Work in the socialist society is the central theme of several articles in the September issue of EINHEIT. In his contribution, Otto Reinhold underscores that, together with nature, work is not only the source of society's material wealth, but at the same time also the sphere of life wherein man puts into practice his intellectual and physical capabilities and continues to develop them. At the same time, an essential characteristic of socialism and socialist democracy is brought out by the work factor; this is where the working people feel every day that their participation in thought and creative action is in demand everywhere. Other articles deal with socialist competition (Willi Land/Gerhard Muth), aspects of the scientific organization of labor (Arno Schaefer), the schools of socialist labor (Hans-Joachim Neblung), as well as with problems of collective relations (Walter Maeder) and labor discipline (Harry Moebius).

In another part of the journal, Heinz Kessler gives his thoughts on Erich Honecker's autobiography, "From My Life." Heinz Kessler hails the book as an "instructive overview of past difficult, often sacrificing and ultimately victorious struggles of the German workers movement up to the shaping of the developed socialist society in the GDR." The book, according to Kessler, not only portrays a great personality in action, but also takes up the struggles of our times. The policy of the party, marked by Lenin's style of work, by clarity, puposefulness, objectiveness and comradeship--in whose drafting and consistent implementation Erich Honecker has a great personal share--strengthens the relationship of confidence between party and people, and releases great creative forces "which enable us today, in preparation for the Tenth Party Congress, to draw up such a successful balance sheet and to look into the future with great confidence."

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SOCIALISM'S CULTURAL ROOTS FOUND IN GERMAN CLASSICS

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 35 No 9, Sep 80 signed to press 14 Aug 80 pp 913-920

[Article by Dr Rudolf Dau, lecturer, Institute for Marxist-Leninist Culture and Art Studies, Academy of Social Sciences, SED Central Committee: "The Literary Legacy of the German Classics"]

[Text] Our socialist society's creative relationship with the German classics has its start in the revolutionary workers movement. The achievements and limits in this contradictory literary legacy are recognized with ever increasing discrimination and are tapped in the course of the historic appropriation process. The aesthetic and philosophic ideas in this legacy, which far transcend the time that gave birth to them, and some of which in a utopian manner anticipated a free society without antagonistic contradictions, are an imperishable part of the treasure of humanistic culture, which to preserve, creatively and critically appropriate and disseminate is socialist society's historic mission.

"War, unless imposed for self-defense, is a mad assault upon a quiet neighboring nation, an inhuman undertaking, worse then beastly, in that it not only threatens the nation innocently attacked with murder and devastation but also sacrifices the nation conducting it as undeservedly and terribly."[1] It was Johann Gottfried Herder who published this urgent warning in 1797. Under the complicated conditions of times full of struggle and rich in contradictions, the author of the "Letters on Humanity," one of the leading minds of classical bourgeois literature in Germany, was searching for answers to the urgent questions in a world-historic revolutionary situation. Opposing the designs of feudal reaction to turn back the wheel of history through several wars against revolutionary France, while simultaneously opposing the greedy "tentacles," as a Schiller poem put it,[2] *of the egoistic mercantile* interests of the British and French haute bourgeoisie, Herder [illegible]ed his

idea of eternal peace. He appealed to all nations on the earth to become conscious of their strength and to enforce a permanent order of peace.

Almost two centuries later, Herder's peace appeal was placed at the start of a conference conducted by the Culture League of the GDR in preparation of the 175th death anniversary of this important bourgeois humanist in 1978. In view of bourgeois class rule and its consequences that threaten humanity, but also in view of the growing strength of the nations in their struggle for peace and democracy all over the globe, this peace appeal has lost none of its relevance. On the contrary: the existence of socialist states as the embodiment of real humanism, the revolutionary movement of the international workers class, and the liberation struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America only set the historic stage that makes possible for the humanistic ideals and value concepts of the bourgeois champions for the emancipation of the human race to become dialectically suspended in the concrete social practice of socialism and the struggles of the progressive forces in our era.

Workers Movement and Classical Bourgeois Legacy

The active, creative, highly contemporary and yet future-oriented relationship our socialist society has to the spiritual and artistic legacy of the German classics can lay claim to a long productive prehistory. For the founders of Marxism, classic bourgeois literature (in its interaction with classical bourgeois philosophy in Germany) was one of the spiritual sources for their dialectical-materialistic world-outlook and later also, time and time again, the point of departure for their follow-up ideas. The combative, antifeudal character of the classical bourgeois emancipation literature was rated highly by the early German workers movement. Mainly the works by Lessing and Schiller were in Franz Mehring's mind when he spoke of the revolutionary proletariat's enthusiasm for the bourgeois classics "in which it finds no trace of its class consciousness but does find that joyous element of struggle found missing in modern art."[3]

Later too, the relationship with classical bourgeois humanism kept its solid position in the cultural policy and the cultural practice of the revolutionary workers movement and in setting up the socialist society in the GDR. Relevantly absorbed, embedded in novel, always historically concrete appropriation conditions, the social, political and ideological function of this legacy underwent changes, to be sure. In the formation of early organizational forms of proletarian culture, it had to produce effects different from those in the political and ideological struggles in the 1920's. As the legitimate and very own property of all who were struggling for progress, it had to be defended always anew by the workers class: against the conservative "succession by inheritance" and the quotation-picking of bourgeois high-school professors; the idealistically mystifying, nationalistic and other, often reactionary, misinterpretations; the misuse of humanistic traditions through the demagoguery by proimperialist ideologues and politicians of culture; and also against its being diluted by a social-reformist educational policy or pseudoradical, sectarian constrictions.

The creative-critical appropriation of the classic literary legacy reached a climax in the years of struggle against Hitler dictatorship and war. At that time it was a matter of tearing the classics--like any other humanistic tradition--away from fascist barbarism. And more than that. An intensive confrontation with the works of the German classics in literature and philosophy and with the progressive basic contents in this legacy as it related to socialist humanism was a component of the whole working class party policy and also of its comprehensive alliance policy. Essential experiences of this alliance-policy concept entered into the strategy of the antifascist-democratic new beginning and of socialist construction once fascism was destroyed. The Goethe year of 1949 and the tributes to Schiller in 1955 and 1959 became the first points of culmination in the active expression of allegiance by the workers and farmers state to its national humanistic traditions.

What with all that may have been too narrow-minded and all too subtle, and all the errors, in the history of socialist relations, on a Marxist-Leninist basis, with the classical bourgeois literary legacy, a line of continuity predominates. The basis for this continuity can be found in the objective relations, negotiated through material and spiritual culture, between two rising and revolutionary eras in the history of mankind: the bourgeois emancipation struggle up to the prevailing of capitalism on the one hand, and the preparation for the proletarian revolution and real socialism's march of triumph, on the other. Despite the differences in the struggle conditions and the constantly changing historical situation, fruitful points of contact with bourgeois art and culture in their classical phase of development time and time again derived from it for the revolutionary proletariat and, later, for socialist society. That is true not only for the current relevance of earlier struggles as the prehistory of the great class conflict the workers class had to engage in, but equally much for directly going back to ethical and esthetic ideals and value concepts we relate to and feel substantively connected with--despite our opposing class base--because they provide us with impulses for coping with contemporary historic tasks. That, however, is possible only through a process of creative-critical appropriation that proceeds from requirements of the present while it at the same time takes account of the actual achievements of the German classics throughout cultural history in all their magnitude and contradictoriness.

On the Achievements and Limits of the German Classics

On the eve of capitalism's fully coming into its own, in the era when it had its rise and the bourgeois class was socioeconomically, politically and ideologically consolidated, its spiritual and artistic champions still were in the position to contain the already noticeable critical distance from their own class practice in a "heroic," affirmative and future-oriented world view. They still were entitled to speak on behalf of all mankind because bourgeois progress when it came to prevail ultimately was in the objective interest of humanity's progress. The work of the classics reflects experiences the cultural-historic significance of which far transcends the stuggle against feudal reaction.

The development of heretofore unknown productive forces that released novel creative human potentials; the (bourgeois) individual's preserving his independence against all fetters of the feudal estate structure and the formation of a differentiated individual need structure engendered by the development of the productive forces; the awareness that one was defending the interests of all who were creatively active against arrogated feudal privileges; the experience of worldwide intellectual communication in the Enlightenment, which was celebrated, or yearned for, as the victory of reason; and the high-flown dreams of a rational, harmonious, humane adjustment of social relations--all that became subject to artistic and philosophic reflexion in German Classicism. A full measure of humanistic ideas adumbrating future developments was invested in all of it.

Critical analyses and assessments of the transition from feudalism to capitalism also entered into the artistic treatment and theoretical reflexion of the classic bourgeois authors. Lessing and Schiller severely citicized all manifestations of egoism, greed and profiteering, they being by no means merely a privilege of the feudal class. Herder in his works attacked the despoliation of whole continents and the extermination of entire nations practiced not only on behalf of princely magnates. Goethe and Schiller took issue with the manipulations by profit-seeking publishers who, in exploiting new and legitimate needs of their readership audiences, initiated a trivial "mass literature." They deplored the fact that an accretion in public wealth under the conditions of social inequality and an enslaving division of labor would rather lead to a "fragmentation" of personality for many people than to the fostering of universally developed individuals.

The art of the rising bourgeoisie reflected the inherent disunity of aims in the new era, not only in the subjects it dealt with and in its themes, but down to the most subtle emotional reactions to reality and the nuances of its aesthetic valuations. Nonetheless, in classical bourgeois literature there dominates a fundamentally optimistic trend in its philosophy of history, an affirmation, in principle, of social progress--despite an increasing awareness of the inherent contradictoriness of historic advances, of there being long-term antagonisms which could not for the time being be abolished. Still at the turn from the 18th to the 19th century, when the European Enlightenment in its entirety met its crisis and a new type of artistic reaction to the altered realities of the era came to prevail in Romanticism, the representatives of classical German literature managed to penetrate to revealing insights into the dialectic-contradictory course of history without surrendering their being rooted in the basically optimistic positions of the Enlightenment. Schiller's late dramas, Hoelderlin's late lyrical output and, finally--as the "sum total" of an entire literary period, as it were--, the conclusion of Goethe's "Faust" may be referred to here as the oustanding examples.

This unique position of the German classical authors on the boundary between Enlightenment and Romanticism in Europe, especially the preservation of classical-utopian ideas in a humanistic perspective for mankind and its

further idealistic-dialectical development under changed historic conditions can also be explained by the specific situation of its national history. By the second half of the 18th century the German bourgeoisie had reached such a degree of maturity that its progressive representatives would welcome, and spiritually and artistically assimilate, the revolutionary, antifeudal movements in neighboring countries, the Netherlands, England and France. What was lacking in Germany, however, was not only a revolutionary situation but also "a unified development and a revolutionary concentration in the antagonism between feudal absolutism and the third estate," let alone the internal discrepancies of the third estate, which had rapidly broken open in revolutionary France. Thus the ideals and value concepts of the bourgeois emancipation literature in Germany by and large kept forming splendid utopias. Rather the positive idealism and its "universally-human" significance than the pragmatic bourgeois obligations and their problematic consequences is what the classical German authors took over from the era of transition from feudalism to capitalism so full of struggles and contradictions.

It is this complicated historic and intellectual situation which essentially explains the contradictory character and the conjunction between progressive features and characteristic limitations in German literature at that time. There developed--to mention the positive aspects first--the special traits of solidarity with the people in Lessing's and Herder's thoughts and works, the powerful claim to individuality in Goethe's Storm-and-Stress poetry, the rigorous moral demands and the exuberance about liberty in the works of Schiller, the subtle perceptivity in the poems of Klopstock, Goethe or the "Goettingen Grove," or the more probing dimensions in the philosophy of history found in the mature works of Goethe, Schiller and Hoelderlin. New possibilities were tapped in the artistic treatment of the relations between the individual and society, personality and history, new paths were opened for the specifically esthetic in theory and practice.

All that, however, was tied up with a special development of those illusions which are inherent in prerevolutionary and revolutionary bourgeois ideology in general: The early Enlightenment ideas of the overwhelming power of "reason," the belief in the "forces of nature" inherent in the individual as a permanent abstract concept which needed merely to break through all courtly or estate "polish," the idealistically coated hopes for a moral purification of the individual or even for the "esthetic education" of all mankind as the seemingly one remaining possibility for attaining the desired social changes moving toward a harmonious and humane way of life. Such features of abstraction are part and parcel of the overall contradictory picture of the German classics.

The Classical-Bourgeois Legacy Today

"The socialist national culture of the GDR includes the careful cultivation and appropriation of all humanistic and progressive cultural achievements of the past. Socialist culture is committed to the rich legacy created throughout the entire history of the German people."[5] This guiding statement in

the SED Program, aimed at a fundamental inevitability of the socialist cultural revolution, wholly also applies to the legacy of the German classics.

Standing on the threshold of a decisive period of human history, the classic authors of bourgeois literature picked up vital questions of such great historic scope that some of their boldest ideas can only now, in the construction of developed socialism and in the current phase of the international conflict between socialism and imperialism, bring the whole range of their potentials effectively to bear.

In the shaping of the developed socialist society in our country, what counts is to familiarize all the people--based on the proven principles of our alliance policy--with the great wealth of ideas and the esthetic accomplishments of our classical literary legacy, to prove ever more clearly that real socialism is the true home of all progressive ideas of the past, and to tap our cultural legacy in all its breadth and variety. The artistic and philosophic achievements of the classics, which in their potency far transcend the time in which they originated and in part in a utopian manner anticipated a society free of antagonistic contradictions, are an imperishable and binding part of our store of humanistic culture, which socialist society has the historic mission to preserve, appropriate and disseminate. On the occasion of the founding of the Martin Luther Committee, Comrade Erich Honecker therefore reiterated once more: "The socialist GDR, the first workers and farmers state on German soil, is the legitimate heir of the revolutionary struggle by the workers class and the other democratic forces against capitalism and war, and of the revolutionary activities of the peasants, craftsmen, clergymen, intellectuals and artists, and the members of the bourgeoisie, in short of all who advanced our social development."[6]

A creative-critical appropriation of such an extensive political-historical and intellectual-cultural legacy, including the specific achievements of the bourgeois emancipation literature in Germany, constantly calls for new efforts, for an indefatigable struggle toward vividly connecting current historical tasks with the rich potentials in the humanistic traditions of cultural history. For the German classical legacy that holds true to a special degree because there far-reaching analyses and utopian ideals far ahead of their times are embodied in a artistically or philosophically generalizing form, and here the idea is raised, for instance, of the universality and creativity of man, of man creating himself through his work, so that it is highly important to keep in mind both the social and ideological difference in principle between bourgeois and socialist humanism and what both conceptions of humanism have in common. And we are aware in all this "that our socialist course today is more than a mere implementation of great humanistic ideals and utopias of the past."[7]

On the other hand, our dealing critically and creatively with our classic-bourgeois legacy, mindful of its considerable accomplishments and its internal contradictoriness, in no way curtails its current efficacy. Rather,

extracting all its contemporary relevance has finally become feasible this way in the first place. "Critical appropriation mainly means comprehending the great artistic achievements of past social epochs in terms of their social conditions, and that also means in terms of the contradictions besetting some of them. Only when looked at that way, will they reveal their original vividness and freshness, that which was progressive in their image of man. It saves us from taking our legacy merely as a subject of solemnity and awe."[8]

This vivid approach to our legacy also was what inspired the public discussions--especially since the Eighth SED Congress--about the higher quality needed for the appropriation of our bourgeois literary legacy, principally that of German Classicism and Romanticism. New questions had to be asked of our legacy, new ways and means of dealing with it began to emerge. Anniversaries such as Herder's 175th death anniversary in 1978, Lessing's 250th birthday in 1979, or the 175th anniversary of the death of Schiller this year, but also tributes to E. T. A. Hoffmann, Heinrich von Kleist and many others, not only occasioned commemorative articles, celebrations and official speeches, they also sparked initiatives in many areas of our intellectual and cultural life. Scientists came up with new research results, important new editions were completed or started. Many theaters tested new techniques for staging the dramas of Lessing, Goethe, Schiller or Kleist. A conference also deliberated on the problems of conveying our classical literary legacy through literary instruction. Memorial sites in Weimar, Kamenz and other places were or are being reconditioned--in accordance with changing requirements--and are becoming more attractive each year. More incentives are going to be provided by our preparing for the 200th anniversary of Lessing's death in 1981, the 150th anniversary of Goethe's death in 1982, and the 225th birthday of Schiller in 1984. "Anniversaries to us are nothing formal but occasions for more deeply understanding historic events and the nature of great personalities and for making use of them on behalf of our present days. We thereby gain knowledge of the entire process of history and of the lessons from the struggles and successes, from the defeats and victories."[9]

With reference to Herder we have already pointed out the internal connection between the humanistic ideas of his times and the main problem of our days, the safeguarding of world peace. In Lessing's "Minna von Barnhelm" likewise, in almost all of Schiller's dramas, in Hoelderlin's poems and in Goethe's works--from his "Goetz" to the second part of "Faust"--we encounter the same problem, and this at a level of spiritual confrontation that excludes pacifistic ideas. Going all the way back to antiquity, but mainly to the time of the Peasants' War and the Netherlands' liberation struggle, the classic authors created a multilayered picture of the complex web of revolutionary struggles, counterrevolutionary invasion, national wars of defense and feudal or bourgeois policy of conquest at the turn from the feudal-absolutistic to the bourgeois-capitalist age. Their analyses and the denouments they designed are of the greatest value today.

Faced with the deep internal crisis of the imperialist system of government, the ideologues of that system more and more frequently resort to irrational "interpretations" of the world situation and conservative-reactionary recommendations for "solutions." The ever more blatant inability of capitalist society to combine scientific-technical progress with the development of humane "qualities of life" once again leads them to decry historic progress itself. Especially affected by that is the age that was reflected in the works of the bourgeois classic authors and offered an initial approach to interpretation in terms of the dialectics of history. The Enlightenment, the French Revolution, and the industrial revolution, so they claim, had "cut man off from his metaphysical sources," for which reason it would now be essential to regain irrationalism, the "comfort of religious certitude," for the "modern industrial society."[10]

One more reason for the revolutionary workers movement and its allies to reassure themselves time and time again of the progressive legacy in those revolutionary processes in the history of mankind, and especially of the conviction that man--without the help from "supernatural" forces--must take his destiny into his own hands. "Not mute the world is to the man of worth./What need hath he to range infinitude?/What he perceives, that may be understood"--that is the message we can find not only in Goethe's "Faust" but also in Lessing's "Nathan the Wise," in Schiller's classical ballads, or in Herder's "Ideas for a Philosophy of History." Lessing's and Herder's theological polemics also show that religious convictions need not be in the way to a realistic assessment of real contexts and an active participation in social progress.

Moreover, the image of history on the part of classical bourgeois philosophy and literature was very different from the shallow liberalistic progress optimism of the bourgeoisie then in power which stands on such unsure grounds that it constantly tends to relapse into metaphysics and reactionary utopias--always shaken again by every crisis in capitalism. From there comes the importance of our classical legacy in the struggle against any irrationalistic and reactionary obscurantism for our ideas on the course of progress through history as well as against timid bourgeois fright of the contradictions in an epochal transformation, be that expressed in some shallow undialectical faith in progress or in some plaintive whimpering about the relentlessness of the material dialectics of history. Especially in Goethe's "Faust," we experience and perceive the adverse unity of bourgeois productive force development and the forward-directed potentials of humanity, of objective social determinism and the individual's active social conduct, shown in all the tragedy resulting from antagonistic conditions but also in the magnificent fruitful perspectives objectively inherent in the stage of human-social emancipation ever since the end of the Middle-Ages. In Schiller's works also, conflicts are located within the tension between objective material coercion and subjective ethical decisions, and they always come combined with the concern to preserve human dignity even under the most difficult conditions and to strive for active conduct.

In this sense then the appropriation of our classical legacy is of inestimable importance to practically and intellectually coping with the epochal dialectics of the current era. And it is found every day anew that only socialist society is able to pick up the bold thrusts of classical bourgeois literature and translate them into practice in the manner appropriate to us.

FOOTNOTES

1. Johann Gottfried Herder, "Briefe zur Befoerderung der Humanitaet" (Letters on the Advancement of Humanity), Aufbau publishing house, Berlin and Weimar, 1971, Vol II, p 283.

2. Cf. Friedrich Schiller, "The Start of the New Century," "Gedichte, Auswahl" (Selected Poems), Philipp Reclam jun. publishing house, Leipzig, 1974, p 277.

3. Franz Mehring, "Gesammelte Schriften" (Collected Writings), Vol XI, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1961, p 136.

4. "Geschichte der deutschen Literatur, von 1789-1830" (History of German Literature, 1789-1830), Vol VII, Volk und Wissen People-Owned publishing house, Berlin, 1978, p 23.

5. "Programm der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands," Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, p 52.

6. Erich Honecker, "Our Time Calls for Partisanship for Progress, Reason and Humanity," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 14/15 June 1930, p 3.

7. Kurt Hager, "Zu Fragen der Kulturpolitik der SED, 6. Tagung des ZK der SED" (Concerning SED Cultural Policy Matters--Sixth SED Central Committee Session), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1972, p 57.

8. Ibid.

9. Erich Honecker, op. cit.

10. DIE ZEIT, Hamburg, 21 December 1979, p 3.

5885
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INCREASED RESPONSIBILITIES URGED FOR BASIC PARTY ORGANIZATIONS

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 35 No 9, Sep 80 signed to press 14 Aug 80 pp 963-967

['Consultation' feature article by Dr Heinz Pude[illegible] economist, [illegible]puty department chief, SED Central Committee: "Basic Organizations--Foundation of the Party"]

[Text] "What matters is further to raise our party's fighting strength and strengthen its solidarity with the people, arming it in every respect for solving our future tasks,"[1] Comrade Erich Honecker said at the 12th Central Committee session and emphasized that this involved "focusing the party organizations and all comrades politically and ideologically on the demands of the 1980's. We want to create the best conditions for steadily carrying on our economic and social policy. That implies for all public domains our strengthening the party organizations, acting in unity, constantly deepening the communists' mass solidarity and thus further raising our party's leadership role."[2]

That makes a high demand on all basic party organizations and their activities and on the revolutionary substance of their work in the further implementation of the Ninth SED Congress resolutions and the preparation for the Tenth SED Congress. Our Marxist-Leninist party, after all, mainly accomplishes its guiding and organizational influence in all domains of public life through the work of its basic organizations and the daily political work of each comrade in his work collective, residential area and other public domains. "The basic organization," our Party Program says, "embodies for every member and candidate the political home base in which he is firmly rooted, which bestows decisive impulses on his combative life and efforts, and in its party-minded, confident communist atmosphere he feels at home and constantly gains new strength."[3]

Centers of Political Activity

All party members and candidates are gathered together in the basic organizations. Lenin termed them the cells of the revolutionary working class party "performing agitprop and organizational work, acting with determination in

all domains of public life, through the many-sided work of which they systematically educate themselves and the party as well as the class and the mass."[4] The basic organizations are at work wherever the working people work, learn and live and where problems and contradictions arise that are part of life and that have to be resolved. Their activities are of decisive importance for deepening the confident relationship between the party and the people and for developing a conscious conduct in the workers class and all working people. It is therefore all the more important to turn them into ever more effective centers of political activity and confident relations with the working people. As the foundation of the party, the basic organizations secure its political-ideological and organizational influence in all public domains in seeing to it that the rights and duties set down in the statute are assumed by all party members and that the communists are uniformly indoctrinated and their uniform actions are properly and systematically organized.

"Increased fighting strength is obtained," the Central Committee directive on conducting the 1980/81 party elections says, "to the extent that we succeed in promoting in every respect, on the basis of democratic centralism, the initiative of the basic organizations for implementing the party resolutions, in shaping among all comrades firm political positions on the new tasks, and in deriving higher demands for their own work." The Leninist principle of democratic centralism is the fundamental political and organizational principle by which our Marxist-Leninist party is constructed and acts, from which to a large extent it receives its fighting strength. This democratic centralism, after all, is the decisive foundation for combining our unified central leadership most closely with the comrades' broad activities, with our collective wisdom and our party discipline that is binding or all alike. On this basis, the SED has always paid great attention to the political activities of its more than 77,000 basic organizations.

Guided by the realization that the party's fighting strength is raised above all through basic organization initiatives on party resolution implementation, and through the party loyalty and dedication of each comrade, the ninth party congress specified the application of the principle of democratic centralism in the party statute: Our growing tasks demand that we raise basic organization responsibility to the fulfillment of the party decisions and enable the basic organizations still more extensively to implement those decisions in conformity with the concrete conditions in the territories and enterprises and clarify problems right on the spot. At the same time intra-party democracy is further strengthened through further elevating the role and responsibility of the basic organizations and of each individual communist. The basic organizations in the state apparatus and in mass organizations were given the right to control the implementation of the decisions in their particular area of responsibility. Forms of organization were also further developed, for instance the right to convene party activists meetings and the obligation of the basic organization management to submit regular reports to membership meetings.

The continued shaping of our developed socialist society in the 1980's places new and higher demands on our party work. It is imperative to create the best conditions everywhere for successfully carrying on our party policy, allied to the people as it is. That calls for fully developing the conscious, initiative-rich and uniform actions of all communists. This always and everywhere amounts to shaping a truly combative dedication to the implementation of the policy decided on by the party. That applies to all public domains and, particularly, to economic development because the economy, after all, is the main battle ground, and progress in all other domains of our public life becomes increasingly dependent on economic results.

The party organizations in the enterprises, as Lenin already pointed out, are especially important to us because, "the chief strength of the movement, after all, lies in that the workers in the large-scale enterprises are organized, as the large enterprises (and factories) contain the decisive part of the whole workers class, not only in numbers but more still in terms of their influence, development and fighting ability. Every enterprise must be a fortress of ours,"[5] he emphasized. This to a special degree applies to the party organizations in the enterprises which are part of the 129 industrial combines and those of the building trade. They bear a great responsibility for continuing the course of the main task under the new conditions. More than 425,000 communists are organized in them, and 2.4 million working people are employed in those enterprises.

Further developing the role of the basic organizations as centers for political activity and as the political nucleus of the work collectives, and increasing the activities of all communists in the struggle for the fulfillment of economic tasks--therein lies a crucial criterion for the work in each party organization. "It is the honor of each party collective and each communist reliably to fulfill, day after day, all tasks in the economic plan," as the party election directive points out.

Linking All Working People

What is most important now is significantly to improve economic efficiency, effectively stimulate more rapid scientific-technical progress, and to set a fine example everywhere in the implementation of the party organizations' campaign programs. This requires that the comrades come up with concrete suggestions on how to meet the new demands and where to utilize reserves. In this, the educational influence of the communists, their authority and the confidence they are shown in the work collective depend on how their words agree with what they do, on how they through their own work attempt "a high developmental tempo in socialist production, efficiency improvements, scientific-technical advances and increasing labor productivity."[6] So it is all the more important for the basic organizations to put into effect all the constructive suggestions and follow up all the advice and criticism on improving party work as submitted during the party document check and the official registration of members and candidates. The selfless work of

hundreds of thousands of comrades, male and female, their modesty, their sense of responsibility and personal dedication make sure that mistakes and shortcomings, indifference and carelessness, and illegal conduct by individuals are intolerantly and critically taken to task.

It is necessary to raise the responsibility of all party organizations and every communist for further developing socialist national consciousness and for having the working people take part still more comprehensively in the various forms of management and planning. The criterion for the quality and effectiveness of our educational work must be how a comrade works politically within his work collective, what he himself changes there, and how he helps advance developments in his collective together with other working people, and so brings to realization the principle, "wherever there is a comrade, there is the party too."

The basic organizations link the party with all working people. They bear a great responsibility for the working people's close rallying around the party and for organizing the masses in implementing our party policy, which is oriented to man, to the prosperity and happiness of the people. We proceed from the realization that our complicated tasks can be solved only if we succeed in involving an ever larger circle of people who, through their own free decisions and motivated by knowledge and conviction, place all their strength in the service to our common cause. For that one must know exactly what moves the people and what recommendations and suggestions they have. The greatest successes are achieved where the close and trusting relationship with the working people is constantly being strengthened.

An ever stronger shaping of a truly socialist attitude toward work and public property requires constantly to clarify through our ideological work the connections between economic efficiency development and the goal of socialist production. Everyone must understand that the well-being of all of us, the further consolidation of socialism, the protection of its achievements and the safeguarding of peace also depend on his personal performance. Great support is warranted for the best workers and innovators, for encouraging and spreading their initiatives, attitudes and moral positions. Every comrade is called upon to conduct political talks at all times with his colleagues at work and consult with them about conclusions to be drawn for his own work and not to dodge complicated problems.

Party education in the basic organizations thus should especially be aimed at developing the comrades' inner need, drive and ability to disseminate our world-outlook and explain our party policy to the working people always with passion and the power of conviction. They should be placed in the position where they can defend our world-outlook and policy against all hostile attacks and distortions and take issue, without reservation, with imperialist policy and ideology in a militant fashion.

It simply is a fact that primarily the party members' influence on the working people depends on their attitudes, their activities, their strength

of radiation. We have learned by experience that communists are respected in their work collectives and that they are listened to if they set good examples and take a firm party position in discussions and do not squawk when there are difficulties. That is why the demand Lenin raised in connection with organizing labor freely given to the state assumes increasing importance under our new conditions: "In terms of labor discipline and energy, the party members must be ahead of all others."[7] That places still higher demands on the communists in matters of approaching all issues from the class standpoint, from the interests of the workers class and all the working people, energetically and aggressively advocating everywhere and always our party policy, taking a lead in the struggle for all-round plan fulfillment, in socialist competition, in improving labor productivity and reducing costs, in achieving the highest qualities and in rationalization, showing themselves intolerant to any kind of abuse, loafingon the job and waste of material, and to any violation of socialist discipline and order. This includes boldness in decision-making as much as honesty, consistency and tenacity and the constant willingness to encourage what is new, constantly seeking confident relations with the working people and being an ardent patriot and internationalist.

The Basic Organizations--The Political Home Base of the Communists

"Life has confirmed time and time again that the political atmosphere in the basic organizations decides how the demands of everyday party work are coped with. It is all the more necessary to encourage all those efforts, in preparation of the tenth party congress, that aim at creating an atmosphere in each basic organization which makes possible our implementing the party decisions still more successfully."[8] It is of great importance here that all basic organizations foster and further collective consultation and creative debate on how best to implement the party resolutions. The basic organizations should see to it that the tasks and problems facing the party and the planning of the work are conferred and decided on in the collective and that the collective responsibility in the implementation of the tasks is raised, accurate controls and accounting are ensured for the implementation of the resolutions, and ciriticism and self-criticism are used as an element of the work itself. It is incumbent upon the basic organizations constantly to care for the Marxist-Leninist training of the cadres and of all party members, and to consult systematically and confidently with the party members and unaffiliated working people, in order to make the fullest use of their experience, knowledge and skills. A key issue here is to turn the Leninist norms for party life, as set down in the statute, into each communist's life maxim by means of purposeful political efforts by the basic organizations, true to the principle: communists know no greater task than serving their people selflessly.

Essential for an ever more perfect development of intraparty democracy and an active involvement of the communists are demanding membership meetings and improved political and technical training for the communists. "To be informed and expert," Comrade Erich Honecker has said, "to know what our

party policy is all about, and what its salient features are, significantly helps spread confidence and conscious activity."[9] We must therefore be very careful in responding to questions raised by life itself, questions of concern to the members and candidates of the basic organizations. Frankly and with party-mindedness they should express their standpoint on the most effective implementation of party policy in their area of work.

Political steadfastness in every situation, a combative attitude in approaching lofty goals, a passionate advocacy of innovation, energy in overcoming any obstruction, an honest, modest and sensitive attitude toward the working people--those are characteristics which, entirely in Lenin's sense, determine the respect a party member enjoys. Party organizations will encourage the development of these characteristics if they insure a healthy, party-bound atmosphere in which intraparty democracy fully develops, criticism and self-criticism are engaged in open-mindedly, and all comrades deliberately abide by voluntary discipline. Membership meetings here are the most important forum the communists have for explaining and creatively applying the party resolutions, for consolidating their communist convictions and attitudes, and for training the members and candidates in uniform and persuasive argumentation. The membership meeting is an assembly that forms collective opinion and coordinates the comrades' political actions. Thus it must not be only informative in character. While all comrades are given the opportunity to get answers to the questions that concern them and to take part in the elaboration of concrete arguments for their ideological work, it also is important to explain the basic problems in their own work and arm them for resolving those problems.

Next to the membership meeting the party study year is the most important place for deepening and expanding the participants' Marxist-Leninist knowledge and for helping them to conduct their political dialog with the working people. It therefore is an important concern of the circles and seminars to improve still more the abilities of the attendants in pertinent and persuasive argumentation and in aggressively and combatively representing the class standpoint of the workers class. Here too it is essential for the propagandists to understand how to set up a frank atmosphere in the circles and seminars, to appeal both to one's heart and one's reason, and to make use, through a good sense of intuition, of the various skills and abilities the attendants bring to the discussion.

In this respect it has been found useful to conduct theoretically demanding and relevant problem discussions on the themes of the party study year in the training seminars for propagandists and to deepen and make more specific sets of arguments worked outin the propaganda activists' groups. No less important is that kreis executive secretaries appear regularly before propagandists to explain new resolutions to them, answer topical questions and provide arguments for their ideological confrontations. State and economic functionaries, scientists, and cadres from the various fields inform the propagandists there on new insights, tasks and events. These and other forms of instruction and information must be strengthened to help the

comrades in the circles and seminars assume a firm party-minded standpoint and equip them with the best arguments. Especially this deepening of the unity of intent and conduct at an ever higher level, based on the identity of ideological views in our party of equal-minded, enables our party members and cadidates to solve the tasks of the party organizations with a high sense of responsibility and to engage in a permanent trusting dialog with the working people, mobilizing them and directing all their creative forces and initiatives at one goal: the best for the tenth party congress! Everything for the good of the people!

FOOTNOTES

1. Erich Honecker, "Das Beste zum X. Parteitag! Alles zum Wohle des Volkes! 12. Tagung des ZK der SED" (The Best for the Tenth Party Congress! All for the Good of the People!--12th SED Central Committee Session), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1980, p 10.

2. Ibid., pp 14-15.

3. "Programm der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands," Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, p 69.

4. V. I. Lenin, "Theses on the Tasks of the Second Comintern Congress," "Werke" (Works). Vol 31, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1959, p 180.

5. V. I. Lenin, "Letter to a Comrade about Our Organizational Tasks," "Werke," Vol 6, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1956, p 235.

6. "Statut der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands," Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, p 7.

7. V. I. Lenin, "Summons for a Struggle against the Fuel Crisis! Circular to the Party Organizations," "Werke," Vol 30, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1961, p 125.

8. Erich Honecker, op. cit., p 16.

9. Erich Honecker, "Die naechsten Aufgaben der Partei bei der weiteren Durchfuehrung der Beschluesse des IX. Parteitages der SED" (The Next Party Tasks in the Continued Implementation of the Ninth SED Congress Resolutions), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1980, p 87.

5885
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LISTINGS, SUMMARIES OF OTHER MAJOR 'EINHEIT' ARTICLES

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'Resumes' addendum

The Topic: Work and Work Collective

[Text] "Work in Our Lives" (pp 870-877), by Prof Dr Otto Reinhold, economist, member, SED Central Committee; rector, Academy of Social Sciences, SED CC; memb ., GDR Academy of Sciences; corresponding member, USSR Academy of Sciences; member, EINHEIT editorial board. This article opens a series of contributions discussing the role and function of work, requirements for its organization and aspects of the workers' creative collaboration in the collective.

[PLEASE NOTE: A translation of Professor Reinhold's article is published under the heading, "Academician Explains Need for Incentive Pay Principle," in a recent JPRS issue of EAST EUROPE REPORT: ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL AFFAIRS]

"How to Conduct the Socialist Competition?" (pp 878-884), by Prof Willi Land, economist, secretary, Central Institute for Socialist Economic Management, SED Central Committee; and Gerhard Muth, member, National Executive Committee, Free German Trade Union Federation (FDGB); chief of the executive committee's Labor and Wages Department; giving current findings on the determined conduct of the competition.

"Standards for the Scientific Organization of Work" (pp 885-890), by Arno Schaefer, social scientist, engineer, economist, chief, Department for Scientific Work Organization (WAO), State Secretariat for Labor and Wages. These standards are seen as the result of socialist rationalization.

"Schools of Socialist Labor" (pp 891-894), by Hans-Joachim Neblung, social scientist, basic organization secretary and party organizer for the Central Committee in the main enterprise of VEB 7 October Machine-tool Combine, (East) Berlin; giving experiences in and requirements for the shaping of consciousness.

"Relationships and Behavioral Patterns in the Collective" (pp 895-899), by Prof Dr Walter Maeder, SED basic organization secretary at the Central Institute for Socialist Economic Management, SED Central Committee; discussing the determined shaping of these relationships and behavioral patterns.

"Free and Conscious Discipline" (pp 900-904), by Dr Harry Moebis, economist, state secretary, GDR Council of Ministers; discussing socialist behavioral patterns expressed in the struggle for law and order and discipline.

A Life for the Communist Cause

[Summary of article by Col Gen Heinz Kessler, member, SED Central Committee; deputy minister for national defense; chief, Political Main Administration, National People's Army (NVA); pp 905-912. A West German commentary on this EINHEIT article is inserted below this summary]

[Text] Comrade Erich Honecker's autobiography, "From My Life," offers insight into interconnections of self-experienced social processes, in the shaping of which the author himself was greatly and creatively involved, and illuminates his whole way through life thus far, which took him through the schools of the class struggle up to the top in the party of the triumphant German workers class and the first workers and farmers state on German soil, as a piece of contemporary history. It is an instructive overview of past difficult, often sacrificing and ultimately victorious struggles of the German workers movement up to the shaping of the developed socialist society in the GDR in conformity with the eighth and ninth party congress policy aimed at the good of the people, in the drafting and consistent implementation Erich Honecker has a great personal share. The book joins the struggles of our time.

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 136, 9 Sep 80 p 1

[Report from Berlin: "SED Emphasizes 'Honecker's Strong Bonds With the People'"]

[Text] The GDR mass media campaign in tribute of the state and party chief, conducted in recent weeks in connection with the publication of Honecker's autobiography, "From My Life," has reached its climax so far in the SED's theoretical journal EINHEIT (No 9, 1980). In the journal's most recent edition, Heinz Kessler, deputy minister for national defense, hails "our friend and comrade Erich Honecker" in a fashion highly reminiscent of the "cult of personality." In that article, Honecker is called, among other things, an "honest, unbending communist," an "outstanding, experienced party leader and internationally recognized statesman of worldwide renown," a "true continuer of revolutionary workers' policy," and a "great personality." He had an "outstanding share in the drafting and sound theoretical explanation of the strategy and tactics for the shaping of the developed socialist society." "Inseparably connected with his name," Kessler says, was the "vigorous emphasis on the meaning of socialism to do everything for the good of the workers class and all working people." The "Leninist working style, clarity, purposiveness, objectivity and comradeship," as coming from Honecker, imbued the activity of the whole party. As all communists, he derived his strength from the people, and his "deep affiliation with the people" was for him "the most normal and obvious way" for coping with his tasks. "Time and time again" Honecker felt himself drawn to the workers, seeking personal talks with them.

NATO--Chief Instrument of Imperialism's Aggressive Forces

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Albrecht Charisius, colonel, GDR Military History Institute; pp 921-928]

> [Text] Once again NATO has become the focal point of a modified variant of the global strategy of the most aggressive U.S. forces. U.S. ruling circles--and the military-industrial complexes of the other states of that pact in their wake--are using NATO as the main tool for subordinating the other members under its course of confrontation, opposed to detente and disarmament. They are seeking to turn NATO into the nucleus of an antisocialist united front.

Scientific-Technical Revolution and Youth

[Text] "High Demands on Education and Training" (pp 929-935), by Hermann Apel, social scientist, deputy department chief, SED Central Committee; and Dr Lothar Oppermann, department chief, SED CC; member, GDR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences. This article opens a series of contributions discussing this problem in our socialist schools.

"Continued Development of the Polytechnical Character of the Secondary School" (pp 936-942), by Prof Dr Heinz Frankiewicz, director, Institute for Instruction of Mathematics, Natural Sciences and Polytechnics, GDR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences; member of the academy. This article discusses a specific aspect of the party's orientation in school policy.

"Science and Technology--Proving Ground of Working Youth" (pp 943-950), by Dieter Mueller, candidate member, SED Central Committee; secretary, Central Council, Free German Youth (FDJ); discussing FDJ initiatives to strengthen the GDR economically, especially through the 'Fair of the Masters of Tomorrow' movement and the work of the youth brigades.

"On Status and Creativeness in the Studies of Students" (pp 951-957), by Dr Edwin Schwertner, economist, deputy department chief, SED Central Committee. The author discusses the subject proceeding from basically changed objective and subjective conditions in the college system.

"Graduates in Practical Work" (pp 958-962), by Lothar Reissig, chief engineer, director for science and technology, VEB Wema (machine-tool factory), Auerbach, an enterprise of VEB Fritz Heckert Machine-Tool Combine, Karl-Marx-Stadt. Using VEB Wema as an example, the author shows how these graduates prove themselves when properly stimulated and challenged.

The Myth and the Threat

[Summary of article by Dr Guenter Kalex, economist, sector chief, SED Central Committee; pp 972-975]

[Text] The myth of the threat from the East, in particular a direct military threat by the Soviet Union--a dangerous smoke screen behind which the most aggressive imperialist forces of the United States and its NATO allies hide their attacks against detente

and the peoples' struggle, their seeking to regain their military superiority to socialism, and their greed for profits from the armaments business. Who actually is the one that is turning up the armaments spiral--from the history of the most important innovations in arms technology since 1945.

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PUJA SURVEYS FOREIGN AFFAIRS, DEFINES HUNGARY'S POSITION

Budapest KULPOLITIKA in Hungarian No 3, 80 pp 3-18

[Article by Frigyes Puja, minister of foreign affairs: "Peace, Security!"]

[Text] The causes for the intensification of strains in the international situation are now being sought for in various factors, and a different judgement is being made in the leading circles of the socialist countries and the developed capitalist countries. But in our view there can hardly be any doubt: the basic cause for the worsening situation is that the leading circles of the United States have revised their stance on detente, that is, they have changed their foreign policy.

The peoples of Europe and international public opinion are disturbed by many developments in the world situation. The intensity of bilateral relations between the socialist and developed capitalist countries has declined, mistrust has grown, and in general peace and security have become more fragile. Cause for concern, however, is primarily in the fact that NATO--at America's incitement--is seeking to upset the balance of power which has developed in the world and gain military superiority vis-a-vis the Warsaw Pact countries. The American leaders have again brought out of the storeroom of imperialist politics the old formula whereby they have the right, obligation in fact, to world leadership, and there is no area on the globe from where, they say, the security of the United States could not be threatened.

The NATO summit held in Washington in 1978 supported a permanent and continuous increase in the military budgets of the member states. Following this, the West speeded up the expansion and accumulation of weapons of mass destruction. The peoples of Europe are particularly disturbed by a December 1979 decision of the NATO Council of Ministers which called for the establishment of 572 medium-range American nuclear missiles in five Western European countries. If this decision is carried out, it will unavoidably lead to a further deterioration in the European and the whole international situation, for the Soviet Union and the socialist world cannot be indifferent on seeing such an obvious attempt to upset the European military balance.

The NATO countries assert that the Soviet Union is responsible for the intensified tension in the world situation. In a large-scale manner they "forget" that the new wave of arms race--which is the most important cause for these tensions--was provoked by the 1978 NATO decision and the Brussels resolution on the manufacture and establishment of medium-range American nuclear missiles. If the NATO powers desire so much to obstruct the developments that are pointing in a bad direction, why did they not accept Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's proposal, which he made last October, to hold discussions on the medium-range nuclear missiles? Why do they not reply worthily now

when the Soviet Union is proposing that discussions be undertaken on limiting the number and strike capability of the medium-range nuclear weapons to be placed in the European area including the advance-posted American nuclear missiles as well. This is not a matter of raising conditions, as is often maintained in the West, but of the fact that by reviving power politics NATO is seeking what the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries never have accepted and will not do so now.

The United States has put on ice, so to say, ratification of the second Soviet-American agreement on reducing strategic weapons. But the ratification of SALT II would be important, because only this can open the way to SALT III, that is, the reduction of strategic arms and perhaps even an agreement in the field of medium range nuclear missiles.

The Carter administration has frozen talks virtually at every level the Soviet-American disarmament conducted up to now at various forums. It is consistently obstructing Soviet initiatives for progress. The work of the supporters of disarmament has also been made more difficult in other negotiations.

This and many other things show that the aggressive American circles are not interested in disarmament negotiations. They still see the mirage of gaining military superiority.

Why have certain American leaders again taken on the armor of the crusaders against communism, and why are they seeking nowadays again to forge some kind of anti-Soviet holy alliance? The most frequently expressed argument is that the security of the United States is being threatened. But why should the security of the United States be threatened if internal social changes are taking place in some country? Why, for example, did the Moscow Olympics threaten the security of the United States, on which pretext it forbade the participation of American athletes? Of course in reality this is not what it is about. The truth is that the American side would like to obstruct socialism, the advance of progress, to prevent peoples from shaking off the yoke of colonialism or neocolonialism and freeing themselves from the slavery of capitalism. They would like to prevent the collapse of old, dilapidated systems which serve American policy, and in fact reconquer in various parts of the world the positions they have lost to progress, to socialism. They want no less, therefore, than to shackle human progress.

Nowadays imperialist propaganda is loudly talking of Soviet military help in Afghanistan. They turn everything around and say that the present tensions were evoked help extended by Soviet military to the Afghan people's system. However, if someone knows the relationship of Afghanistan to the Soviet Union, he will quickly see through it: we are dealing with trickery and the noise that has raised over Afghanistan is nothing more than an attempt to divert the attention of the world from the aggressive efforts of American imperialism; the covering up of actions designed to gain military superiority seeks to obfuscate the fact that the Americans, for strategic reasons, want to make protectorates of the Near and Middle East countries.

And here we have arrived at the core of the false imperialist policy and to the reason for the propaganda campaigns. Western disclosures are on the increase which are intended as interference in the international affairs of the socialist countries, and in fact they do not even refrain from inciting difficulties in relations among the socialist countries.

The international atmosphere is spoiled and the norms of interstate relationship are damaged by the fact that the United States and other capitalist countries have instituted embargoes against the Soviet Union. (More recently, for other reasons, against Iran also.) Such methods are well known to the socialist countries from the first half of the 1950's. At that time also it was believed in the West that the socialist system would be weakened thereby and its progress slowed down by an embargo. Even as the cold war could not arrest the advance of socialism and progress, neither will economic embargo measures obstruct the work of building socialism. This is all the more true now because the socialist countries are incomparably stronger than they were.

Those who set their course on intensifying the tensions in international relations have made it their goal to make Soviet-American relations more difficult, one of the most important elements to detente. The nature of these relations were and are a major importance in the develapment of the international situation. We have become accustomed to see that when the aggressive circles of imperialism forge their plans for foiling peace and security they always attack the Soviet Union, the main bastion of socialism and the main support of world peace. It has been so ever since the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution; this is still what every politician does who represents the interests of imperialism and monopoly capitalism.

This is natural because it is the Soviet Union that bears the main burden in the struggles against imperialism on behalf of progress and socialism, and undertakes the lion's share of the struggle for a better future on behalf of mankind, and for lasting peace and security.

The communists understand perfectly well that the laws of the international class struggle determine international development. The basic character of imperialism has not changed and cannot change. Even in the more relaxed atmosphere of the 1970's the motifs of confrontation and cooperation were simultaneously present and exerted their effect. At present, confrontation is being emphasized more than before because the extreme trends of imperialism that ignore reality have gained ground. The military-industrial complex, the oil monopolies, the Zionist Lobby are seeking for a way out of the deepening general crisis of capitalist society, the growing problems, the increasing contradictions of capitalist society through a faster pace of armaments, increasing the tensions of the situation, restraining detente, and even bringing back some kind of new variant of the cold war.

In intensifying the tensions of the situation, the foreign policy of the Chinese leaders is playing a greater role since they are seeking support from the imperialists for the realization of their fantasies of world domination. Today, Maoism without Mao has become the de facto ally of American imperialism on the international scene. Peking has embarked on the course of adventure and intensified expansion.

We have not harbored and do not harbor illusions about the development of the international situation. We reckon with the fact that the extreme forces of imperialism still have their reserves. We reckon with the policy of the Peking leadership and with the shifting attitudes of the governments of countries that are misled by imperialism and its allies. We know that all this can cause serious damage to the cause of peace, security and detente and can evoke further serious disturbances in international relations.

But we are still not pessimistic about the future. Those imperialist circles which are divorced from reality are now seeking to realize plans and to talk with the Soviet Union and its allies in the language of power do not reckon with the limits of their possibilities.

Why can we be optimistic? Because the international power relations on which the entire structure of international relaxation rests is continuously and uninterruptedly developing in favor of socialism and progress. This had a great role to play in the start of the relaxation process and will be reflected in future policies as well.

Since the 1950's radical changes have occurred in international power relations. These changes have been marked by the rocketing increase in the strength of the socialist community and its international influence; the strengthening of socialism and its international positions of progress; the increase in the influence of international communism and the workers' movement; the successes of the national liberation movements; the great successes of the forces fighting for peace and security; the intensification of the difficulties in the capitalist world; and the deepening of the general crisis of capitalism. Only such a favorable modification of the international power relations has made possible the development of peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems and international detente. There is no reason to assume that this favorable change in power relations will stop, on the contrary we count on its continuation.

The other fact which influences the development of the situation is the deepening of the general crisis of capitalism, the increasing differences among the imperialist and capitalist countries. It is obvious that nowadays the situation in this area is not the same as it was in the 1950's. The leading role of the United States in the capitalist world is no longer indisputable. The interests of the European capitalist countries differ today in many respects from those of American monopoly capital. Japan's interests are also pointing in another direction. These countries can still be held together in some way by the bugaboo of communism, but if conflicts of interest continue to deepen, this too may be forced to recede into the background. It is true that the ideological differences between the socialist and capitalist countries are irreconcilable, but there are no economic differences of interest, so to speak, and in fact the trends of economic cooperation are being strengthened. The European capitalist countries and Japan have profited a great deal from detente and they would not be the better for it economically if some new variety of the cold war were to replace detente. Their economic interests dictate that they distinguish themselves, though cautiously, from the extreme American policy. We have no illusions that the aggressive American circles still have the means to constrain these countries to some kind of acquiescence. The Western European reactions to the Americans measures against Iran and to the sharp anti-Soviet change of direction in American policy also show, however, that the alliance of the developed capitalist countries is not what it was in the first half of the 1950's. Of course, we must not exaggerate these differences. In the decades following World War II the common features of capitalist class interests in the fight against communism proved to be stronger than the differences. But history teaches us that at times differences can force even this class solidarity into the background.

The third factor is rooted in the so-called Chinese problem. The Chinese Maoist leadership, as we have indicated, is striving for world domination for which of course there is no basis in reality at all. The Chinese leadership conceives of the path to this goal on the basis of Mao Tsetung's tactics: to incite the United States

and Western Europe against the Soviet Union so that if possible they might destroy one another, and then to step out on the scene and with the pressure of a billion people force a "world order" on the Chinese model. This adventurous dream is not in harmony with the interests of the Chinese people. This is a factor with which the Peking leadership must sooner or later reckon. The Chinese people can no longer be sealed airtight from the world. It is also becoming more and more obvious that socialism cannot be built on an anti-Soviet foreign policy or on friendship with imperialism. If the Chinese leaders really want to build a socialist system they will sooner or later have to give up the idea of an alliance with the United States. It would be an exaggeration to maintain that the Chinese People's Republic is simply a "puppet" of extreme circles in the United States and Japan; its leadership has its own goals. The great internal tensions of China have always incited the Peking leadership to ease these with a classic recipe--the incitement of external tensions. Unfortunately, this also runs through the history of liberated China as well. Not for a moment has the Peking leadership given up the idea of expansion southward, and it has even tried expansion toward the north. But since the Peking leadership has not completely lost its sense of reality, it has temporarily given up its "march" toward the north and has turned to the south. With the Vietnamese adventure they had to see that the socialist world, above all the Soviet Union, would not abandon the Vietnamese Socialist Republic and Indochina, and this direction is closed. But there are still some countries and areas which China still essentially regards as Chinese territory by "historical right": Thailand, Burma, a good part of Malaysia, large areas of India, some of the archipelagoes belonging to the Philippine Islands, and all of Korea, Singapore and so forth. The question is when will American imperialism realize that its embrace with the Chinese leaders in the final analysis also seriously endangers its own interests. We believe it is only a matter of time before conflicts of interest arise from the present union. Actually, it will be a conflict of interests between two powers driven by goals of expansionism, for China's foreign policy has nothing to do with socialism.

A closer economic cooperation between China and Japan is complicating the situation. With its own great technical state of development and with China's cheaper raw materials and even cheaper labor at its disposal, Japan is becoming an even more dangerous economic rival of the United States and the Western capitalist countries than it has been to now. Under such circumstances it is not inconceivable that the conflicts of economic interest among the United States, the developed capitalist countries of Western Europe, and the Chinese People's Republic as well as Japan will increase.

Socialist foreign policy must study these phenomena very carefully and take them into account when determining certain steps.

These factors are very important, but without the active presence of the subjective element these cannot by themselves result in the attainment of the desired goal. The incessant struggle of the forces fighting for socialism progress, peace, and international cooperation is the main driving force which we may thank for the great results achieved thus far.

It was at the suggestion of the Soviet Union in 1963 that the first important international agreement was born, the nuclear peace treaty. Its importance lies in the fact that it prescribed certain limits to nuclear armament, namely in the area of nuclear explosion testing. Following this, the delegates of the Soviet Union and the United States continued negotiations which led to more recent agreements. This process was accelerated in particular in the early 1970's there and also had a benefical effect on the international atmosphere.

The settling of the so-called German problem played a major role in European relaxation. The Western powers, in particular the extreme circles of the United States and the FRG, wanted to use the so-called "unsettled" state of the German question to line up the countries and peoples of Western Europe behind the anti-Soviet and new world war plans of American imperialism. The main method for doing this was to refuse recognition to the new European situation which developed after World War II, hinder the creation of a new unified Germany, establish a separate West German state and the aggressive military alliance NATO, including the rearmed FRG of May 1955. With this they foiled the idea of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries that Germany should be unified and belong to neither of the military-political blocs. This, to be sure, would have crossed up the American plans, for without Germany it would be impossible to organize a new world war in Europe.

After such developments, the European socialist countries had no choice but to close ranks more tightly and form their own defensive organization, the Warsaw Pact.

But even then American imperialism and its West German allies did not give up their original ideas. Although they were the ones responsible for the splitting of Germany into two, they now "mobilized" for the unification of Germany, naturally on a capitalist basis. What is more, they did not want to recognize the new European situation which developed after the war, the new European boundaries, and the existence of the socialist countries and the GDR. They organized numerous provocations around West Berlin. Thus their goal did not change: to forestall the pacification of the situation in Europe, and continue their preparations for the launching of the World War III. With the cold war, the United States and its allies prepared essentially for a hot war in Europe. The recently revealed Pentagon documents speak eloquently of the dangerous plans of the leading American circles.

Thanks to the increasing strength of the Soviet Union, the socialist countries, the progressive developing countries, and the militant camp of the peace-loving millions, these plans failed. With time, the situation matured so that in the beginning of the 1970's the settlement of the so-called German question was begun. A role of great merit was played in this by the West German Social Democratic-Free Democratic government which recognized the necessity of a settlement. And in rapid succession the well-known agreements came into being among the FRG, the USSR, the Polish People's Republic, and the CSSR. Representatives of the four victorious powers in World War II signed the quadrilateral agreement regulating the status of West Berlin. The basic agreement of the GDR and the FRG was also signed. All this meant that the governments of the FRG and the Western powers recognized the new European situation that developed after the war, the new boundaries, and in respect to international law they also recognized the socialist German state, the GDR. From the viewpoint of strengthening security these agreements had enormous importance, for with these it became possible significantly to reduce the tensions which had accumulated off and on around the German problem.

At the initiative of the European socialist countries, the leading statemen of 33 European countries, the United States and Canada met in Helsinki in 1975 and signed the historically important Final Act.

In 1973 negotiations were begun in Vienna between representatives of the Warsaw Pact and NATO on an agreement designed to reduce military forces and arms in Central Europe.

The Soviet-American negotiations were of particularly great importance in the field of disarmament. The Soviet-American agreement, SALT I, on limiting defensive strategic weapons was born, and after long negotiations the final agreement was also signed in the spring of 1979 in Vienna on limiting strategic offensive weapons.

Agreements were also signed in other important areas. The ban of nuclear testing in the atmosphere, outer space and under water, the nuclear nonproliferation agreement, the ban of mass destruction weapons in earth orbit, the ban and elimination of bacteriological and toxic weapons on the sea and ocean floors and the ban of environmentally damaging devices all represented a very important advance in limiting nuclear armament and signified the strengthening of detente.

It is precisely these results and the factors promoting detente which represent the target of drumfire from extreme imperialist circles; their machinations are directed mainly at making military detente and further disarmament measures impossible, not only to thereby stop the process of detente but also reject it.

The appearance of the extreme forces places mankind at the crossroads. The question today is whether sober sense will prevail in the leading circles of Western countries, are they willing to continue that which we started in the early 1970's, or will and unbridled arms race gain the upper hand that could break down the barriers with unforeseeably tragic consequences that have been erected up to now with hard work.

The guarding of peace, the solidification of security and the maintenance of detente are an unchanged vital interest of the world's population. At the root of man's consciousness is the recognition of the fact that there is no rational alternative to peaceful coexistence. Objectively, those circles which were our partners in the 1970's in developing detente continue to be interested in peaceful coexistence and in maintaining and developing the cooperation that has evolved.

Although imperialism still has the strength to stir up trouble in various areas of the world and to threaten peace and security, it is not, and will no more be in the position to arbitrarily and unilaterally decide the world's fate from its position of superior strength. More and more the forces of socialism, peace and progress play a decisive role in international relations, and the cavilling of imperialism will be able to hinder their efforts only for a short time.

At a time when the international situation is deteriorating and tensions are developing it is the task of the socialist countries, the progressive forces, all the people of the world, well-intentioned and peace-loving people to unite by building on the positive results achieved thus far and to intensify their efforts to repulse the imperialist provocations, stop the processes harmful to peace, guard the results of detente, normalize international relations, and promote the cause of disarmament in order to solidify peace and security.

The Warsaw Pact not long ago celebrated the 25th anniversary of its establishment. This organization is a new type of defense alliance for the socialist states, the goal of which is to protect socialist society and European peace and security against aggressive designs. Therefore, the Warsaw Pact was an is an important factor in the struggle for the noble goal of universal peace and security.

The Warsaw Pact was formed after the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries exhausted every possibility to prevent the armament of West Germany as a separate state and make it a NATO member. Thus the signing of the Pact was a matter of constraint, an answer to the machinations of American imperialism which created NATO 6 years earlier to revive Germany's military power and make it the main NATO force.

Thus the main task of the Warsaw Pact is twofold. On one hand, it is an organization of peace which has had a decisive role in avoiding a new world war since World War II, and thus the people of Europe have been able to enjoy the blessings of peace for 35 years now. With its renewed political initiatives it contributed greatly to the advance of detente in Europe and around the world. The other function of the Pact is military in nature. The member states of the Warsaw Pact believe that international detente is an important guarantee for maintaining the balance of military power. They do not seek military superiority. Living proof of this is the proposal that they are ready for any disarmament measure no matter how broad, including also the mutual dissolution of both the Warsaw Pact and NATO. At the same time the Warsaw Pact countries cannot accept the theory of American domination and they can in no way permit the United States and its allies to acquire military superiority over the Soviet Union and the socialist countries. The member states of the Warsaw Pact are willing to examine seriously and discuss any proposal which has the goal of reducing military forces and armaments on the basis of military balance of power and equal security.

As we see, the main characteristic of the Warsaw Pact was, and remains, for the member states to contribute, with foreign policy actions, to the soldification of peace and security, promote military detente and disarmament. It has always been our belief that the European and North American states must concentrate their forces on peaceful coesistence.

On the basis of the past 25 years' experience we can justly state that our organization performs its tasks well and reliably fulfills both functions. Among the constructive proposals of the leading organs of the Warsaw Pact, we succeeded in having many of them accepted, and this had a decisive role in successfully preserving world peace.

Now that the situation has become more difficult and complicated, the Warsaw Pact has not been remiss in strengthening its earlier proposals and offering new ones. The anniversary session of the Political Consultation Body in May of this year in Warsaw approved documents which include an entire program for political and military detente the realization of which would have a beneficial effect not only on the European continent but also on the peace of the whole world.

The development of the world situation is decisively influenced by the kind of relations which prevail in the European and North American theaters. We have already mentioned that the continuing fate of political detente depends now essentially on whether the braking of arms competition will be advanced via the working out and realization of disarmament measures. The basic problem in the development of tensions in the entire international situation is the 1978 NATO decision to increase armaments, and even so the main cause of the sudden development of tensions in the European situation is the NATO decision which calls for the placing by Western Europe of medium-range American nuclear missiles in five Western European countries. This decision is extremely harmful from various points of view, chiefly because, if realized, it would break down the European military balance. If the 572 medium-range nuclear missiles are placed in Europe, the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries

will be forced to create a counterweight. It must be noted that the so-called Euromissiles are medium-range in name but their planned placement sites make them of strategic importance. With their help NATO would acquire military superiority over the countries of the Warsaw Pact, thereby circumventing the provisions of SALT II.

What can be done in this situation? Reason would dictate discussions, but it is impossible to hold discussions in the language of power, it can only be done on bas of the principle of equality and equal security.

Preventing the realization of the decision on the so-called Euromissiles and the maintenance of the European military balance serves the welfare of all European people. This is in the interest not only of the Warsaw Pact countries at whom the missiles are directed but also of the European NATO countries, mainly those which contribute by permitting the placement of the weapons on their territory. It does no harm to mention that such a contribution does not mean less than the fact that the countries concerned are undertaking the role of modern ammunition which has been assigned to them by the United States. It is obvious that with the presence of the American missiles in the event of a nuclear conflict these countries, would become primary targets. Thus the governments concerned and the elemental interests of the peoples require that they do not blindly follow the American demand. The arguments that the placement of American missiles in Western Europe strengthens the security of these countries are without any foundation. On the contrary, they increase the danger that in the case of a nuclear war these countries will sacrific themselves on the altar of American interests.

This year's May session of the Political Consultation Body of the Warsaw Pact presented the public opinion of NATO countries and the whole world with a broad scale of proposals political in nature. The essence of every one of these proposals is to prevent a further increase in tensions. This is also the goal of the invitation which the member states of the Warsaw Pact have accepted to a conference of leaders of the states in all the areas of the world to put out the fires of international tension and prevent war. At this meeting they should devote special attention to European security and the strengthening of peace on the continent. If the NATO countries want peace and security as much as their leaders say, the time is now for taking the proposals of the Warsaw Pact seriously and discussing them fundamentally. Above all, the question of European peace and security should be dealt with because this is the key to improving the world situation.

Of course the development of the European situation cannot be separated from the general world situation. The various crises centers also have an effect on European peace and security. History, however, has taught us that since World War II there always have been and always will be armed clashes outside the European area. One reason is that the people want to be free of colonial oppression and of the rule of capitalist exploitation; this reaction and its allies want to prevent even with arms. The other reason is that it is inherent in imperialism to want to expand; it not only wants to keep its present positions but also wants to reconquer what it has lost. The slogan nowadays circulating in the West is that peaceful coexistence and detente can only be of a universal character--that is, valid only if peace and security can be created everywhere in the world at one time--is still illusory. Today it only serves imperialism to try to prevent the advance of progress and the ideas of socialism.

The member states of the Warsaw Pact regard it as important that every state should seek to guard the results attained in detente through maximum exploitation of the possibilities. In such efforts, the members of the Warsaw Pact are ready to cooperate in the future as well.

The member states of the Warsaw Pact have reemphasized several of their earlier proposals, the realization of which would result in a serious improvement of the European situation. Realization of the proposal drafted in Budapest and further developed in Berlin in respect to the conference on military detente and the problem of disarmament, for which Poland offered Warsaw as the site, could give the cause of European detente a great forward thrust.

In the opinion of the Warsaw Pact member states, the approaching Madrid meeting can play an important role in the strengthening of confidence only by working out concrete steps serving this goal. For this conference to have a constructive role it will be necessary that only such measures be discussed which the participants agree so that the provocative attempts made by certain Western powers at Belgrade can be avoided. This meeting could also be a suitable forum, for example, for deciding on the place and time for an all-European conference to be called on military detente and disarmament.

The Warsaw Pact discussions emphasized that disarmament agreements which have already been signed must be unconditionally respected. It would have an extremely favorable effect if the American legislature finally would commit itself to ratify the SALT II agreement. The renewal of the stalled disarmament negotiations would also be beneficial to the United States.

It is time to make progress at the Vienna discussions which have been going on by now for 7 years on the reduction of Central European armed forces and armaments. From what has taken place thus far we are forced to conclude that in essence the NATO member states do not want to reduce Central European armed forces but rather it is their goal to keep the FRG Bundeswehr intact, even assure opportunities for its further development.

Acceptance of the Warsaw Pact proposals would eliminate and turn around the trend of growing tensions and would create favorable conditions for gradual advancment for improving the European situation.

The Political Consultation Body proposes that the participants of the Helsinki Conference sign an agreement that they would not be the first to use nuclear or conventional weapons against each other and the nuclear powers would guarantee not to deploy nuclear weapons on non-nuclear powers which have not placed such weapons on their soil.

To improve the European situation and to announce good intentions, the Warsaw Pact regards it necessary for the states to accept the following obligation: in the spirit of the Helsinki Final Act, beginning from a certain point of time, they will not increase the number of their armed forces.

It is the position of the Warsaw Pact countries that they are ready to limit, forbid or eliminate any type of weapon on the basis of full equality, full mutuality, and equal security.

All these proposals unequivocally bear witness that the Warsaw Pact countries take seriously and are ready to carry out the principles and recommendations in the Helsinki Final Act. At the same time, they also except their partners to take a similar position.

The realization of the Warsaw Pact recommendations would create an international atmosphere in which the European socialist and capitalist countries, through joint efforts, could give direction to a radical improvement in the world situation.

In this spirit, the Warsaw Pact member states urge that there should be a comprehensive agreement on the renunciation of force and the threat of force, the termination of the manufacture of nuclear weapons, the gradual destruction of existing stockpiles, the prohibition of creating new type weapons of mass destruction, the reduction of the military budgets of states and in particular the large powers, and the termination of military activity on the seas and the oceans of the world.

It would beneficially influence the European and the world situation alike if measures were undertaken to promote detente in the Mediterranean theater. Such a step would be the withdrawal of warships equipped with nuclear weapons and the signing of an agreement that in this theater nuclear weapons would not be placed in the areas of states where these weapons do not already exist.

It would be of extremely great importance if progress were made in eliminating, by political means, the various centers of crises.

The communique on the Warsaw Pact meeting calls on all the peace-loving forces, the vast majority of the developing countries, the soberly thinking leading circles of certain developed capitalist countries to do everything they can to prevent the worst, that is war. To do this it is necessary to have unity and an action presence. It is our expereince that more and more perceive the danger which the reevaluated American policy is drawing the world, and there is a readiness to fight in the defense and development of the results of detente. The proposals worked out by the Warsaw Pact are suitable as a basis for the broadest unity in which communists and socialists, materialists and the faithful, sober-thinking capitalists and manual workers, intellectuals, writers, artists, women and young people, in a word everyone, will find his own task in defending and solidifying peace and security.

It is extremely encouraging that effective initiatives have already been taken to mobilize the forces of peace. A passionate will to act characterized the Paris consultations of the European sister parties, the meeting held recently in Budapest by the presidium of the World Council for Peace, and other actions of the believers in European and world peace.

A great sense of responsibility permeated those consultations which were held between the socialist and Western foreign ministers in Vienna on the 25th anniversary of the signing of the Austrian State Treaty.* The NATO foreign ministers, to be sure, tried to put responsiblity for the situation as it has developed on the socialist countries, but by now it is clear to everyone that their arguments are becoming more and more

*Which restored Austrian independence and sovereignty.

untenable. The Warsaw talks of Leonid Ilich Brezhnev, secretary-general of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and Giscard d'Estaing, president of the French Republic, were encouraging for top-level meetings to settle the difficult situation. The Moscow discussions of Helmut Schmidt, chancellor of the FRG, also had an effect in this direction. We believe that both the Vienna talks and the top-level meetings held thus far represent a starting point for the mutual efforts of the socialist and capitalist countries, which in the end will remove obstacles from the road to the development of detente. It was precisely this purpose which permeated the 14-15 May Warsaw anniversary meeting of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultation Body.

The common proposals and combined efforts of the Warsaw Pact member states which serve the cause of peace, security and disarmament are in harmony with the interests of the Hungarian People's Republic, and the Hungarian people.

Our country lies in the heart of Europe. Our people have lived through the terrible sufferings and losses of two world wars. What would be more natural than for us to work at the building of a developed socialist society and strive with heart and soul for the basic, indispensable condition to realize our goals for peace and security. It is understandable, therefore, that we are closely affected by everything which happens in Europe and by everything which is interdependent with the peace and security of our continent and the world.

The experience of international life shows that peace and the atmosphere of detente also have a favorable effect on the cause of universal human progress. Ultimately, the forces of reaction have for this reason launched a counterattack against that peace policy of which our country is one of the initiators and implementers.

The report presented to the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party at the 12th Party Congress stated: "In representing the interests of our country and people and pursuing the principle of proletarian internationalism and peaceful coexistence, we strive to contribute to the advance of detente, to the solidification of peace and an increase in the forces of national independence, socialism, and social progress." The 25th Congress of our Party has strengthened this resolution and ideological policy.

Since the beginning, the Hungarian People's Republic has been an active member of the Warsaw Pact. Life has shown that our participation in this organization is a solid support and guarantee of our sovereignty, the protection of our national independence, our country-building work, and at the same time this is a factor which contributes to the increase in international respect for our country. Therefore an important task of our foreign policy continues to be the coordination of our international activity with the other member states of the Warsaw Pact. We shall continue to contribute to perfecting the defense strength of the Warsaw Pact.

In the economic organization of the socialist states, the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, we are working to see that socialist integration, the close economic cooperation of the member states will show decisive results as quickly as possible. In the present world situation, this is the main guarantee of our economic development.

The Hungarian People's Republic is a convinced believer in the policy of peaceful coexistence, detente, and disarmament, and is deeply interested in seeing that with joint effort we shall prevent the deterioration of European relations and the world situation, and strengthen the peace and security of our continent.

Proceeding from the principle of peaceful coexistence, our country is ready to build, maintain and further develop mutually advantageous relations with countries that have different social systems. We are convinced that a comprehensive system of such relations will serve well the cause of peace, the solidification of security, the advance of peaceful coexistence, and the strengthening of the foundations of detente.

In the spirit of this policy, our country honorably observes the letter and spirit of the Helsinki Final Act and works continuously to realize these principles and the recommendations of the Final Act. We regard it as a particularly important tas of ours to make indefatigable efforts to promote military detente.

The main efforts of our peace policy were clearly defined by Janos Kadar in summarizing the discussions of the 12th Congress: "Let there be peace, let there be balance of power, but a lower level of armament. Let every state and people feel itself secure. This is why we are struggling in the international arena." In accordance with these goals, Hungarian foreign policy resolutely supports the Soviet proposals designed to restrain armament competition, participates actively in working out the common proposals, and to the extent of its possibilities urges their acceptance and realization."

At the time, the government of the Hungarian People's Republic did a great deal for bringing about the Helsinki Conference, organizing the Belgrade meeting, and now it is throwing all its forces to prepare a constructive atmosphere at the Madred meeting.

Our diplomacy carried out a responsible task when--on the basis of the commission of the Warsaw Pact Foreign Minister's Committee--we delivered to the governments signing the Helsinki Final Act the document which the Foreign Ministers' Committee approved in May 1979 in the Hungarian capital and which contained the proposal that a conference should be called of the representatives of the signatory states to discuss measures to increase confidence and discuss steps serving to reduce armed forces and armaments. We were also the ones who the replies of the governments concerned to the proposal. On this basis, the Foreign Ministers' Committee on December 1979 developed the proposal further, and their approval by the majority of the European countries can essentially be counted on.

Hungarian foreign policy is resolutely opposed to the stirring up of new waves of armament competition. Accordingly, through diplomatic channels we have called the attention of the NATO governments to the serious consequences of the decision regarding the establishment of American nuclear missiles in Western Europe.

We know that to attain our common goals we need to travel a long, difficult course. But our people are optimistic. They believe in their creative power, which is multiplied by our brotherly friendship with the Soviet Union, the countries of the socialist community, and our active participation in the collective organization of the socialist countries. The Hungarian People's Republic is always ready to work on behalf of a good cause.

For this reason, it is our resolute intent, in accordance with the foreign policy guidelines of our party, to take active part in the future as well in the struggle which together with our allies and friends we are waging on one front against those obsessed with tensions, armaments and war, to secure the external conditions for our constructive work, to advance socialism and social progress, and universal peace and security.

Our greatest strength is in our joint presence. However, this does not mean that from our historical past, our economic endowments, our culture, and our geographical situation we do not have characteristic interests and possibilities which we must exploit. The Hungarian People's Republic will always fulfill its own task in the interest of the common goals of socialism and human progress, and with this and the exploitation of its characteristic possibilities it will carry out the obligations placed on it by the Hungarian working class and the international proletariat.

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'NEPSZABADSAG' EDITOR, YOUNG INTELLECTUAL DEBATE LIMITS OF SOCIAL CRITICISM

Budapest KRITIKA in Hungarian Jan, Jul 80

[Article by Istvan Elek: "Realistic Self-Knowledge and the Limits of Social Criticism"]

[Jan 80, p 12]

[Text] However convincing may seem the arguments which call attention to the danger of an erroneous generalization of a work of social criticism--most recently in an article by Dezso Togh titled "Realism and the Discovery of Reality" (NEPSZABADSAG, 19 August 1979)--I have never seen this to be as great a danger as its opposite, if social criticism is much too cautious in its discovering and generalizing, and thus the desired result does not come about. The opposite of what is optimal in this connection is not erroneous generalization but rather the unsatisfactory nature of social criticism, under-generalization or the lack of generalization. Disproportionately little is said about the latter in our official forums. Let us define the terms!

Let us think. It is as if we knew precisely where the border was between excessively cautious social criticism and erroneous generalization if we were to consider it justified to establish a relationship to reality on the basis of other points of view. It is as if we knew who, or rather what organizations and institutions, was called to this task concretely and in general. It is as if we had no doubt about who was called on to make socially valid determinations, necessarily as a representative of a partial social interest; as if we had no doubt that we had now and forever an objective or at least credible standard!

The answer which too easily avoids responsibility would be to say that the reality of the time, the given social practice, designates these limits. But the reality of the time is the subject of our analysis and not the censor of it. The basic difficulty lies precisely in this, that the answers which will correct our present judgments await us in the future.

I think it is obvious that we are talking not only about the possibilities and limits of generalization in formal works; rather, we are talking more broadly about the question of social criticism, the critical relationship to our social practice, and the problem of a work of social criticism is only a unique manifestational form of this. So what is the greater danger now? What might the consequences be, for example, of an exaggeration or erroneous generalization of social criticism?

Let us presume that this criticism regards a problem as an element of larger interdependencies, a phenomenon manifesting general tendencies, although what is really involved is a unique, isolated case! This is frequently presented as the special danger of erroneous generalization, that, painting an unjustifiedly dark picture of our reality, it may become a source of pessimism, may be suitable for shaking the faith of simple and sincere people in our achievements and prospects, in the cause of socialism. The consistent logic of this view conjures up the spectre of social crisis.

Perhaps it would not be unuseful to use the historical point of view. If we look back over our last 30 years, or the history of socialism in general, we see that the shocks of social scale were never interdependent with this danger but rather with its opposite. A limited, stifled, excessively cautious social criticism which did not see and was not permitted to see the interdependencies was always first among those factors which led directly to mass disillusionment, to loss of faith and loss of goals, to the abandonment of the cause of socialism. It was not a criticism which had become excessive. (It is not possible here to detail the social determination of this status of criticism; but to a crucial degree the given social state--e.g., the personality cult--was a symptom of it, the thing which created and maintained it.) If in some period its role does grow disproportionately then this too is a symptom, a symptom of a social shock (e.g., Hungary in the summer and fall of 1956), a consequence of the fact that earlier it had been degraded into insignificance. Concretely, it is a sign of a situation in which criticism can no longer be silenced but in which the forces representing this criticism have no way to carry out consistent corrections in the sphere of political power.

If you are not satisfied with the lessons of history let us think, Are we so distrustful of the persuasive strength of our achievements that we must so cautiously protect our society from the possibility of conflicts aroused by erroneour generalization?

Perhaps I will not be suspected of propounding some sort of elitist view if I risk the opinion that it is worth considering that we are building a society of responsibly thinking men! For thinking men--and why should we deny this title in advance to the ordinary members of our society--the higher and more desirable degree of democracy means that they can participate in forming their own fate--even if they may sometimes sacrifice themselves on the alters of their errors--rather than having us think out a good fate for them, instead of them, in their name. Adding that even if we were capable of this without error, what sort of good fate would it be? Such a "taking over" of individual responsibility, such a limitation on a social scale of independent thinking, which is presumed by this version of defending the faith would mean, among other thing, an immoderate underestimation of social openness. A laconic simplifying or ideologizing version of taking cognizance is a symptom of a dwarfed democracy growing whiskers.

Such a citing of the danger of the generalization of social criticism reminds one of that logic with which some so easily dismiss as useless, unnecessary, even as harmful and causing confusion any thinking about the fundamental, comprehensive social-historical problems, any analysis of the history of Soviet-Hungarian relations, or any analytical debate of the turning points of socialism and Hungary such as 1945-1948, 1956 and 1968, the 30 year practice of the leading role of the

Party, etc. Both views, as they say, display an attitude which propounds and feeds the lack of maturity of society.

But here also it is obvious that it is not thinking that causes confusion, certainly not thought that causes trouble, rather it is those unresolved social, historical dilemmas, even those social troubles to which thought calls attention. Not only can we permit ourselves to "cause trouble" in this sense but, in the view of many, it is the obligation of a man committed to the cause of socialism.

An historical awareness is very nearly the self-awareness of society. And without a realistic historical awareness there is no realistic awareness of the situation either. Organically interdependent with all this is the fact that there is a significant dissonance between the reality of our society and the picture it has formed of itself. Although it is clear to all of us that this is not the 1950's, one-sided analogies can be misleading in this and in other things. Comparisons can never be for us simply a tool in aiding to justify the present but if a bare comparison of present and past situations is a form of valuation then this is what is involved.

A realistic historical attitude should presume a much more realistic awareness of the present in addition to a realistic awareness of the past, taking into consideration the present possibilities at all times and evaluating the actual political, economic, cultural, social, etc. policy achievements and decisions in relation to these possibilities, where the possibilities are not rigid, unchangeable factors in the game. What else could we mean today by that so frequently cited active formation of history if not the constant expansion of the freedom of movement, the situational conditions?

So in evaluating the achievements we need not only to face the conditions of the present by means of a comparison with the past, we need also to ask: Have we done everything for the possibility of the possibilities? Have we done everything for the possibility of the more favorable conditions? And then we should not think in terms of a situationally determined attitude. We should regard the social situation as the possible and necessary field of action, and nothing more.

Before all else there is need for profound analyses in order to judge our present realistically. We will not get far in the debates, as happened in a recent conversation, if we simply list the facts, for example for and against our liberal cultural policy. It cannot be a "pro" argument in this debate that Gyorgy Konrad's "Founder of the City" was finally published or that KRITIKA published an interview with Jurgen Habermas, which would have been unimaginable a few years ago. These cannot be "pro" arguments because we could list plenty of "contra" arguments too. And, as is well known, you cannot refute facts with facts. So let us not relate these thirgs to one another but rather to that of which they are symptoms, that which is behind them, that which can be characterized today by saying that it contains this and that, the one and the other. Let us relate these things to our intellectual life more generally, to our public situation.

This is natural, someone might say. It is natural, of course, I might say, just as natural as for a personality with some economics background--referring to the appearance of liberal tendencies and more broadly to the quality of life--to call us in some western papers the happiest barracks in the socialist camp.

of or insignificant symptoms. And there are those which do not carry out that generalization which would be quite justified by the number and weight of the phenomena. Optimal generalization in social criticism is the opposite of both even if the author is worried only about the latter--"in this connection," meaning his own subjective prejudice.

Now that I have said the word, "subjective," let me not hide it under a bushel; it is just this hardly disguised subjectivity which distrubs one in Elek's attitude and it is worth while and necessary to deal with it. (Not least of all because it can be generalized to the current attitude of a certain part of the younger intellectuals. It can be found especially among young people studying the humanities.) What is this attitude?

If one dismantles the scenery of Elek's retirent formulations it appears that what is involved is nothing more than dissatisfaction with contemporary society in that we do not dare to face conflicts and errors, do not talk frankly about the past and are silent about real problems because this is more opportunistic, etc. What we are accustomed to say by way of explanation or excuse--namely, that compared to earlier times or the practice of other societies criticism is opener here, that there has been development--that is eye-wash intended to disarm critical passions; in essence nothing has changed, there is no true democracy, there is no true critical freedom; this is betrayed by the "official" criticism which protects social criticism from the excessive generalization of negative factors and demands apologetics for existing conditions; calling on social criticism to be responsible is nothing more than the self-defense of the officials responsible for the social ills....

Istvan Elek expands this position--more precisely this feeling--into a theory according to which troubles in social development have always followed from an insufficiency of critical generalization and never from its excesses.

Need one prove at any length that this theory falls far from the truth? We need not go too far back into the past. I mention only two examples, one from pre-war and one from post-war domestic history. Horthyist nationalism after 1919 attributed all the ills of the system--the poverty of the living conditions of the masses--to the truncation of the country. In the name of this generalization it stifled the peasant movements demanding land distribution, classified the class struggle labor movements as being against the nation, persecuted the revolutionaries and progressive people and brought the country into war. At the time of the personality cult, on the other hand, the most serious errors were committed on the basis of the principle according to which the class struggle necessarily and automatically sharpened paralled with the building of socialism, the disguised enemy working itself into the system and the party; and so everyone had to be suspect in advance, no sort of trust could be given to anyone--and thus the dangers of diversion and reactionary organization were generalized into something universal which determined everything. This led to the threshold of the 1956 tragedy, at which point a generalization of the opposite sign, the immoderate generalization of errors and denial of socialist achievements, opened the door to counterrevolution. Istvan Elek imagines that the forces representing socialist criticism did not succeed in carrying out consistent corrections in the sphere of power because the old leadership did not permit them to generalize enough; but the "generalization" which surfaced then was the total negation of the system; the only ones who found

the correct road were those who opposed both forms of excessive generalization, the sectarian-dogmatic and the revisionist which opened the way for the counterrevolution. "Over-generalization" on both fronts was characterized by excesses; the believers in socialism were characterized by the struggle for a differentiated, precise analysis of phenomena.

Innumerable other examples could be listed to prove that views cannot be classified simply by the degree of generalization. It is evident that there are erroneous and correct generalizations, that "over-generalization" and "under-generalization" are incorrect in every case, and, indeed, that every "over-generalization" means an "under-generalization" too.

The distinction between correct and erroneous, precise and imprecise generalization is just what is entirely missing from the argument of Istvan Elek--and, I might add, from his optimism, worthy of envy. His evidence is different--one of his arguments, and the chief one, is that attempts to protect society are never right and passions of social criticism are always right. The only question is, when can they carry through their own corrections--in the medium of the political sphere which is opposed in every case. He does not feel that it is worth considering different situations, when it is this way, that there are social systems in which there are not only errors to be overcome but also self-criticism--horribile dictu--in the political sphere which is aware of the dangers accompanying the exercise of power and fights against them. Otherwise we cannot understand the key sentence of the article, which goes like this: "A limited, stifled, excessively cautious social criticism which did not see and was not permitted to see the interdependencies was always first among those factors which led directly to mass disillusionment, to loss of faith and loss of goals, to the abandonment of the cause of socialism; it was not a criticism which had become excessive." I call this an optimism worthy of envy in this sense, that Elek sees contemporary Hungarian society as one which cannot be hurt by any criticism carried to extremes.

How can one imagine this? Either the achievements of society are beyond all measure and there are no conflicts which can be exploited or magnified by "extreme" criticism--let us say, demagogic, ill intended, inciting, hostile criticism. Or socialist awareness is so general and so strong that one need no longer reckon with such "excesses" in social criticism. Whether we presume the former or the latter we have come to some form of apologetics. It is true that Istvan Elek exempts the political sphere of society from this. But how could a society be so resistant if the political sphere is as the author supposes, if he does not say so directly? Let us look at his argument.

First he poses the question with supercilious scorn: "Let us think, Are we so distrustful of the persuasive strength of our achievements that we must so cautiously protect our society from the possibility of conflicts aroused by erroneous generalizations?" According to this Istvan Elek trusts in these achievements. But he casts no light on how we should understand them if "some dismiss...as harmful and causing confusion any thinking about the fundamental, comprehensive social-historical problems."

These "some" are not just some isolated individuals because they represent--according to the logic of the article--that attitude which--allegedly--leaves its stamp

Here we are again at the problem of measuring ourselves, at the everyday anomalies of the picture formed about ourselves. A comparison with the western bourgeois democracies cannot decide the case in judging our present, for example the degree of the democratization of our society; it can only provide a point of view for evaluating our peculiarities. But it can be very useful, for example especially in regard to the institutional system, if we keep in mind that we should not regard "the historically expressed values and legal institutions of democracy as simply a bourgeois invention" because "they must also be realized in the course of building socialism" (Csaba Gombar, "Concerning the Current Concept of Democracy," LATOHATAR, 1978, No 12, p 137).

A comparison with socialist countries also can only provide points of view. That personality who refers to the happy barracks has his domestic counterpart too, self-deluding or cynical as you please: "Nowhere do they live so well with this amount of work; imagine if it were here as it is...." Versions of this, accompanied by a cynically confidential smile, are slowly appearing even in semi-official statements. Representatives of these views, with their flacid or well considered passivity, strengthen the sprawling boredom with differing emphasis depending on the situational conditions--" There are still problems but essentially everything is going well; there are still problems but our society is constantly working on eliminating them." Such an attitude, with a curious awarensss of organic continuity always considers itself justified. Starting from the thesis that value judgments necessarily depend on the current social situation they can always transcend their earlier views without consistently facing the problem of responsibility because the different social situations justify their judgments then and now.

An especially dangerous quality manifests itself day after day, because, regarding themselves as pledges of the social-political specific gravity, they propound the own truth as of absolute validity in judging current, timely social problems phenomena despite the fact that, as good pragmatists, they should know clearly that after 5-10 years, conceding to the power of the "spirit of the age," they will regard as salvation even that "more shaded" opinion being formulated by their present, usually only potential", debating partners.

I have tried to oppose certain possible arguments against attitudinal elements certainly present in our public thinking, although it is clear to me that their truth content is valid only in this system of relationships, in regard to the given attitude; outside of this their truth content is most skimpy.

[Article by Peter Renyi: "Why Go To Extremes?"]

[Jan 80, p 13]

[Text] As a theoretical or methodological thesis it is difficult to know where to begin with the statement of Istvan Elek that he never saw erroneous generalization in social criticism as being as great a danger as too cautious generalization. This is due partly to the imprecise use of words.

It is obvious that we have to talk about two kinds of erroneous generalization. There are judgments which exaggerate aspects of certain phenomena which can be generalized, judgments which establish general traits on the basis of a small number

on our entire society; as opposed to them our author demands a realistic view of history and a more realistic awareness of the present; it is because of them that "there is a significant dissonance between the reality of our society and the picture it has formed of itself." In other words these "some" are responsible for a phenomenon of social magnitude; they determine what we will publish and what we will not. It is true that there are those (sectarians, embittered pragmatists, shallow administrators) who think in this way. But Istvan Elek feels them to be the dominant, determining force; to use his own expression, he is "over-generalizing." But can he wonder at this if he raises over-generalization, exaggeration, into a program and a method?

But let me here abandon the polemic; what is more interesting and more important is to seek the cause of why the author formulates the problem in this way, why there is a feeling in him and others which rejects the criteria of science and precision --in a rather surprising way among young intellectuals; why it seems desirable to him to take social criticism to extremes. Why is he irritated by that natural wish of cultural policy (put forward without any irritation) that the authors of works of social criticism should be aware of their responsibility? Is it perhaps because he feels great limitations, because he has found that only conformist works are published here because those who think "otherwise" have their mouths stopped up? I do not believe that this is why. If we look at domestic publicity and publication with open eyes we find innumerable formulations of various tendencies which differ from and even oppose the "official" positions; and this includes a very large number of "over-generalizations" of social criticism. He cites two works; two thousand could be cited.

Why does not Istvan Elek "over-generalize" this; why does he suspect some cunning manipulation behind it? Why does he think that he is surrounded by tabus while others, who would like to "generalize" with the opposite sign, are frightened by it and see in it a danger threatening socialism? I believe that the cause of this must be sought in a quite different direction than that in which Istvan Elek seeks it. He is right when he says that no one has the ability to determine where the general border is between "over-generalization" and "under-generalization" in works of social criticism.

There are obviously works and views which exaggerate and those which are too cautious in the judgment of which, in this or that listing, it is not difficult to arrive at a consensus among those who basically accept the principles and practice of socialism. But this is not the same as determining that border. This can be done only from work to work, with concrete analysis, arguments and exchanges of views in ideological, political and esthetic debates. As I see it we have failed in this, in this socialist criticism has not come up to the requirements, in this sense there is not enough activity in the forums.

It is true that there are sensitive questions but the sphere of these is not identical with what Istvan Elek calls unclarified themes. There are many fewer of these but there are some. The ideas which are considered sensitive today are rational but it is not only to this that we can and must refer. Before all else we must see that verifiable tendency which follows from our entire policy which is directed at dismantling the tabus in the course of development. (Whether the answers to be given will always be identical with what is expected as an answer--I conclude this from the passion of exaggeration--is another question.)

As for the overwhelming majority of the problems to be debated there are no such difficulties. On the contrary, there are few debates and analytical answers; it is probable that the author feels this lack and so comes to the conclusion that he must demand a franchise for ever more provocative and ever more exaggerated works, works to which it is not possible not to react (which in this way, of course, will carry us every farther from the real problems).

I believe that one must draw this cnnclusion frcm the position taken by Istvan Elek. There may be those who will feel this explanation to be excessively unsuspecting. But why should we presume ill intent when the author openly takes a stand for "over-generalization," that is for exaggeration and thus for a form of distortion? Of course the naivete which is manifested in this does not relieve one of the obligation of debating with it but it does oblige one not to seek the error primarily in subjective intentions. The conclusion which follows from this is that we must enliven, broaden and make more profound the debates one goal of which is that social criticism should not over-generalize or under-generalize but should be precise and to the point.

[Article by Istvan Elek: "An Answer to Peter Renyi"]

[Jul 80, p 9]

[Text] It is difficult for me to see what Peter Renyi's intention was with his article (KRITIKA, 1980/1, p 13). Formally it was a debate article for it dealt with my article (ibid, p 12) concerning the critical relationship to our society, but in reality it did not carry through consistently this debate in the concrete questions of substance.

Disregarding the simplifications he succinctly summarized in the fourth paragraph what was hiding behind, to use his phrase, the scenery of my reticent formulations. I will say only this about this scenery: I also would hope that the public could be exposed to the trains of thought of those who formulate things in a categorical way and do not waste their energy on the art of "packaging."

Peter Renyi regards it as one of his most important tasks to define the problems raised by me, or rather the fundamental reality of the general feeling which can be read from my article. According to this there are "few debates and analytical answers" in the judging of works and views. The critical thought in my article which goes beyond this he calls essentially the result of "naivete," "subjectivity," and an attitude which rejects "the criteria of science and precision." He thus more or less excuses my position before those in whom the charge of "ill intent" might arise in connection with me. Thus these observations also show how one should view my article, how one should relate to it, to make it somehow understandable and acceptable.

Naturally I am convinced that I should take all this without "ill intent" and need not prove myself to be subjective, naive and unscientific, certainly not in the sense of these words used by Renyi. As for this aspect of his debating method, that he should thus stamp me without refuting my ideas, I should explain to such an experienced publicist as Peter Renyi that it would not be necessarily objective, realistic and scientifically well founded for me, by arbitrary substitution, to

identify his position with an objective, realistic and scientifically well founded view. Such qualifications would be empty vessels containing in essence nothing more than the fact that Renyi does not agree with me. But this is what we are talking about! In a debate our subjective truths become credible truth in proportion to the weight of our arguments. We are not competing in calling names; it is our arguments which should debate! Among other things I wrote my debated article speaking for that public in which no one has a lease on objective truth.

I could go through Peter Renyi's reasoning point by point but in itself there would not be much sense in trying to restore the original meaning and interdependencies to my ideas arbitrarily ripped out of context and distorted by him. I feel that we do not have a debate primarily in regard to details. But there are a few things I cannot pass by. It is probable that Peter Renyi also knows that the difference between the views of the two of us is not that I believe in exaggerated social criticism while he believes in optimal social criticism. The difference is that we mean different things by optimal social criticism. And this is a direct consequence of the fact that we evaluate our social relationships and public condition differently. If in my article I argued for an exaggerated social criticism that only means that I was adapting to the pharseology of the medium (knowing that I am using a concept not easy to grasp--official criticism) in which the idea of an optimal social criticism, which I consider desirable, regularly appears as a danger, as an exaggeration of social criticism, the danger of erroneous generalization. Although even Renyi must know this very well he presents extreme generalization as the key to my train of thought. Of course he can do this only by abandoning the meaning used by me--which is perfectly clear in context. He tries to build his conception on an extreme generalization ripped out of context. He was not too successful because a few paragraphs later he quotes that part of my article which refutes what he has to say. "A limited, stifled, excessively cautious social criticism which did not see and was not permitted to see the interdependencies was always first among those factors which led directly to mass disillusionment, to loss of faith and loss of goals, to the abandonment of the cause of socialism. It was not a criticism which had become excessive." Thus--I note this only for the sake of precision--I was not talking about social development in general but rather only about socialism and in the second place, despite Renyi's presentation, I did not deplore the lack of generalization with some sort of indifferent content but rather the lack of social criticism which saw and was permitted to see the interdependencies.

In addition Renyi did not make a fortunate choice of historical arguments; they justify me rather than him. His examples taken from the Horthy epoch and the time of the personality cult both show the deficiencies of social criticism; the excessive generalization he cites was a tool and manifestation of the demagogy of power, raised to the rank of official policy in the absence of a social criticism which saw and was permitted to see the interdependencies, which became possible in the absence of the critical supervision of power. As for 1956, the question is a little more complicated. Certainly in regard to the relationship of revisionism and sectarian-dogmatic politics there is need for a more shaded picture than can be read from Peter Renyi's words. He puts the two political trends side by side but in reality there was a cause and effect relationship between them. He ignores just that interdependency which I noted in my previous article, that 1956 was the consequence of a process in which social criticism became impossible. The

historical reality shows that the "believers in socialism", the forces representing a differentiated, precise analysis of phenomena, the hypothesized optimal criticism --if they existed--were incapable of implementing their view under the conditions of the political arrangements and the power mechanisms of the personality cult. The critique formulated by revisionism was the answer to this situation. And thus we came to the tragedy of 1956. I considered it necessary to emphasize this in my previous article too.

If there is something to be objected to in my treatment of this question it is that I exaggerated the role of social criticism, that I hypothesized too direct a link between "optimal" social criticism and political practice. In reality the mere existence of this critical thinking says little. There is no law that politics will implement its results. For this one needs institutional guarantees of a critical supervision of the political power of the time. More precisely, the democratic field of play should correspond to this ideal so that there is a possibility for the representation and realization of differing interests, so that the various ruling factors will supervise and limit one another. The lawful relationship consists rather of this, that "optimal" social criticism is a concommitant of the latter political practice.

In contrast to the hypothesis of Peter Renyi, who says that I do not feel that it is worth considering that "there are social systems (he is thinking of socialism here--I.E.) in which there are not only errors to be overcome", I think that not only are there such systems but that every social system in the mainstream of the development of civilization is such a system. It is not something unique that there is self-criticism in the political sphere of a system. But how critical thinking is implemented in the political sphere of a society, how effective criticism is in political practice, never depends merely on the intentions of the power but rather, as I have said, on those institutional mechanisms built into the political sphere which are the guarantees of the supervision of the power.

Unfortunately in our public thinking questions which require rational judgments often lead into the fog of moralizing. In this case we are not talking about distrust toward the representatives of power nor are we questioning their moral capacities, we are simply talking about taking cognizance of a certain social reality. We are talking about the fact that power is embodied in common earthly mortals (and in the institutions which cannot be separated from them) and thus it necessarily realizes a limited point of view. Although functionaries mention it from time to time with a bit of pride I feel that really the situation of a power which must play the role of its own opposition may be very uncomfortable. Under the conditions of a monopolistic exercise of power if they really want to carry out this task they must be haunted by schizophrenia. (One should not confuse the roles of self-criticism and critical supervision!)

One can hardly read today any publication about our social-economic difficulties in which they do not stress the social-economic role and significance of interest differences and conflicts of interest--which, in the final analysis, derive from differences in the place occupied in the social division of labor. The timid popularization of this fact was one of the most important elements of our new economic mechanism aimed at increasing economic efficiency. Our present economic aspirations give vitality to this idea also. There are also signs in cultural life which promise a practical recognition of the right of stratum and group

interests to exist (Andras Kepes' interview with cultural minister Imre Pozsgay, KRITIKA, 1979/2, p 3). But there are no signs that we are inclined to draw the conclusions in regard to the political sphere as well.

It appears that any recognition in the political sphere of the right to exist of conflicts of interest can be rejected by a mechanism which tacitly identifies the sphere of comprehensive political questions with the sphere of questions affecting the foundations and ultimate essence of socialism, which cannot be touched by the existence of interest differences or the struggle of opposed interests. Thus this mechanism does not tolerate political alternatives within socialism and so any determination of what socialism means concretely, in the sequence of political decisions, is removed from the frameworks of political publicity.

The social arrangements, including the political superstructure therein, which we now call socialist, as a uniform whole, is obviously not an immutable value. To relate to this differently with a demand for change is not possible--I think we can agree in this. In one respect the anxiety manifested in this regard is justified, namely that every social system needs guarantees in the interest of preserving its fundamental identity. But it is not necessary in a socialist social system that this guarantee be the untouchability of the mechanism of the monopolistic exercise of power.

In addition to denying the validity of my views pertaining to our public thinking and the condition of our society, Peter Renyi objects primarily to the attitude of my article. In the final analysis what he says is that one must look differently at what I see. He is demanding from me his own attitude.

When will we be capable of admitting that social responsibility in social criticism is not one and indivisible? How can Peter Renyi, the deputy editor-in-chief of NEPSZABADSAG, expect me, a young intellectual "studying the humanities," to represent the same thing as he in the question of social responsibility? The positions we occupy in the social division of labor differ to a crucial degree.

For my part I understand that he will not find acceptable the picture of society outlined by me. After all, the generation of which he is a member--as they say--spent its life establishing this social system so it is understandable subjectively if for him the assumption of social responsibility manifests itself primarily in sticking to what has been realized, to the practice of socialism. But we must also see that since loyalty to the past dominates in such a conception of social responsibility this greatly limits the validity of this conception.

How can my relationship to socialism be interpreted in contrast to this? Whether I be an insider or an outsider, this reality is for me the unavoidable arena of social action. No more, no less. This does not express a condemnation of the moralizing attitude of the preceding generations; it is simply a rational admisssion of my situation, of our situation. For me social responsibility means before all else a responsibility felt in regard to the tasks of the present. The sphere of problems raised indicates in what the tasks of the present appear for me. I need not say that I see responsibility felt for the future to be formulatable only in these problems also. In the final analysis what is involved is what Gyorgy Aczel formulated in connection with the so-called impatience of the young intellectuals,

"In a few years they will be able to blame only themselves for the reality of their own present" (LATOHATAR, 1978/11, p 138).

I think that it is obvious from all this that the dialectic of preservation and progress necessarily appears differently in our relationship to this society.

I also feel that what I have to say "can be generalized to the current attitude of a certain part of the younger intellectuals," that I have expressed the feelings of these younger intellectuals, and I am in debt to Peter Renyi for having said this for me. But I object to his attempt to render insignificant the weight of the problems raised by me. Since it is a fact that the public feeling of a social group is involved it must be noted that there is a realistic foundation for the timeliness of the problem in our contemporary society.

Let there be no mistake, I do not consider "thinking differently" to be simply a question of generational differences. In every society, in every period of social development, citizens judge in different ways the social-political facts, events in the political sphere, and they develop different ideas about which might be the desirable action alternatives. At all times the question is only, Is the given social public inclined to accept the differences in view so that in some form it will be possible to see the existing political articulation? This is the question today also, Do we want to see as hostile the representatives of views opposite to the opinion of the political power or do we recognize the right to exist of different views, of "thinking differently," and given room for the natural expression of different views have we come to that stage of political culture where a consensus comes into being in the open debate of opposed views?

If I have admitted in a certain sense my subjectivity I can admit my naivete also. Of course, what looks like naivete from that side may be a freshness of view from this. I, for example, have such "irrational" ideas as this, that, let us say, if some morning I awake as a citizen to find that I do not agree with the position taken by my government in some foreign policy or comprehensive domestic policy question then it would be the most natural, most everyday thing for me to be able to voice this publicly.

It is also obvious today that differences in view in judging the problems and tasks of this society do not derive simple from the attitudinal differences of two generations. It seems probable, however, that today, as a result of the peculiarities of the most recent phase of our historical development and amidst the changed economic-social conditions, the givens and the challenges, "the conditions for social-cultural change will develop between the oldest--still active--generation and the youngest generation" (Akos Szilagyi, "Liberalism and Democratism," KRITIKA, 1979/4, p 11). And this more or less means that this attitudinal difference could be the matrix for the struggle being waged for the creation of democratic socialism. If the historical chance for socialism is democratic socialism then the chance for a real generational role for the youngest generations is the recognition of this historically given possibility.

[Article by Peter Renyi: "Concerning the Debate About the Limits of Social Criticism, Without 'Packaging'"]

[Jul 80, pp 10-12]

[Text] I am in a more fortunate position than Istvan Elek. It does not seem difficult to me to see through his intentions. It was clear in the case of his first article and especially in the latter case: Going far beyond every concrete social question in which a debate could be carried to its end he wants to suggest that it is not possible to debate here, that there is no freedom for open exchanges of views. He hints that essentially everything is stifled in our public life but he is very careful not to write down a single fact which can be examined, discussed and analyzed because, you see, the social relationships force him to waste his energy on the art of "packaging."

Well, if I never gave any idea of what I wanted to represent different from the "official" position but only whined that they were not permitting me to express my views then--whether I intended to or not--I would be placing on the scales of democracy the freedom to debate openly everything, extending to all our basic principles. (And this is not changed by the fact that in one place--in a way which will be discussed later--Elek recognizes the right of socialism to guarantees of its "identity.")

Here is one example of the hiding of opinion in the name of freedom of opinion: "I, for example, have such 'irrational' ideas as this, that, let us say, if some morning I awake as a citizen to find that I do not agree with the position taken by my government in some foreign policy or comprehensive domestic policy question then it would be the most natural, most everyday thing for me to be able to voice this publicly." Here also--and this is perhaps the least affected sentence in his article--he draws back from the concrete, from giving the slightest idea of what he considers to be a foreign policy or comprehensive domestic policy position to which "some morning", as he rubbed the sleep from his eyes, he would feel obliged to call the country's attention--publicly, let it be understood, and not in a letter or report to the government, to which he has unlimited rights in his own name.

We might think about how this would happen. Would we immediately make available to Istvan Elek some time on a television program or would he be satisfied with the radio or perhaps a major daily? And what if he was not the only one but there were others, let us say a thousand, who woke up to the fact--some in one way, some in another--that they did not agree with this or that? (Obviously the democratism of Elek--going far beyond the most liberal bourgeois democracy--would not deny national publicity to anyone.) But how could this be solved technically or organizationally? At least we would have to set up a committee which would be the worthies on this committee? Since we are talking about popular rule they would have to be representatives of the people. Ergo, we would have to elect a parliament, with candidates nominated at open meetings, with secret vote, which would have to accept the government which would name the committee.... I will not continue the logic of Ferenc Molnar's comedy in which someone who wanted to do away with marriage had to invent marriage. I think it is obvious where I wanted to go. It is not difficult to demonstrate that Istvan Elek's ideas about spontaneous democracy are very, very makeshift. (He does not deign to discuss how contemporary democracy might be developed, although that could be discussed.)

But Elek's train of thought is not shocking primarily because of the unfeasible method but rather primarily because of his failure to give us evan a taste of his different or counter-opinions which he offers us--so modestly--as products of his "intellectual freshness."

What sort of essentially different positions is he thinking of, let us say in foreign policy? Would he support the rocket emplacement program of NATO, would he accept the view that the Soviet Union and the countries of the Warsaw Pact are striving for military superiority and world rule and thus are a threat to peace, would he consider just the most recent American commando action against Iran? I believe that he would not. But how are we to know that this is really so if he does not betray by a single word from whence and in what sense his critical spirit arises?

And how are we to understand his demand that he be permitted to express his lack of agreement in fundamental questions in domestic policy? He does not question socialism as such--see "identity"--but does he question the system of popular power which has developed? Would he demand a multi-party system in place of the socialist democracy which has developed and which is developing further here in the single party system? Does he think that we should re-think the principles of nationalization and collectivization? I do not believe this either, but as long as he does not say even by chance where he has his reservations how can we reassure those who, for example, have the right to know what sort of views he wants to use the tools of publicity to propound, for these tools are operated at the public expense and must serve their interests.

The forums of Hungarian public life--including the tools of telecommunications, and films, plays, books and journals too--can be accused of many things but hardly of not offering the opportunity for the expression of the most varied critical views as they pertain to the concrete functioning of the institutions of society and the concrete change of principles ripe for modification. They consider barring only those hostile ideas which--in opposition to the constitutional order also--reject in principle the basic aspects of the new social system. Where these are made public--and unfortunately there are examples of this--there socialist constitutionality is violated and action must be taken against them. We have never hid this under a bushel, we have always admitted it openly and we will do so in the future also. It should be added that there may temporarily arise international foreign policy interests where it is not absolutely useful to make use of the broadest publicity for the debating of this or that question. (I recently talked about this already.)

If Istvan Elek does not agree with this or if he places himself outside the system of socialism which is valid here--which, I repeat, I do not hypothesize about him --then he would have to ask himself why he counts on and makes use of the possibility of legal debate (and in an organ well known for defending socialist norms with a determination different from the rather widespread half-heartedness), why he conducts an exchange seeking consensus, understanding and solution within the barricades. If he is defending the basic principles of the system, why does he not have the courage to say so in connection with concrete themes?

What is this hide-and-seek all about? I am not asking him for honor laps but I am asking him for unambiguous speech, for a clarification of phenomena from which it

will appear to what he says yes and to what he says no. I am speaking against beating about the bush, which on the one hand leaves the door open to total denial, to hostility in principle, and on the other hand provides him with room to retreat just in case he is pressed in the debate, so he can say: "I didn't mean that, my general identification with socialism is self-understood, that need not be said...."

No, these are not formal questions. Everyone could be convinced of this by Istvan Elek's exposition concerning the role of social supervision from which it appears that he--not alone, as we know--judges social reality on the basis of abstract models, on the basis of abstract ideas, as if it were sufficient to put materials of quality and composition suitable for measurement into the communicating vessels of some laboratory apparatus and their mechanical movements would give the correct summation. Except that a living social organism cannot be understood in this way, much less created.

I am thinking primarily of those theories which attempt to relate everything to the structure of interests, metaphysically conceived, now active in society and according to which democracy is nothing more than ensuring that the differing interests will find expression and manifest themselves. But it is a long road from the false awareness of interests to recognized objective interests and it is more complicated than Elek's formulation, which goes like this: "One needs institutional guarantees of a critical supervision of the political power of the time. More precisely, the democratic field of play should correspond to this ideal so that there is a possibility for the representation and realization of differing interests, so that the various ruling factors will supervise and limit one another.... 'Optimal' social criticism is a concomitant of the latter political practice."

Elek sees a step in this direction in the new economic mechanism (although he is ironic to the extent of calling it "timid") and he sees signs in cultural policy which "promise a practical recognition of the right of stratum and group interests to exist" ("promise," and no more!), but he complains that we have not drawn the political consequences of this and he throws it up to us that we identify "the sphere of comprehensive political questions" with "the sphere of questions affecting the foundations and ultimate essence of socialism"--again remaining silent about where and how the two should be distinguished in his estimation--thus opening the way, if you will, for the development of "political alternatives" within socialism. Even when he says that "every social system needs guarantees in the interest of preserving its fundamental identity" he does not say, not even approximately, what those "comprehensive political questions" are which do not affect the essence of socialism or what he means by those "political alternatives" which the "monopolistic exercise of power" does not tolerate here.

It may be true that the socialist superstructure is not an immutable value and that as Marxists we can never give up the need for change, but still we would have to know what Istvan Elek wants changed and what he wants to preserve and defend, because what sort of Marxism would it be which would not take up the struggle in defense of the achievements of the social revolution? It will not scare anybody today to proclaim those who fear for what has been achieved thus far and thus oppose harum-scarum changes to be believers in the "monopolistic exercise of power," namely limited sectarians who take under their wing every swindler and careerist who has gotten into power and who hold out for every stupid measure and all conservatism because their chief principle is the "untouchability" of the power mechanism!

Our author, I believe, calculates badly if he believes that he can achieve his goal in this way; and he is even more in error when he wants to support these views --with pseudosociological methods--with objective causes, saying that the representatives and institutions of power--being common earthly mortals--"necessarily realize a limited point of view" and sneers that "the situation of a power which must play the role of its own opposition may be very uncomfortable." These opinions show an ahistorical view, the dialectical failure of structuralist thinking metaphysical rigidity and, if we may say so, inadequate awareness of ideology and the revolutionary movement. By his statement that "one should not confuse the roles of self-criticism and critical supervision" because if we want to fight against our own errors we must be haunted by "schizophrenia" Elek makes if dubious that those exercising socialist power have sincere goals at all.

There can be no doubt that revolutionaries, the convinced believers in socialism, are earthly mortals--they are not free of error, indeed they make many errors, because they have begun something new, they must go forward on unsurveyed ground, their every new substantial step is an experiment; it is a fundamental condition of the success of their cause that they be self-critical, that they hold only to that which proves itself and change everything else. But they have devoted their lives to something and they have done something which proves to all the world that they are not "necessarily realizing a limited point of view." Their position cannot be defined by vulgar sociological categories--those in power, the officials of power. To call into doubt their willingness--and their ability--to face up to their own weaknesses and the deficiencies of their institutions is a falsification of history, in the case of our most recent history a refusal to take cognizance of all those positive efforts which have been made in the past two or two-and-a-half decades in our homeland of which our people, and our party as part of the people, are justly proud.

Istvan Elek mentions the period of the personality cult, but unfortunately he has not studied it; according to the sign he is informed about only at the level of rumors. Otherwise he would know that the communist movement, and the Hungarian party therein, disclosed to the public the errors and crimes of the old leadership--the process of purification was initiated not by the criticism of the revisionists or the opposition but rather by the self-criticism of the communists. Which makes recognizable that simplification of Elek according to which sectarianism was simply the "cause" of revisionism; it was possible to oppose sectarianism from Marxist-Leninist foundations also, in the spirit of the 20th congress--and this was the real, radical break with the personality cult; and it was possible on the pretext of a struggle against pseudo-leftist, harmful methods and under the banner of anti-dogmatism to conduct a policy which opened the gate to counter-revolution.

So what is involved is not that "the forces representing the hypothesized optimal criticism...were incapable of implementing their view under the conditions of the political arrangements and the power mechanisms of the personality cult." They were the ones, first in June 1953 and then in July 1956, who shook the positions of the personality cult; even if they did not succeed (even in the summer of 1956) in completely and finally setting aside the old leaders, by then the old leaders could only fight a rearguard action. The answer to this postponing situation was not the "critique formulated by revisionism", as Elek pretends; the action of

revisionism was in the opposite direction, it was a stab in the back to those with good intentions who wanted to put an end to the personality cult once and for all, not, of course, by destroying the party but rather by returning it to the Lenin path. The chief problem of revisionism was to present the renewal of the party, the re-organization of the socialist system on secure foundations, to prevent consolidation; in the interest of this they were inclined to make an alliance even with the devil.

But we can talk not about this only, we could go through the quarter century which has transpired since, which proves that the MSZMP had and has the strength to face up to errors. We might mention the successful execution of collectivization, which broke with the earlier arbitrariness, the cultural guiding principles, which made possible the unfolding of all positive creative forces and led to the cultural flowering of the 1960's, or the economic reform, which faced up to the previous methods of economic guidance which had become obsolete and bureaucratic; or we could talk about the concern with demographic problems or the development of public culture. All of these examples prove that the forces leading Hungarian socialism are not forces which "necessarily realize a limited point of view" and which are "haunted by schizophrenia" if they "must play the role of their own opposition" (which is to say, be critics of their own errors). That this facing up to problems is frequently extraordinarily difficult and that there are those --intellectually incapable of overcoming contradictions--who are brought to the limits of schizophrenia is all the more reason for us to reject any sort of malicious schadenfreude.

So much for history and the general attitudinal questions. I would like to speak about the personal aspects of this debate also, more precisely about how I view Istvan Elek and how he views me. As for the latter, Elek shows me condescending understanding in several places, treating me like an old war-horse who must be forgiven for being able only to stumble along in the accustomed way. He puts it this way: "After all, the generation of which he (that is, I, P.R.) is a member --as they say--spent its life establishing this social system so it is understandable subjectively if for him the assumption of social responsibility manifests itself primarily in sticking to what has been realized, to the practice of socialism." But, he adds, "loyalty to the past dominates in such a conception of social responsibility" and "this greatly limits the validity of this conception." In plain language, we old folks just want to conserve things and are hardly capable of anything else.

This judgment is typical of the spirit of the previously mentioned pseudo-sociological categorization. He who is so many years old is to such an extent ossified --this is more or less the content of Elek's thesis; he classifies personality on the basis of biological criteria, independent of experience, ideological outlook or individual temper. I would have liked to list, but will refrain lest I appear immoderate, the many personalities known by both of us, much more capable than my insignificant self, who played and are playing a real historical role who proved capable at my age or older of seeing the new phenomena of the age, reevaluating their earlier views, formulating new ideas and not sticking to the past or wanting to live on their past merits. I might also have refuted his gerontology by citing the names of those in my generation who devoted their strength to "establishing this social system" and who now see things quite differently than I--more

similarly to Elek. So, alas, I cannot accept Istvan Elek's "forgiveness." If he regards me as a narrow, overgrown veteran he must ascribe it not to my generation but to me--without courteous forgiveness for my senility.

I am perfectly willing to admit that I am in the custom of debating sharply; I am not one of your elegantly cool partners, I have emotions too; but as for the insinuations that "by arbitrary substitution" I identify my position "with an objective, realistic and scientifically well founded view" or debate as one who "has a lease on objective truth" or "arbitrarily ripped out of context" his ideas, etc., etc.--I can only add that Istvan Elek is doing here precisely what he accuses me of, replacing argument with name calling.

As could be shown from his first article, Elek is raising the exaggeration of social criticism to a principle, a necessary requirement for uncovering the truth; this is not the result of arbitrary procedure but the consequence of his radically erroneous formulation and he cannot escape--as he tried earlier--by saying that he was accomodating to the phraseology of a medium which calls optimal criticism an exaggeration. In other words, he has reinterpreted for his own purposes, virtually turned around, the terminology of those who oppose him and then pretends --perhaps as a mind reader--that I "must know this very well."

And then he wants us to believe (you might as well be hanged for a sheep as a lamb) that he did not say what he earlier admitted (with a commentary asking understanding) but that it was I who gave this impression by taking things out of context! This is not a serious procedure and no more words should be wasted on it. Istvan Elek, who has so many strong expressions in regard to how I believe myself to be infallible, would have done better to have given examples of the critical behavior contrary to his own, instead of beating about the bush, saying outright that it used bad formulations which should be corrected, used arguments which were not thought through.

Finally we should talk about that conflict of the changing of generations which Istvan Elek regards not only as the background of our debate but actually its cause. His thesis is that his views derive from a rational taking congnizance of the situation defined by his young age, that for him--and his generation--"social responsibility means before all else a responsibility felt in regard to the tasks of the present." As opposed to my generation, in whose conception "loyalty to the past dominates." He links this to a sentence from Gyorgy Aczel according to which young people "in a few years will be able to blame only themselves for the reality of their own present." And Elek's conclusion is that "it is obvious from all this that the dialectic of preservation and progress necessarily appears differently in our relationship to this society."

It is difficult to interpret this as meaning anything else than that with the changing of generations another type of thinking must take the place of the previous thinking, which was true up to now but will not be true hereafter. Generational truth takes the place of objective truth. And, as appears from Elek's subsequent argument, not just in any sense, for he is demanding on behalf of "thinking differently" that we recognize the right to existence or legality of "views opposite to the opinion of the political power." Here also he is silent about how we should understand these "different" or "opposite" views or the "open

debate of opposing views." Elek's article is full of "rubber concepts" into which anything fits--that we should debate, let us say, the price increases, which may be justified, or that someone wants to change the basic political line, which would endanger everything on which the present and future of the country depends.

But I would direct attention here primarily to how this is linked with the question of generations. The quoted words of Gyorgy Aczel called on young people to grow up to their mission of leading society, to master the experience of the generations going before them, because when the older people leave the scene the younger people will not be able to do without their knowledge but can only supplement it and develop it further in order to solve the problems of their own present, that is the future, and can no longer call those before them to account. It is sophistry to interpret this as if the opposite were the case, to mean that within a few years the younger generation should develop its own "necessarily different" conception which is "opposite" in basic political questions. The changing of generations is not the same thing as the changing of policy.

Of course Istvan Elek would object strongly to this hypothesis and would call them suspicions of bad memory, my wanting to see the enemy in him. I reassure him, I have no such thought. It is only that I am convinced that his view is full of ideas which have not been thought out, full of things which have not been clarified, that he may desire a rather romantic appearing opposition role but not so much so that he could be blamed for it. This is why he really does waste a good part of his energy on the art of "packaging," on stylistic tactics, etc. But, on the basis of these two articles alone, I feel that his talents might be spent on more and better.

Not only on reflecting the confused feeling, certainly not without cause, of a stratum of the young intellectuals but also--after going more seriously into these problems--on helping to understand whence this feeling derives (which would not be a matter of indifference even if numerically this were not a large stratum) and what it would be good to do in the interest of improving it. And this means that Istvan Elek should clarify in himself and then say clearly what he means by the identity of socialism, which he considers worth defending, and what sort of conceptions he feels it necessary to change.

Without any "packaging."

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OVARI WRITES ON EMPHASES IN CULTURAL POLICY

Budapest TARSADALMI SZEMLE in Hungarian Nos 8-9, Aug-Sep 80 pp 3-14

[Article by Miklos Ovari: "Our Cultural Policy Tasks Following the 12th Congress]

[Text] The 12th party Congress confirmed, repeatedly and in a creative manner, the continuity of our party's policies, including the continuity of the cultural policies; it affirmed convincingly the readiness and capacity of the party for rejuvenation.

The democratic manner in which the discussions were prepared and conducted, the openness of the debates, and the critical and self-critical approach to the problems greatly contributed to the formulation of congressional resolutions and to the impetus of action-inspiring, creative forces. Based on the analyses and evaluations, a fulfillment of the resolutions has started everywhere under community and individual responsibility. That lively and creative atmosphere which characterized the preparation and also the discussions is still needed, but uniform action and the indispensable uniform interpretation must now be stressed.

The strengthening of party unity and of the trust between party and population, in the wake of the congress, is a result which must be exchanged for action of public usefulness. In the present situation, a concentration of intellectual and material forces, a consistent execution and uniform action are the primary tasks of every communist, of every national and social organ and of every Hungarian citizen pledged to our socialist goals. This requirement--party and citizen discipline with the wise firmness of democratic centralism--refers not only to economic building activity but also to ideological life, to agitation and propaganda activity, and to all areas of the cultural policy.

Creative Continuity of Our Cultural Policy

At the 12th Congress, culture and ideology were discussed more comprehensively than in the course of any earlier discussions. This broad, composite interpretation of culture and of awareness includes labor culture, knowledge indispensable to a democratic participation in public matters and also many elements of the mode of living. Nearly every comment dealt, in some forms, with the intellectual profile of our society, with the relationship between scientific thinking and practice, and with numerous timely questions and problems of education. The guidelines of the congress concerning ideological and cultural policy activities

can also be found not only in the Central Committee report and in the chapters devoted to this topic in the resulution, but in these documents in their entirety.

This social-political foundation of our cultural policy is a valuable tradition of the steadily prevailing political trend in the MSZMP, the development of the mutually presumed cultural revolution and social democracy. However, at the 12th Congress, it was stressed even more than before and it received stronger emphasis which was also expressed in some new formulations.

As a result of our objective situation, the complex, difficult problems of economic building activity, of the standard of living and the maintenance of results achieved in this area are naturally in the forefront of societal attention and political action today. As it is usual at such times, mainly in the Western burgeois press comments on the congress--which could not, in its entirety, refrain from acknowledging the realistic tone of the congress--but occasionally also at home, one could find evaluations--derived from various causes--that the "technocratic-pragmatic trend" has gained strength and "the aspects of ideology and culture" were pushed into the background. Perhaps, in this context, it is not superfluous to mention repeatedly the impossibility of thinking only in fragments, in such false alternatives; "modern" technocracy and "conservative" ideology are bad extremes. It is more important to stress this because occasionally there is doubtless an inclination to examine the problems and tasks of the cultural area separately from social correlations. This manifests itself, in part, in underrating the cultural-ideological area and in a distorted, narrow interpretation of its role and, in part, in an unjustified sense of inferiority, disturbed orientation, and suspicion toward economic influences, on the part of workers in cultural life.

Now days, the role of intellectual, cultural and ideological driving forces, and of the so-called human factors including socialist awareness, scientific achievements, the everyday knowledge and culture which is turned into material strength, and humanistic--above all socialist-humanistic--art is on the increase rather than a decrease. The economic, social and cultural achievements of the past years and the changes in the mode of living of our population are also confirming this as does the nature of the--not inconsiderable--tasks ahead of us. This is not demonstrated unequivocally by everyday practices and especially not by their superficial signs since the increased role of culture and awareness is certainly not without contradictions. The objective limits and contradictions of our social advancement, which can be derived also from historical causes and which are unavoidably present in our economic and communal relationships, are of necessity reflected in consciousness and in intellectual life. They greatly influence the cultural possibilities and customs and also determine the active role of ideological factors which affect society.

When the congress called attention to the current conditions and to the related new problems and requirements, it also, similarly stressed the importance and necessity of continuity and of steady renewal--with respect to party activity as a whole and also to cultural policy. "We must take care that the lasting, unchanged basic principles of our policies should prevail unimpaired, that no one distorts them--either in the direction of dogmatism or of revisionism. Neither will we allow our earlier, correct decisions and stands to become dogmas. We must be open to new problems and we must take initiatives everywhere where the interest of the

public and of the nation requires changes for general progress, in the future as well. The continuity of the main line of our policies is perceived in such a way that whatever aids progress of the nation and successfully serves the public must be preserved and further advanced."

The chief aims, basic principles and methods which have been certified and enriched by the experiences of more than two decades, in ideological activity, agitation, propaganda and also cultural policy, were reaffirmed by the XIIth Congress.

Our cultural policy--which is an organic and unique part of the general policy of the party--must continue to work toward closer ties between population and cultural values, and toward strengthening the scientific basis of economic-social development and public thinking. Creating better conditions for education and culture or expanding them, decreasing inequilities, improving the validity, principles and currency of information are considered important factors in advancing socialist democracy. Enhancing the position of Marxism-Leninism, the special support of socialist aspirations and the creation of unity between federal policy and ideological debate remain our goals. The leading role of the party in the area of cultural policy will be manifested by theoretical guidance and persuasion, also in the future. We support freedom of creativity, the unity of independence and responsibility of the workshops, both in science and in cultural life.

However, these and a long list of other principles always prevail under concrete social conditions. The present emphases on the continually valid basic principles of cultural policy are derived precisely from this concreteness. The present circumstances of building a developed socialist society, the slowed dynamics of economic growth but, at the same time, the more stringent "quality" methods--new in many respects and serving long-range development--,the changes in the international situation, the positive trends and contradictions in the advancement of the international labor movement require a change in attitude in the realization of the proven basic principles of our cultural policy as well. and represent new tasks from several aspects.

In solving the tasks of the coming decade, we can build with certainty not only on our own achievements and good foundations but also on the internationally valid experiences of the sister parties, above all of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The Unity of Social, Economic and Cultural Advancement

The mutuality and unity of social, economic and cultural advancement was unequivocally formulated in both the congressional debate and the resolution. The report by the Central Committee rightly stressed that: "Raising the level of general education and of professional training an a society-wide basis is a requirement of primary importance in the current phase of our socialist development. Our economic advancement is greatly dependent on the professional training and preparation of the production workers. Cultural foundation, arousing a desire for knowledge, culture of our mother tongue, the dissemination of cultural values, and encouraging self-education are not the internal affairs of pedagogy and education but are inseparable from the advancement of society as a whole."

From the standpoint of practical cultural policy, this correlation means that we must interpret and guide the interrelationship--by no means expressed merely in the size and distribution of funds--between economy and culture in a more innovative and realistic manner.

The current problems of our national economy--as was also stressed by the XIIth Congress--are derived not only from the state of the global economy, energy crisis and deteriorating terms of trade but are also the results of internal causes. The economic-social development reached a level that can not be further advanced using the earlier methods of extensive development. Therefore, not only today but also on a long-range basis, the most important task is to develop the qualitative factors of economic advancement, to improve the international competitiveness of our national economy, to place in the foreground and achieve the requirements of intensive development, and to enhance the readiness and capability of our economy for innovation. This task can be solved only as a result of purposeful effort by the entire society. Beyond the smooth functioning of the democratic institutions of society, the basis of this renewal capacity rests precisely on the increase in education, culture, creativity, adaptation capacity and responsiveness to things new.

In cultural policy, more carefully planned developmental goals, long-range conceptions and more unequivocal preferences must be endorsed because the considerable --and yet, in comparison to the actual and justified demands, limited--sources of power can be focused only in this manner toward the already mentioned goals of economic policy: intensive development and structural change, holding our own in the world market and improving our international competitiveness.

Advancement of science, education and culture is in the basic interest of society both now and in the long run. We all know that advancement guaged in terms of needs and demands is made more difficult by historical limits and material problems here as well. Yet we must use more effectively the limited possibilities and we must open up our hidden reserves. Our entire cultural guidance activity must be thought through and founded better and in a more timely fashion economically as well. This analysis must also be made from the other side--economy--and not only on the basis of the "residue principle" but with a historical sense of responsibility and considering the social role of culture and, within it, also that education, culture, pedagogy and science are an increasingly important source of power in our economic advancement as well.

The sensible ranking of investments in science, pedagogy, public education, art and entertainment, their differentiated advancement under a uniform concept, an economy which would stress quality requirements also in cultural life, can have a favorable effect on cultural-intellectual life itself and also on the relationship between culture and society. And let us add: It must have!

The 12th Congress refers to this and expects from us this rather difficult shift. "our popular state provides the material resources needed for the running and advancement of scientific, cultural and educational institutions. At the same time, it is our task to use the not inconsiderable material provisions for cultural goals in accordance with their intended purposes, sensibly, thriftily and according to the ranking of the tasks. We must discontinue the practice by which we are

supporting the good, the mediocre and the weak because this also hinders the advancement of culture. It is the task and responsibility of the guiding organs to steadily assert that the product be made the measure of moral and material appreciation, just as in other areas of life." This is not only external economic compulsion dictated by the scarcity of economic-financial conditions but also an internal requirement for the advancement of cultural fields.

Under more stringent conditions than previously, our science policy must respond with increasing scientific achievement to the reapidly changing social demands. Science can respond to this challenge only by becoming more open, by improving its adaptability, by following practice of higher demands in its "internal" life and more flexibility in its "outside" relationships. In terms of development of the research base, this means, above all, determination of the intensive traits, concentration of forces, ranking of the tasks according to their social, economic and scientific values, and greater cooperation between the research units of factories, the academy and the universities.

The preferred development of certain areas or branches and the increased practical relevance of research--without damage to basic researches but rather alongside their support in general--presupposes reduction in other areas. Also taking into account the results of the research institutional network review currently in progress, one must strive to work out a developmental policy which will help to improve the effectiveness of scientific researches, to select quality more unequivocally and to serve more consistently the interest of society. Of course, this is the task not only of scientific life but also of production, economy and social policy. It was not accidental that the more rapid and effective utilization of scientific results already achieved was urged by the congress.

The unified view of economy and culture must be asserted in the development of pedagogy and public education as well. In the 1980's, we must expect a rapid increase in the number of school age children. Simultaneously, there is no change in our duty to improve the general functional conditions in the educational institutions and also to find the material means indispensable for the gradual modernization of the training educational system. One of the basic tasks of the recently established Ministry of Culture is to work out manifold concepts related to pedagogic and public educational development, marked by sensible concentration and thrift, and also taking into account the possibilities of complexity.

Problems of a material nature are also known to the cultural-artistic life. The cultural map of the country [illegible]es sizeable inequalities in spite of considerable advancement. Through the [illegible]al modernization of radio and television, reception possibilities must [illegible]rther improved and widened. Compared to our demands and societal needs, the theatrical, musical and cinematographic infrastructure is backward, several of our theater buildings need renovation and our film-making is technically backward. The paper and printing-industrial as well as funding problems of the press and of book publishing are also known.

Considerable energy and material expenditure is needed to relieve these stresses: this can be perceived only gradually. Nevertheless, clear preferences, ranking, concentration of material forces and capacities, above all selection according to true values, and the unified provision of material and moral support are needed in

this area as well. Realistic planning is possible only by taking into account the situation of the national economy as a whole. The sums spent on culture are not money thrown away here either. This is investment returned from the standpoint of national economy and the entire society. In the course of cultural advancement, it is also indispensable that the expanded material-financial conditions be accompanied by an improved functioning of the cultural guidance itself, the organization and the infrastructure. The principle of support, the acknowledgement of socialistic, humanistic values--without any silly boxing-in--should be better expressed in honoring the creative and in the selective, differentiated state support of consumption.

It is particularly important that such endeavors of ours be realized as soon as possible at those broad contact strips of art (more broadly, culture) and public which are also direct testimony about the mode of living and taste of people, of the population. Therefore, in this respect as well, our cultural policy must expand and increase its attention to environmental and housing culture, commercial art, industrial form planning, popular music and other occasions of entertainment, for instance, the market for records, cassettes, magnetophones, pictorial publications, furniture, and other articles of furnishing. Simultaneously, industry and commerce must also be made to have more interest in expanding the selection in modern forms and tasteful objects. This is also an important factor in competitiveness and, therefore, is of basic economic interest. On the other hand, one must be very careful that the economic viewpoint, the "freer" and, at the same time, "stricter" cultural success of merchandise and monetary conditions should not favor commerce and lack of value but rather that it should facilitate the expression of social and cultural policy interests.

The 12th Congress has the intention to make known to a wide circle the interactions and unity of social, economic and cultural development. Of course, it designates tasks other than the correlations discussed here. Not only the limits and challenges of economy must be endorsed--with suitable translations and transfers--in science, education, in the forms of culture outside of school and in artistic life, but the cultural sphere in its broad sense must also be made more effectively active in the interest of economic-social advancement. It hardly needs proof that the currently evolving intensive epoch of economic development, the structure and motional direction of our society and the place occupied by us in the world require such a steady and more dynamic renewal than presently there, that they urge a more uninhibited evolution of human factors, that is, material and intellectual energies hidden in culture, than before.

Scientific investigations must serve, more effectively than before, the economic building activity, technical development and the recognition of realities. In addition to modernization of the research basis, this requires a further advancement of research guidance. First of all, the National Intermediate-Range Research Development Plan must be prepared--similarly to the intermediate-range national economic planning activity. At the same time, the economy, production and companies must be made more interested in the utilization of scientific researches.

This also refers to social sciences. We have encouraging results here as well. It suffices to recall only those investigations which dealt with the class and strata structure of our society, with the functionality and international connections of

our economy, with the realization of socialist democracy and mode of living and the possibilities of its advancement, with the problems of socialist awareness as well as with the creative Marxist content of the esthetic categories of realism, partisanship and ethnicity. However, there are plenty of old and new questions awaiting answers from the social sciences. In the intermediate-range research plans the ratio of topics important from the aspect of our advancement must be increased the more so because not only the difficulty of the topics but also the international ideological contest are great tests of the Marxist-Leninist social scientific researches. The delay with up-to-date answers enhances the position of revisionistic, eclectic--often sensation seeking in their superficiality--or unequivocally idealistic, respectively, dogmatic-conservative "answers", or else it works in the direction of de-ideologistion, while the imperialist propaganda organs are increasing their activity to discredit our revolutionary ideals and social results in order to disrupt the unity of brotherly cooperation between the socialist countries.

At the same time, the results of the social sciences must be more strongly leaned upon also in politics and practical work. They must be better utilized in the preparation of decisions, in agitation and in propaganda. Among the achievements of the policy of the MSZMP are listed: the realistic evaluation of the situation and the recognition that successful socialist building can be performed only by masses awakened to their own, true interests. These together also provide the basic condition for a good political atmosphere. During the past years, the economic self-awareness of our population and its awareness of the situation have improved. However, agitation and propaganda still have much to do to deepen historical perspective and national selfawareness. We also have to expend our cooperation with the sister countries for the mutual utilization of experiences with building the socialist society.

The changes in interest relations and the increasing strength of socialist democracy play a determinant role in elevating the moral standing of creative work and of serving the public good in our society. In this respect much can be done also by journalism, radio and television; if they would represent and spread the social ideas at a level higher than before, if they would graphically illuminate the relationship between knowledge and democracy, between effective work and a broad range of awareness of reality, if they would criticize what is foreign to the ideals of our society. However, this social criticism can be valid and effective only if it shows not only what is to be rejected or corrected but it also reveals and supports the newer phenomena bearing socialist quality, the human and community values, the current examples of humanism, revolutionism and creation action. It is also natural that credibility of judgement is granted by all primarily on the basis of the quality of work performed in the interest of socialism. The judgement of one who does more for society will also be given more weight. It would obviously be incorrect to divide work so that the large majority would provide only labor while some individuals would have the privilege of only criticism. Therefore--reflecting on current debates--I do not consider it the main question whether social criticism has a reason for its existence but rather what the content and goal of this criticism are, to what extent it serves our socialist development, and what deeds accompany and validate the critical words.

In socialist national awareness, in the intellectual and emotional contents of patriotism and internationalism--in addition to cultivation of the mother tongue,

the traditions of the nation's past and other components--more attention must be given to economic self-awareness, to the appreciation of work well done, to culture, to the culture of labor, to the realistic recognition of the current international situation of our nation, and to the knowledge of our historical path and experiences. While we accept all true values and all progressive struggles from our past, and have a critical attitude toward factors retarding progress, our social reality is also judged by us free of illusions but identifying with the historical results of building the new world. Because of its unique, irreplaceable role, modern, realistic art can also do much to reenforce and enrich these traits of awareness and view of life.

The unifying system of pedagogy and public education must play a large role in the evolution of favorable economic and social processes. The continual modernization of the educational system is justified by the increasingly obvious fact that general culture and the level of education are also decisive factors in the renewal of our economy, the increasing strength of social democracy and the lessening of social inequalities. Only more cultured and educated men, informed about our narrow and wider world, who have an overview of the labor process, can become subjects and mainly initiators of a more up-to-date economic building process.

Nursery school training must be made complete. The special attention paid to elementary school education and the elimination of the remaining, considerable differences in their level must be continued. In high school education, we can more realistically set the goals for a significant enrichment of the professional training, view of the world, general and work culture of hundreds of thousands of youths by working out the basic material for general education subjects and by uniform guidance. Building on broadly based general knowledge, in the course of high school and higher education, we must train professionals with "convertible", profound knowledge. With it they will be able to follow the economic-social changes and necessities in a self-activating and self-renewing manner.

It can be seen even from this brief list: the years to come will not be "quiet" or "boring" either in education or in any of our ideological and cultural policy activities. In our society, understandably, much attention is paid to education: nearly every family is directly involved in what goes on between the walls of the schools. Many of our social problems and contradictions are also reflected here. During the past years, several correct educational policy decisions have been made. At the same time, some thoughtless educational policy provisions have caused concern among pedagogues and have also evoked justified criticism among some parents.

A society as such in motion as ours is can not promise relaxation, rigid stability, especially not in education. But it can promise fertile, lively, dynamic stability which means thoughtful planning, the invariable "upholding" of the basics and, at the same time, also responsible and steady changes. Attention must be called to this relationship and perspective--which also influences social public opinion--the more so because--in accordance with the 1972 educational policy decision and the stand taken by the 12th Congress--the long-range developmental trends of the school system must be defined in the coming years. This is an urgent requirement for our economic and social development.

Reenforcement of the Socialist Traits of Our Society and Cultural Policy

To stimulate and make aware of the interaction between economic, social and cultural development, to reenforce the unity of practice and education, these are inseparable from the other very important congressional goal: "to reenforce the social traits of our society on the basis of our great achievements." This requirement returns several times in the congressional documents--approached from different angles--marking the unity and mutual acceptance of the social political and ideological sides of cultural policy tasks. As stressed in the Central Committee report: "In work aimed at reenforcing the socialist trains of our society, the party counts on the workers in the fields of social sciences, progaganda, agitation, information and education. Their cooperation is an important condition for solving the great, joint tasks of building the nation and for enhancing the socialist awareness of society even more successfully than before."

What does this relationship mean in practice? On the one hand: the growth and increase in the role of science, education and art, that is, the more organic coupling of culture with effective work, with modern, quality production, with societal processes and with the evolution of socialist democracy will objectively enhance the socialist traits on the face of our society. On the other hand: the socialist traits must be enhanced also within the large sphere of education and public thinking, in science, agitation and propaganda, in public education and in the creative and transmitting spheres of culture. This largely presupposes less hindrance to the progress of public interest, of steady readiness for renewal and of the aspects of quality. Therefore, as a basic task designated by the congress, enhancement of the socialist traits is a dual yet unified requirement: it must succeed within the culture and also through the culture.

Social-economic-cultural renewal and innovation--as mentioned increasingly today--, or else, the enhancement of socialist tendencies, the creative enrichment of Marxism-Leninism and reenforcement of its social presence are at times erroneously separated by the everyday awareness, and purposefully separated and even contrasted by the enemy propaganda. Nevertheless, these two are a single tendency in reality: two, indivisible characteristics and requirements of our age and policy.

Therefore, it is very important that we join these two sides in our cultural policy activities, in guidance, in everyday practice and in forming public opinion. Instead of pragmatism and empty ideologizing, one must pay attention to the present, concrete situation and to our long-range socialist goals both in our cultural policy and ideological activities.

Raising the cultural level of our population is a basic condition for realising our political goals and, within these, also for developing socialist democracy. At the same time, the continued evolution of democratism itself is also one of the decisive components of enhancing the socialist traits in our entire society and, within it, in our cultural-intellectual life, in the awareness and moral spheres as well as in everyday practice.

The growth of socialist democracy also improves the conditions for Marxist-Leninist ideological activity. In the reverse: enhancing the sensitivity to realism in our scientific ideology, solving the new problems, readiness to debate principles

will retroact on the development of democracy and also improve the conditions of federal politics.

Fulfilling and enlarging the role of education, science, culture--and indirectly also are--in economic development, in the molding of society and in self-awareness is decisively dependent on the extent to which they are suffused by a Marxist-Leninist view of the world and on the extent to which they become the natural organ of this cultural process. Of course, democracy is not a magic potion but a historical category and only socialism has a chance to evolve and develop it because our system--not from one day to the other but gradually--can create the conditions necessary for active participation in public life and for guiding the life of society. And also, of course, because democracy is not the anthithesis of effective, sensible, disciplined work but one of its indispensable conditions.

Enhancing the social role of science and improving its productivity are difficult to imagine without realization of a substantial democratism which certifies the realistic order of values. Unfortunately, the open, ideological clash of views and their Marxist synthesis occur only rarely, as yet, at open scientific forums. Therefore, beyond political orientation, one of the most important tasks of cultural policy and of the party and social organs is to develop orders which liberate energies, and develop a democratic atmosphere in debates and in public life, as well as to effectively apply the results. All of these will become more natural if, in judging the work of the scientific investigator, we start from the actual accomplishments, we do not set formal requirements, we encourage reasonable experimentation--even though accompanied by risks--and if the moral and material recognition expresses better the differences in the effectiveness of the work. The system of scientific qualifications must also be renewed in this spirit. We must succeed in getting more of the social scientists involved--in the spirit of active engagement--in the solving of timely economic, social political and cultural problems, and in improving the productivity and morale of social researchers.

Our principles concerning the hegemony of Marxist views and federal policies must be applied according to the current situation. Namely it is not rare that, alluding to democratism and to federal policies, even scientifically discredited, non-Marxist, debated and debatable views fail to undergo ideological Marxist evaluation. This also paralyzes the creative debates. At the same time, some debates also led to distortions because, instead of recognizing the new truths, applying sensitivity to realities and creatively approaching the new problems, we formally satisfied the requirements of the struggle on two fronts. Closely related to encouraging research in actual social problems, we must be very careful in our entire intellectual life to encourage, orient and resolutely unite the pledged Marxist intellectuals.

Schools play a decisive role in shaping the view of life, social ideology, work culture of today's youths and tomorrow's adults. We can not be satisfied with our results so far, but the ideological effects of school can not be enhanced separately from its other basic functions. This side of the educational-pedagogic activity also must be given attention in harmony with the gradual modernization of the entire educational matter.

An important prerequisite of reaching our great historical goals is a more effective participation by the schools in reducing societal and regional inequalities

and in spreading the culture and world view necessary for expanding social democracy. We still have much to do to achieve this and, in general, to have our educational system better fulfill its social calling. I am quoting only a few among these: to equalize the differences in the level of elementary schools so that no averaging but an uplifting effect will prevail; to increasingly help the children of physical laborers and of families in difficult situations for some reason--not by giving formal advantages but by truly diminishing the differences in their chance; to gradually bring nearer to each other the rigidly separated types of secondary education and to achieve the uniform guidance of secondary education; to improve the selection mechanisms for advanced education and choice of profession; to modernize the admission system in universities and colleges, and the education-pedagogic programs; the system of postgraduate education is also awaiting development.

However, all of these presuppose the diminishing in functional distrubances seen in the school system, in the youth movement of the schools and in the function of faculties. One important task of the Ministry of Culture was recently established: to organize the unified guidance of specialties and branches, in cooperation with the councils. This will also improve the atmosphere in educational bodies and the morale of pedagogues which is the more important because the democratic air of faculties and the professional evaluation and social acknowledgement of the work of pedagogues has a sizeable effect on the political and ideological development, and public life activity of the students.

Much work was also formulated by the resolution of the 12th Congress to enhance the socialist traits of cultural-artistic life. Art policy is greatly responsible for providing favorable conditions for the creative process, the artistic work. More intensively than before, we must aid, by the most varied means, the deepening of the artists' sense of reality and their sensitivity to social problems. Political trust and initiation into the problems of international and domestic reality will also have an artistically fertilizing effect.

This is not contradicted but rather the trust is validated and the relationship between party and progressive artists is made stronger if we face the debatable views occasionally found in artist circles and if we oppose the occasional forms of behavior disregarding our social endeavours. The primary task of Marxists is "building", the serving of positive, progressive processes, and making creative responses to new problems in artistic life as well. However, inseparably from this task, their presence must also prevail so that nihilistic, sham-modernistic moods and false ideologies will not succeed, and nationalistic and cosmopolitan views will not take hold. In the struggle against them--also validating our federal policy--we can not be satisfied with halfbaked solutions, with ideologically shallow or sectional, conservative types of criticism. Our artistic workshops, the communist artists, editors and leaders must firmly present the need for taking reality, our present world into realistic artistic possession. Unacceptable are those views and stands which contrast the closely related creative elements of artistic completeness and validity: realism and universality, humanism and social responsibility, esthetical value and the socially valid message.

We encourage and support the artistic presentation of social truth, the contradictions between past and present, its human dramas and conflicts. At the same time,

the artists and public must also understand that there is a significant difference between responsible social-critical behavior with socialist ideology, on the one hand, and a cynical, supercilious standing apart or even an opposition to our social system and socialist goals, on the other hand. By representing socialist realism, and the timely contents and value systems of partisanship and ethnicity--continually maintaining these categories--, Marxist criticism should fulfill its role better and more consistently and thereby should help the arts to fulfill their social function to the fullest. Social democracy also presupposes the rejection of practicing a downward trend toward mediocrity in favor of qualitative selection and more consistent support for all true values. Moreover: today, this differentiation is gradually becoming a decisive condition for the further evolution of creative freedom also including the appreciation for valuable, humanistic creations by artists of non-Marxist ideology.

This leads us to the plateau of artistic-cultural mediation. In this sphere too, numerous negative factors, ideological conservatism and laziness, human and structural weaknesses stand in the way of progress. Our cultural policy must devote considerably more attention than before to promoting the meeting between the masses and the arts. In publishing, mediating and selecting cultural works we must strive more resolutely to represent the interests of the entire society--without compromising quality or principle. The workshops which create and mold cultural public opinion, above all the radio, television, press, mass book publication and record production, should simultaneously strengthen their role in discovering and supporting new values, satisfying need and awakening demand. For instance, one must know what belongs to the studio stage and what to the large theater; what must and should be published in a 3000 copy journal and what in a weekly magazine; what belongs to a professional club discussion and what to the screen. The intensive, narrow "intellectual" induction of mood is just as much rejected as the demagoguery of vulgar interpretation of general comprehensibility, at times wearing a political robe. Keeping in mind the interest of society, improving the basic supply of culture, supporting works which mold the thinking and taste of broad masses, the planned development of artistic education, the possibility of sensible experimentation, the special handling of the matter of cultured entertainment are all inseparable tasks of our cultural policy. Their fulfillment simultaneously benefits society as a whole, and the internal progress and value selection process of art as well.

The need to enhance the socialist traits and our engagement with the democratization of culture urge action an the artistic workshops as well. At times, ideological, organizational and cadre policy issues also hinder the consistent democratic functioning, in the socialist spirit, of artistic societies, cultural creative workshops and institutions be they theatre, film, fine arts or literature. Consistent and tolerant debates must follow the creative path of the young artists who have taken or are taking their place in our artistic life during the decade now at its end, a considerable fraction of whom--for various objective and subjective reasons--appear to be susceptible to a skeptical view of history and to an utopistic interpretation of the necessary democratization. In certain cases they are susceptible to self-serving or meaningless experimentation which fails to renew anything; such "experimentations" merely reduce the chances and conditions for searching for new paths which would truly renew content and form.

In artistic life, a similarly indispensable element of socialist democracy is the possibility of developing individuality, of realizing artistic versatility, and the prevailing of socialist views and public interest. We must also see clearly what are the realistic paths of socialist development today and what is illusion or even abuse of the concept. During the coming period--when we will strive for bolder selection, decisions, quality selection and the expansion of patient but decisive ideological debate--it will not be easier to maintain and strengthen federal policy and consensus. The 1980's are expected to pose new problems--in the entire cultural policy--to the leading role of the party, to the unity of federal policy and ideological debate, to the relationship between socialist democracy and national unity. Yet we must chose this path--the gradual strengthening of socialist democracy--because this alone can produce lasting results.

In the social sciences, in artistic life and in public education, we have to think anew, from the perspective of the 1980's, about the tasks of more successful work in Marxist theory and the search for truth, of an ideological presence with more initiatives, of increasing the attraction between our ideals and the party, and of the simultaneous assertion of federal policy and ideological debate. If we consider only the latter: the current fractionalization of society, the increased sensitivity of public morality, the reassertion of idealist and nihilist views of the world observed in certain circles, the ideological-moral phenomena accompanying the change in generations also raise numerous new problems. The artistic-cultural life can mold the face of our society in a lively--in the true meaning of the word--up-to-date manner and can enhance its socialist traits only if itself will come into more organic harmony with the true movement processes of reality, with life, if it will enrich its "own" socialist traits.

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Only a few problems were discussed from among the cultural policy and ideological guidelines of the 12th Congress resolution. For instance, I did not mention the actions to be taken with regard to improvement of the guidance activities of the party and state, and to cadre policies. Processing and practical realization of the stands taken by the congress are collective tasks which must be carried out independently and with responsibility by a unified interpretation of the resolution, taking initiatives by the organizations involved, by the governmental organs, by the leaders and by those led, by every communist.

Cultural matters had not been a separate area of party policy during the age of ideology, neither are they today. Everyone is involved--under the sign of democratic centralism. It is, natural that ideology and cultural policy, agitation and proganda activity present especially great responsibilities--and simultaneously assign mobilization tasks--to the intellectuals. As worded by the congressional report: "The intellectuals are active participants in the building of socialism, they are closely bound to the worker class and to the cooperative peasants. Our party and our entire nation highly values the work of the intellectuals. Their role is increased in close relationship to the general advancement of our society, to scientific-technical progress and to the increased significance of culture. The solution of the tasks ahead of us makes it necessary that we utilize our intellectual resources, professional knowledge and preparation in every area better, more economically and with better organization, and that we request and insure the increased participation of intellectuals in the building of socialism and in public life." Every intellectual who feels responsible for his people and nation, and is a devoted advocate of social progress, can find his role and assignment in this task.

2473
CSO: 2500

FRENCH PRESS ARTICLE ON WALESA NOTED

Paris LE POINT in French 29 Sep 80 p 62

[Article by Thierry Dussard: "Lech the Mischievous"]

[Text] Lech Walesa is almost as famous in Poland as the Pope. The first independent trade union is coming into being and heads are still falling within the party.

A Special Report.

"We are not afraid of anything." His hands cupped around his mouth, Lech Walesa was addressing the crowd gathered in front of the Warsaw governor's building. Two thousand people, who had come to be present at the historic registration of the charter for the new unions, were listening to their hero religiously, who was calling for unity and work. And to clearly show that he feared no one, he decided to go on foot to the tomb of the unknown soldier. This was, in effect, a victory lap of the Polish capital which was thus afforded to Lech Walesa and his friends last Wednesday.

The whole delegation swarmed over the sidewalks for an impromptu demonstration. A banner led the way. The procession grew larger as it went back up the streets to Victory Square. The onlookers asked what was happening. "It's Lech Walesa who is passing by." "Walesa, which one is he?" The most famous Pole after the Pope, as his fellow countrymen call him, is in fact a man whose face is unknown to the majority of them. His picture has never been published in the newspapers. He has only appeared on television twice, the evening the agreement was signed and last Thursday. The members of Solidarity, the new name for the independent trade union, have by the way made the Warsaw trip to talk to people in high places about these news "blackouts."

The day had begun, as always, with a morning mass. Then, after the application was filed to register the 44 sections of the Union agreement, which is of a federative nature, a bundle of flowers was laid at the unknown soldier memorial. But everything really started up with the meeting at the offices of the Council of Ministers. Four deputy chairmen received the 16 delegates and those accompanying them. On both sides people found themselves in the company of signatories of the regional agreements. But it was the first time such a meeting was held

at the national level: this was a ceremonial confirmation of the unity of the new trade unionists and a unique opportunity for the government to take stock of the worker movement as a whole. On this day, the negotiators no longer sat facing each other but took their places side by side around a large oval table. Jagielski and Walesa shook hands, almost like old friends, after the Gdansk negotiations. Barcikowski found Jurczyk, from the port of Szczecin, more impressive than ever, and Kopec his opposite number from Katowice, the dark-looking Switon behind his black beard. Deputy chairman Grabski himself was there as the person responsible for ideology and propaganda in the Central Committee. These areas were right at the heart of the debate. The Solidarity trade unionists refused at first to be classified as antisocialist elements, which category is denounced daily in the press. On the other hand, they did not go along with the authorities' attacking the KOR (Committee for the Defense of the Workers]. This was a tricky situation, in which Walesa had to simultaneously support the KOR and to set himself apart from Jacek Kuron, whose name rings like a battlecry in the ears of the authorities.

The authorities are cut off from the "real country," nervous about the economic situation, and divided on what approach to follow. The Sixth Plenum of the Central Committee, which was meant to convene last week, will not be able to finish its work before the end of the month as anticipated. These delays underline the struggles for influence within the party, in which each faction is trying to impose its ideas. The new first secretary, Stanislaw Kania, is still amazingly reserved, to the point that some people are wondering if he is a "transition pope."

Meanwhile the purges are not experiencing any delay and already heads are rolling. After the first secretary of Silesia, it was the radio and television committee chairman's turn to give up his position. He had held on barely a month to control of the audiovisual area. Only real news, in Lech Walesa's view, can fill in the gap between the Poles and their leaders. "Do you want to reestablish confidence? Then stop putting out disinformation as you do; it reflects back on the government and only serves to make you ridiculous."

After having spoken in the Ursus factory stadium, Walesa called a press conference to put things in perspective. With a picture of the miraculous Virgin on his jacket lapel and half smiling under his moustache, the fellow was visibly doing well. To journalists from the international press he confided: "In our country we are doing a little tidying up which should serve as an example." The lesson seems to have been understood. In Hungary, the official trade unions have stated that they want "to play the role of a loyal opposition..." These are matters which bear watching, that is only too clear.

9631
CSO: 3100

CATHOLIC PAPER PROTESTS PRESS ARTICLE

Zagreb GLAS KONCILA in Serbo-Croatian 12 Oct 80 p 4

[Article by Zivko Kustic: "On Whose Behalf Does Nenad Ivankovic Speak?: False Charges and Assessments and Blackmail of GLAS KONCILA"]

[Text] On 27 September of this year VJESNIK published an article that bore the title "Delirium of the Tridentine Fever," the subheading "GLAS KONCILA as It Really Is" and the signature Nenad Ivankovic. This article requires an answer--not because of journalistic ethics, which does not apply in this case, but because of the accused person's right and duty to defend himself. The article referred, that is, shows that Nenad Ivankovic has assumed the role of a public prosecutor on his own initiative. It remains an open question whether that presumption of his was truly on his own initiative. But until someone bearing more responsibility makes an appearance in public, from the formal standpoint this can be only a conversation with Nenad Ivankovic. But since he apostrophizes GLAS KONCILA mainly because of unsigned articles, and it is well known that the editors, which specifically means the editor in chief, bears direct and exclusive responsibility for articles of any importance and by definition for articles which are unsigned, it is proper that I speak out myself.

Blackmail

Nenad Ivankovic says that the editors of GLAS KONCILA directly and consciously oppose socialism in this society. And that we are consciously striving "to poison relations between church and state." And also that we are a "handful of clericalists." It is obvious that if he had real evidence of our activity against the state and antisocial activity, he could have called upon the public prosecutor's office to take us before the court. But he does not want that kind of "administrative" action, he wants action by "political" means. He calls upon our bishops and the Holy Seat ("the one bearing the greatest responsibility in the Church") to replace us, to stand in our way. And so what, among other things, as N. I. [Nenad Ivankovic] sees it, is to come of good relations between the church authority and the authority of the state: that the church authority will remove priests who someone in the latter does not like. That is right, N. I. is calling upon "the most responsible in the Church" to silence us: otherwise

they will not be entitled to count on a certain understanding on the state's side. This sounds just like blackmail, like a threat, like a political message of great weight. But behind this serious political effort stands only the signature of one of the youngest of VJESNIK's newsmen, one of those who is actually specializing in church and theological affairs.

Be that as it may, it is a question of a public demand that we be silenced without a hearing. Anyone who is judged without a hearing can also be found guilty without being so.

Must We Have an Intermediary Whenever We Speak?

And what, according to N. I., is our guilt supposed to be? He says that we proclaim "communism in extenso" to be a dictatorship. What does that phrase "communism in extenso" mean to him? Have we ever insulted this concrete communist government in the SFRY in that way in any place? Or is N. I. charging us with this before some Comintern or Cominform? He says that according to us "Latin American dictatorships are outright democracies compared to communism." No, that is not true. And now that we are thus publicly charging that Ivankovic is writing things that are not true, it would be a good thing for him to understand this very thoroughly. After all, everyone knows what GLAS KONCILA has written about Latin American dictatorships. Just because some "David" there must on occasion obey "Nathan" does not mean that that kind of "David" has ceased to be a dictator and murderer.

Nor is it true when N. I. states that we at GLAS KONCILA, specifically I personally, are poisoning relations between church and state. We believe that a progress in those relations is possible and the improvement is obvious. Otherwise we would have nothing at all to talk about. But improvement of relations does not mean, cannot even mean, that there have been no evils in those relations nor that there are not still some now. Who, then, does it disturb if we publicly call attention to certain cases of violation of the religious freedoms of the members of the church and therefore of the church itself as a community? Is it better to correct an evil without public criticism; or are we not allowed to speak directly of an evil that affects us believers, but must have an intermediary?

The Dogma of Infallible Courts

The case of the late Father Ante Radic is given a special place in N. I.'s article. He might just as well have mentioned the case of Archbishop Petar Cula in a recent interview for GLAS KONCILA. It is a question of several church officials who in the postwar years have been convicted and sentenced, usually to several years in prison. GLAS KONCILA has on occasion published the assurance of certain of these people and the assurance of many of the pious who know them well that they were not guilty. They served their sentence. They do not even seek rehabilitation, nor are they conducting any sort of campaign to that end. They are all contacting the appropriate

government agencies in a constructive way and according to proper procedure. As we recently had occasion to see in the interview with Archbishop Cula and Archbishop Turk (whom N. I. refers to so many times and who also does not consider himself guilty!), they praise the real progress in relations between church and state. Their bitter experience gives a special significance to that testimony. But from time to time, when the topic arises, these people do not think that they must absolutely conceal what has happened to them. After all, is it a crime to believe that the court can be wrong? Does N. I. mean to proclaim as a dogma that the courts of the state cannot be deceived? Can he suppose that in relations toward the church and church people this society has never erred in anything? What then can the improvement of relations have consisted of? Indeed, if we are prepared to quietly listen to what is said even about those errors or oversights, it is a sign that we really do believe in progress, in a constructive development of relations.

Were We Clericalists, We Would Have an Easier Time

One more thing: N. I. can bring charges against us with authorities on both sides, but he cannot call us clericalists. Were we clericalists, it would be easier for us, and we would be content. N. I. is the one who advocates total clericalization of the church, since everything he cites concerning the progress of good relations between the church and society mostly comes down to the position of the clergy, while lay believers within that view have full religious freedom if they can freely receive the religious services rendered by the clergy. The clergy get social security, seminaries get certain privileges, the clergy can freely conduct religious services, and so on. Things seem to be relatively good for the clergy. We even state that as far as religious liberties are concerned things must not be better for the clergy than for all other members of the church, better than for laymen. And we state that we have to go a long way yet before every citizen who is a believer is guaranteed that degree of religious freedoms enjoyed already in this society by us clergymen. We are afraid of clericalism, we are afraid of an alliance between the church administration and the government administration bypassing the public in general and that portion of the public which is religious in particular. This is our principal fear, this is what we truly must fear if we want to believe in a real progress of relations between the church community and the social community.

Is This the Preparation for a Controlled Catholic Press?

We are not naive, and we are quite aware of all the things that can happen. So is N. I. The prosecutor might come forth with charges. The church authority might sacrifice several of its people for the sake of peace, which is what N. I. hopes. We know all that. And we hope that none of that will happen. But if it did happen, whom would it actually benefit?

So what exactly does N. I. want? To suppress GLAS KONCILA? Obviously. Is this an appeal--let us be frank--for the state even here to create a monitored and controlled "Catholic" press, that is, a press for Catholics? It was our fond hope that the responsible people in the Socialist Republic of Croatia did not want to copy such models, that they looked upon our pluralism as a special and valuable feature of our reality. Can we have become tired of so much pluralism that we want to enter the waters of unitarianism once again? It really is difficult to believe that one could find here believers who would be willing and prepared to take over that job of administering a controlled "Catholic" press. But--all in the framework of these suppositions--would that kind of "Catholic" press--even before it makes its appearance--have to be assured by the state that monopoly which the church authorities have never attempted to obtain for their newspapers or periodicals within the church?

We Have Nothing To Hide

We have not even referred to the title of the article. But if N. I. wants to isolate us from the majority in this our native church, he should not have made fun of the Council of Trent. After all, this was a great reform council of the church, one whose fruits are still operative and are worth a great deal. Without it there would not have been the Second Vatican Council. Had N. I. been in closer and more serious contact with the theologians he regards as acceptable, he would not have made such a major error. As it is, he has alerted believers that he is not attacking a "handful," but the church and its own basic legacy.

GLAS KONCILA is not "in the pocket" of any group in the church. It has always been entirely at the disposition of the hierarchy. The bishops know that none of us will ever demand that any of the overall interests of the church communities be sacrificed to rescue one or another of the editors of GLAS KONCILA. We are not threatening anyone, nor are we blackmailing anyone. We are just making a statement. For did not Jesus say: "I must work while there is daylight"? And we reject any political insinuation, since in this respect we have nothing to hide, nor anything to fear.

7045
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END

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5 December 1980

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1832

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5 December 1980

EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1832

CONTENTS

ALBANIA

Moscow, Albanian Commentary on Friendship Society Anniversary
(Moscow Radio, 3 Nov 80)..... 1

BULGARIA

Protective Measures Against Nuclear Attack Suggested
(GRAZHDANSKA OTBRANA, No 10, 1980)..... 2

Protection Against Neutron Weapons, by Ivan Portalski
Use of Tunnels as Shelters, by Angel Stoyadinov, Bogdan Dimitrov

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Development, Order of Battle of National People's Army Reviewed
(Guenter Lippert; WEHRTECHNIK, Oct 80)..... 7

POLAND

'DER SPIEGEL' Profile of Walesa, Solidarity Movement Published
(DER SPIEGEL, 3 Nov 80)..... 25

Background on Walesa
Report on Solidarity Movement, by Tim Garton Ash

Reactions of Youth Organizations to Recent Work Stoppages Noted
(WALKA MLODYCH, various dates; RAZEM, 14 Sep 80)..... 39

Problems Encountered by Young Inventors, by Tomasz Kowalik
ZSMP Position on Current Situation, by Henryk Urbanowski
ZSMP's Observations, Suggested Actions, by Henryk Urbanowski
Resolution of Youth Aktiv at Lenin Steelworks

Independent Student Association Committees Formed
(STUDENT, 9-22 Oct 80)..... 55

Meetings at Gdansk University, Gdansk Polytechnic, by Jerzy Siemko
Student Meeting in Krakow, by Maria Paluch

Future of Student Movements Discussed
(STUDENT, various dates)..... 63

Is SZSP a Political Organization, by Andrzej Korybski
Possible Orientation Change, by Jacek Raciborski

SZSP Cultural Aktiv Submits Postulates
(Jan Tasak; STUDENT, 25 Sep - 8 Oct 80)..... 75

Minister Gorski Meets With Krakow Students
(Teresa Betkowska; GAZETA POLUDNIOWA, 15 Oct 80)..... 79

ROMANIA

Article on Freud Arouses Controversy
(Leonard Gavriliu; ERA SOCIALISTA, 5 Oct 80)..... 84

Role of the State in Socialist Society
(Manea Babut; ERA SOCIALISTA, 20 Oct 80)..... 87

Current Theatrical Activity Evaluated
(Valentin Silvestru; ERA SOCIALISTA, 20 Oct 80)..... 93

Decree on Medical Care for Mental Patients
(BULETINUL OFICIAL, 16 Oct 80)..... 98

New Regulations for Approving Medical Leave
(ROMANIA LIBERA, 23 Sep 80)..... 106

YUGOSLAVIA

Response to Criticism From Catholic Paper
(Nenad Ivankovic; VJESNIK, 4 Nov 80)..... 108

Zagreb Hotel Director's Ouster, Return to Post Detailed
(Jug Grizelj; NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE, 21 Sep 80)..... 112

MOSCOW, ALBANIAN COMMENTARY ON FRIENDSHIP SOCIETY ANNIVERSARY

AU042050 Moscow Radio in Albanian 1530 GMT 3 Nov 80

[Commentary by named commentator--name indistinct]

[Text] Some 35 years have passed since the foundation [words indistinct] of cultural cooperation between Albania and the Soviet Union, which was called the Albanian-Soviet Friendship Society. For years in a row the society was a center for comprehensive links between (?our countries). For example, it organized visits of 95 Albanian delegations to the Soviet Union. The progressive workers of production, scientists and cultural people of People's Albania, who took part in those delegations, received much benefit from the meetings with Soviet people, and from their acquaintance with the rich Soviet experience. Many Soviet delegations also visited Albania, invited by the Albanian-Soviet Friendship Society. As the Albanian press wrote, (?these meetings) served the deepening of the mutual good will of all the people, [words indistinct] for the continual development and (?progress) of their cooperation. Among the activities organized by the Albanian-Soviet Friendship Society were friendly evening meetings, exhibitions of Soviet books and Soviet art, and others. Albanian workers linked these [word indistinct] with the successes of the Soviet country in all spheres of life. In this way (?before the 20th anniversary of the socialist revolution) in Korce District alone 32 conferences had been held which were organized by the society and which popularized the successes of the Soviet Union. In the exhibitions of Soviet books which were organized on the occasion of [name indistinct] in many Albanian cities, the visitors saw the works of [names indistinct] and other well-known Soviet writers which were translated into Albanian and (?enjoyed by readers). The friendship journal which the Albanian-Soviet Friendship Society published, told its readers about the outstanding Soviet workers of production, about the participation [words indistinct] which had a practical importance for Albania. In connection with this, various articles were published in the friendship journal [words indistinct]. Because of this, in the Albanian enterprises all workers followed the example of (Valentin Gardanow) [passage indistinct]. The Soviet-Albanian Friendship Society developed its activities in close coordination with the Albanian-Soviet Friendship Society. And now the Soviet-Albanian Friendship Society organizes exhibitions and evenings dedicated to People's Albania, and marks dates in its history. One such activity is the meeting of the leadership of the Soviet-Albanian Friendship Society to be held tonight in the House of Friendship With Foreign Peoples and Countries on the occasion of the 35th anniversary of the Albanian-Soviet Friendship Society.

CSO: 2100

PROTECTIVE MEASURES AGAINST NUCLEAR ATTACK SUGGESTED

Protection Against Neutron Weapons

Sofia GRAZHDANSKA OTBRANA in Bulgarian No 10, 1980 p 31

[Article by Ivan Portalski, chief assistant at the Chair for Civil Defense and the Organization for the Protection of the Population and the National Economy at the Kl. Okhridski Sofia University: "Improving Defense Against a Neutron Flux"]

[Text] In this issue the magazine is beginning a new section entitled "Science and Technology in the Service of Civil Defense [CD]." It will provide brief information with a practical focus on technical innovations which can be used in the CD system, for useful rationalization and proposals, for possible improvements in the scientific organization of labor in CD, for utilizing mathematical methods for optimizing measures to protect the population and the national economy, and the organizing and carrying out of rescue and emergency damage repair work in a strike area and with natural disasters or major production emergencies.

The editors of the journal GRAZHDANSKA OTBRANA are expecting collaborators for the new section from among the scientific workers, the instructors in GO-OZNNA [Civil Defense and the Organization of Defense for the Population and National Economy] in a VUZ [institution of higher learning] and specialists in the CD system. We are awaiting your letters and proposals to deepen the process of the intellectualization of labor in the CD system by the familiarizing with and introduction of the most recent scientific and technical achievements.

The discovery of neutron weapons has confronted the CD system with the problem of improving protection against a neutron flux. This question is particularly urgent in bearing in mind that the United States has resolved to produce the basic components of neutron weapons. In practice this means that in one form or another, neutron weapons have already been adopted in the U.S. Army. There is also information that France is also arming with neutron weapons.

In the exploding of a nuclear charge with a power up to 1 megaton (that is, with a charge in which a chain fission reaction is used as the source of energy), the ensuing neutrons have an energy of 2 mev, they are effective over shorter distances

than the gamma photons and represent a significantly smaller portion of the penetrating radiation in comparison with gamma radiation. With a thermonuclear explosion (a modification of which is used in the neutron weapon), 10-fold more neutrons are given off, and 80 percent of these have an energy of around 14 mev (fast neutrons). Consequently, the neutron component of the penetrating radiation obtained with a neutron explosion predominates and is the basic destructive factor. In bearing in mind that the radii of the casualty zones with the detonating of a neutron charge are greater than the radii obtained from a nuclear charge of the same power, it can be assumed that mass neutron strikes will be made against the CD installations.

An improvement in the existing antiradiation surfaces for more efficient protection against the neutrons can be provided in three ways.

The first way is by covering the interior walls of the radiation shelters with a layer of special polymers which have a high content of hydrogen atoms. In recent years, different variations of polytehylene and polypropylene have been developed for this purpose. One such variation is the following: 100 parts of granulated polyethylene with a density of 0.93 are mixed with 20 parts of lead or calcium stearate and 7 parts of boron carbide. The mixture is homogenized and pressed into sheets of varying thickness at a temperature of 130-135° C.

Recently announcements have appeared that solid hydrogen has been developed. The Carnegie Institute in the United States has produced an ice-like solid form of hydrogen at an ordinary temperature. Metal hydrogen is expected in the next few years. This substance is ideal from the viewpoint of defense against fast neutron fluxes. Certainly, hydrogen ice is very costly, but in the future, after the technology has become cheaper, it can be used in small quantities for protecting particularly valuable installations.

Ordinary water can also be used because of the high hydrogen content. For this purpose, a double wall is made on the inside of the PRU [radiation shelter] and the space between the two walls is filled with water in which, for example, lead or iron salts have been dissolved. This method of protection can be used primarily in building new radiation shelters.

The third and most usable method at present for protection against fast neutrons is the painting of the interior walls of the PRU with special resins (so-called "plastic concretes") or varnishes, as well as various mixtures of paraffin with the rare earth elements. Here is an example of a special varnish which can be used: basic lead carbonate--0.765; basic lead sulfate--0.630; zinc oxide--1.175; gadolinium oxide--0.560; magnesium silicate and pigments--1.250; unrefined linseed oil--1.580; polymerized linseed oil--0.530; solvents--0.510.

The gadolinium oxide which is the most difficult to secure can be replaced by a mixture of samarium and europium oxide. The thickness of the layer which can be applied on the inside of the PRU is from 0.076 to 0.178 mm. Such a layer of the described varnish retains around 99 percent of the thermal neutrons obtained as a result of the slowing down of the fast neutrons by the walls of the PRU.

It is also possible to use various polyester resins which are mixed with graphite powder, carbon black, iron dust, and so forth. For example, the interior walls of

protective structures can be faced with plastic block from 5 to 20 cm thick and containing a powder of tungsten, iron or barium. The inside of these blocks must be covered with a layer of graphite which reflects the faster neutrons and absorbs the thermal ones.

A layer of paraffin 10 cm thick fully stops the fast neutrons and the protons knocked off them. The same thing can be achieved by a layer of water 30 cm thick. In order to eliminate the effect of the slowed thermal neutrons, behind the layer of water or paraffin it is essential to place an iron or lead layer from several millimeters to several centimeters thick.

In each specific instance, it is essential to assess the optimum combination of substances which will be used to face the inner walls of the protective structure. However, in any instance it must be kept in mind that the layer of light substances must be positioned first and the heavy ones afterwards.

The given data indicate that the adapting of the existing structures for sufficiently effective protection against neutron weapons can be carried comparatively quickly and cheaply.

Use of Tunnels as Shelters

Sofia GRAZHDANSKA OTBRANA in Bulgarian No 10, 1980 p 32

[Article by Angel Stoyadinov and Bogdan Dimitrov: "Underground Dual-Purpose Transport Tunnels"]

[Text] The protection of the workers and the population against weapons of mass destruction is a much more complicated and difficult task than in previous wars. At present structures are required with greater protective properties as these must protect people not only against the effect of the shock wave but also other injurious factors.

On the other hand, the enormous scope of a war and the destructive force of nuclear weapons demand much more from the protective structures for the population. For this reason in recent years specialists have been concentrating on the building of multi- or dual-purpose structures which when needed can be used also for the protection of people and valuable property.

For example, underground transport tunnels (Fig. 1) provide a good opportunity for using them as protective structures. With a thicker roof and proper positioning of gates, we can obtain a structure with a high degree of protection. In order to avoid direct exposure to penetrating radiation, the safety doors must be positioned a distance away from the tunnel portal which would exclude direct radiation.

The safety gates can be electrically or manually operated sliding ones. At the two entrances to the tunnel, it is essential to provide for locks. They should be installed to the side in metal chambers (Fig. 2).

The space per person for each tunnel can vary. This is set by the local CD staff, in proceeding not only from the practical viewpoint but also from the density of the population around the portals and entrances to the tunnel.

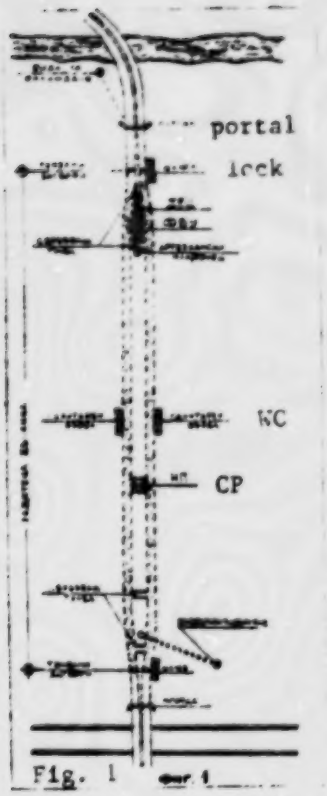

Fig. 1

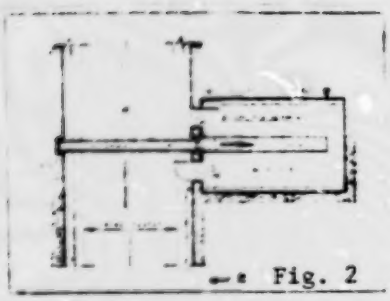
Fig. 2

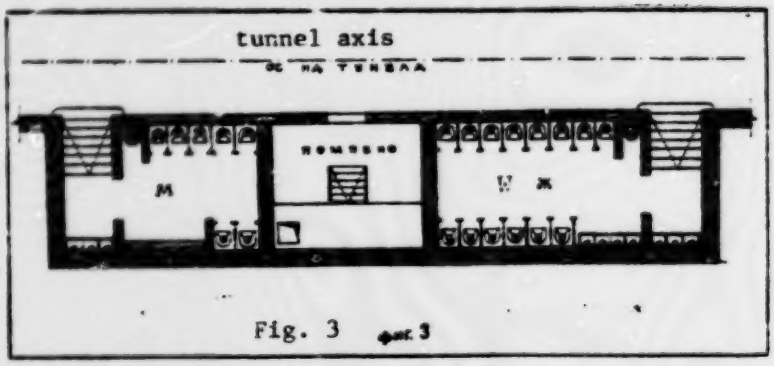

Fig. 3

For each tunnel planned for dual use, it is also essential to provide additional facilities such as a command post, WC, storerooms and so forth which should be so positioned that maximum use could also be made of them in peacetime.

The sanitation facilities (Fig. 3) should be built in supplementary rooms near the exhaust vent, with provision for at least 50 flush toilets for every 10,000 persons taking shelter.

The capacity of each transport tunnel as a protective structure can be determined in proceeding from the condition that at least 1 m^2 of area is required for each person taking shelter. If in the given tunnel with an area of 1 m per person 13,000 persons may take shelter, they can remain up to 14 hours with a fixed volume [? of air]. With an area of 1.33 m^2, the number of persons taking shelter will be around 10,000, and the time of stay 19 hours, and with 2 m^2, respectively, 8,000 persons and 21 hours.

The question arises of whether it is justified in investing money for additional technical devices for the purpose of extending the stay of the persons taking shelter. The answer depends upon the tactical considerations for the purpose and use of the corresponding CD facility. A lengthening of the time spent in the tunnel is possible in using diesel electric plants and low-output fans for peacetime operations.

However for an extended stay, in addition to the area for the persons taking shelter, it is also essential to have supplies of drinking water and food, as well as areas for the equipment and installations. The minimum calculated amount of water is 2.5-3.0 liters per day per person. Emergency containers can be built out of steel or reinforced concrete.

In the event that the ventilating of the tunnel is imperative, tolerable climatic conditions must be provided for the extended stay of the persons taking shelter.

This in a most general form is some of the possibilities for the dual-purpose use of transport tunnels.

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DEVELOPMENT, ORDER OF BATTLE OF NATIONAL PEOPLE'S ARMY REVIEWED

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[Article by Guenter Lippert: "Warsaw Pact: The National People's Army (NVA) of the GDR"]

> [Text] It was the last of the people's armies of the Eastern European satellite states of the Soviet Union to be christened in January 1956: The army of the smaller half of Germany, the army of the GDR. Like the others, it did not become the army of the people but the armed might of the ruling Communist Party. Nevertheless, it was not even to enjoy the adjective of "people's." It was called the "National" [army] although the nation had been split and its creators were pledged to international communism. With around 200,000 men, equipped with about 1,400 battle tanks, 400 combat aircraft and helicopters, and 160 combat vessels and boats, the NVA (National People's Army) is today a component of the "First Strategic Echelon" of the Warsaw Pact forces--an echelon which is kept at constant action readiness. Among the other people's armies, it is considered a model pupil of the Soviet "brother army." But it must nevertheless employ one quarter of its soldiers in order to prevent the flight of the people away from the gains of Moscow-style socialism.

The baptism actually was a rebaptism because, when the People's Chamber of the GDR--allegedly as a spontaneous response to West German rearmament--on 18 January 1956 passed the "Law on the Creation of the NVA and the Ministry of National Defense," both of these steps had already been taken and about 100,000 men were already under arms. On instructions from the Soviet Military Administration the camouflaged buildup of the NVA had begun almost 10 years earlier:

The first units of the "Border Police" were organized the end of 1946;

Starting in the summer of 1948, garrisoned police alert units were formed and weapons training and officer candidate schools were established;

In 1950, finally, the first maritime police units were set up and preparatory work was started for the buildup of an aviation police.

Thus, in 1950 already, one year prior to the start of the establishment of the West German Federal Border Guard in the FRG, the garrisoned forces of the People's Police, Border Police, and Maritime Police--which were under the GDR Interior Ministry--revealed a personnel strength of 88,000 men. At that time, the inspector-general of the People's Police was the old-line communist Heinz Hoffmann, who today is the defense minister of the GDR and who acquired his military experience during the Spanish Civil War in the "International Brigades."

The buildup of the force--which, starting in 1952 was officially referred to as the KVP (Garrisoned People's Police)--progressed rapidly. In 1952, the blue police uniforms were replaced by olive-brown uniforms and the police ranks were replaced by military ranks. Heinz Hoffmann, who was promoted to lieutenant general, built up a uniform High Command for the KVP and, as the forerunner of the subsequent military district, he established two "territorial administrations of the KVP." At the same time, the first KVP officers were detailed to attend schools and academies of the Soviet Army. Finally, GDR Interior Minister Willi Stoph in the middle of 1955 resigned his office. With the rank of colonel-general, he became the commander of the KVP which at the same time was taken out of the ministry and was thus ready at the right time in order, after the "spontaneous" People's Chamber resolution of January 1956, to assume the new office of "Minister of National Defense." Just 6 weeks later, on 1 March 1956, which is considered the birthdate of the NVA, the first units already appeared in public and early in October of the same year, Stoph, in an order of the day, observed that the NVA has been organized. In addition to the name, only the uniform has been changed: It is once again field-gray and as far as the cut is concerned, it is the same old uniform, that of the Wehrmacht [World War II German Armed Forces], including the braid on the cuffs of the dress blouse, the silver "sleeve stripes" for the company first sergeants, the parade belts and buckles, swords, dress daggers and riding britches for the officers as well as red stripes down the trouser leg for the generals. Only the steel helmet looks new but it had been developed already back in 1944 by the Army Ordnance Bureau and did not prevent bad memories from being aroused among the Eastern neighboring nations.

The rest is routine: All units of the NVA were included in the united fighting forces of the WP (Warsaw Pact); the GDR defense minister becomes the deputy of their supreme commander. Modern weapons came from the USSR and joint exercises within the WP context followed. In August 1961, the NVA passed its first rather macabre trial: together with Soviet troops it provided security for the construction of the Berlin Wall.

The recruitment of military personnel was initially based on material incentives and political pressure--on a voluntary basis. But the personnel strength, which had been 110,000 men since 1956, can hardly be increased as a result of that because increasing pressure leads to larger numbers of refugees. Only after the construction of the wall in Berlin and the strengthening of border security along the boundary line between the two parts of Germany, was the 18-month draft introduced in January 1962 and the NVA was then quickly brought up to its current strength.

The second rather doubtful trial came in October 1968, involving participation of NVA units in Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia. After this loyalty test, the NVA was then allowed also to assume a surrogate role for Moscow in the Third World: Starting in the seventies, NVA delegations visited the left-wing-oriented countries of Africa and the Near East and worked out training and equipment aid agreements. As part of this variation of development aid, about 3,000 NVA advisors and instructors are today active in eleven countries. Most of them are stationed in Angola, Ethiopia, and Mozambique.

The Top Command

The supreme commander of the NVA is the MfNV (Minister of National Defense). This post has been held since 1960 by Army Gen Heinz Hoffmann who today is just about 70 years old. The ministry's organization is patterned along the Soviet model. It consists of four HV (main administration) and a large number of independent administrations. The HV chiefs hold the rank of deputy minister.

Main Staff

The NVA general staff, which rather shame-facedly is called the Main Staff, is the militarily most important main administration of the ministry. Within the context of instructions from the supreme commander of the United Forces of the WP it is responsible for overall operational planning and military intelligence. Furthermore, it is responsible for organization, the personnel replacement system, and additional interservice tasks, such as telecommunications and military transportation. The chief of the Main Staff has been Col Gen Fritz Streletz, born in 1926, since early 1979.

Political Main Administration

The Political Main Administration is undoubtedly the most influential one. It directs and watches over the political orientation of the NVA. It supervises all sectors of the armed forces through a special duty channel via the "deputy commanders for political affairs," which it selects and commands, and the SED and FdJ [Free German Youth] organizations in the various headquarters and units, which are subordinated to it in their capacity as party duty stations.

Col Gen Heinz Kessler, born in 1920, has been the chief of the Political Main Administration since early 1979; while serving in the German Armed Forces during World War II, he deserted to the Red Army in 1941 and helped found the "National Committee for a Free Germany." The fact that Kessler was first of all already a deputy minister in his capacity as chief of the Air Force and then as chief of the Main Staff--even before he took over the Political Main Administration--underscores the significance of this position.

Main Administration for Equipment and Armament

The Main Administration for Equipment and Armament, under Col Gen Werner Fleissner, born in 1922, is responsible for the planning, development, and procurement of weapons and equipment.

Main Administration for Support Services

The Main Administration for Support Services--taken over a short time ago by Lt Gen Wolfgang Neidhardt--plans and coordinates supply functions and is responsible for training logistics units.

Civil defense has been a part of the responsibility of the MfNV since 1977-1978. It may possibly be another main administration and its chief, Lt Gen Fritz Peter, is likewise a deputy minister.

The position of the deputy minister is also held by the following:

The chief of the NVA Ground Forces, Col Gen Horst Stechbarth, born in 1925;

The chief of the NVA Air Force and Air Defense, Col Gen Wolfgang Reinhold, born in 1923;

The chief of the NVA People's Navy, Adm Wilhelm Ehm, born in 1918, a former PO in the World War II Navy and the senior member among the deputies, and

The chief of the "Border Forces of the GDR," Lt Gen Klaus-Dieter Baumgarten, a graduate of the Soviet Frunze Military Academy.

The general officer corps of the GDR consists of more than 150 members and is not confined to the NVA. The four stars of an army general are also worn by Hoffmann's predecessor, Prime Minister Willi Stoph. Others with the rank of colonel-general are the director of the Security Department in the SED Central Committee, the old-line communist Herbert Scheibe, born in 1914, who was being held in the Buchenwald concentration camp until 1945; the notorious Minister of State Security Erich Mielke, born in 1907, and Interior Minister and Chief of the "German People's Police" Friedrich Dickel, born in 1913. Even the deputy minister for transportation and director of the GDR Airline "Interflug," Klaus Henkes, holds the rank of major general.

The years of birth show that the time of the old-line communists is rapidly nearing an end. All of them are ready for retirement and will probably leave shortly. The World War II Armed Forces officers and the unqualified "people's officers" of the very first days--who were used to help build up the army--were separated even before them or were shunted aside to minor jobs. Within a few years, the top military commanders will be men who, after thorough training at the officer colleges of the NVA, took courses at the "Friedrich Engels" Military Academy or the "Wilhelm Pieck" Political College and who mostly also attended a corresponding institution of education in the Soviet Army.

NVA Ground Forces

With a personnel strength of about 100,000 men, the NVA Ground Forces alone have the same size as the Reichswehr [armed forces between the two World Wars] of the undivided German Reich. In peacetime they are under the Ground Forces Command at Potsdam-Geltow which is responsible for equipment and training.

Two Military Districts

There are two military district headquarters under the High Command. In peacetime, they are the territorial commands for the units deployed in their area along with the duty stations and installations of the People's Army. In case of major maneuvers and in case of war, they provide one, each, field army HQ for the operational command of the ground forces units assigned to them. They are then probably not placed under a common national command but will be separately integrated into "fronts" (army groups) of the Warsaw Pact forces. Military District III, with HQ in Leipzig, covers the seven southern bezirks of the GDR. It constitutes the Third (NVA) Army which includes the following:

The 7th Armored Division in Dresden,

The 4th Motorized Rifle Division in Erfurt, and

The 11th Motorized Rifle Division in Halle.

Military District V, with HQ in Neubrandenburg, is responsible for the seven northern bezirks of the GDR. It forms the Fifth (NVA) Army which has under it:

The 9th Armored Division in Eggesin,

The 1st Motorized Rifle Division in Potsdam and

The 8th Motorized Rifle Division in Schwerin.

In addition to these combat divisions, the two armies have the following very important combat support units, each:

One rocket artillery brigade,

One artillery regiment,

One AA rocket regiment,

One pontoon bridge Engineer regiment, as well as

One landing and crossing Engineer battalion plus one (general) Engineer batallion.

The Ground Forces Command has directly under it certain construction Engineer battalions and special units as well as probably also the "Willi Saenger" unit which is trained for operations in enemy rear areas and the parachute battalion of the NVA which is stationed in Prora on [the island of] Ruegen.

Several territorial units of the ground forces are directly under the MfNV. These are primarily telecommunications units as well as construction Engineer and railroad Engineer regiments which, according to the Soviet model, are included among the "units of the military transport system." The NVA Guard Regiment--the ministry's parade and show unit--is included among these formations. Each week, it performs the "changing of the guard" at the New Guard Building erected in 1818 by Schinkel in East Berlin, which has been converted into a "memorial for the victims of fascism and militarism."

Same Organizational Setup as Red Army

The organization of the NVA ground forces units as well as their command and combat principles almost without exception correspond to the model of the Soviet Army from which they want to "learn how to win." The just about slavish imitation of the big "brother-in-arms" even includes the terminology which represents more of a stereotyped verbal rather than conceptual transposition of Russian concepts into the German language and which therefore is frequently unintelligible.

Following the Soviet model, the ground forces distinguish the following combat arms:

Motorized rifle units (armored infantry),

Armored forces,

Airborne forces,

Rocket units and artillery as well as

Unit AA defense (AA defense unit).

In addition to that we have the "Special Units and Services" which among others include the signal units (telecommunications unit), the Chemical Warfare units (NBC defense units), and the rear-area services (logistics units).

The combat divisions are made up of major and minor units from all combat arms, special units, and services. The armored divisions, which number about 9,500 men, are organized in three tank regiments and one motorized rifle regiment; the motorized rifle divisions, with about 12,000 men, are organized in three motorized rifle regiments and one tank regiment. In addition to this, each division type has the required command, combat support, and logistics units, such as a recon battalion, a signal battalion, an artillery regiment, a rocket launcher battalion, a rocket artillery battalion, an AA regiment, an Engineer battalion, and NBC defense battalion.

The motorized rifle division moreover has a TD battalion.

Equipment

The equipment of the NVA ground forces consists almost completely of weapons and equipment of Soviet origin and a small portion made in the CSSR [Czechoslovakia]. Domestic products turned out by the GDR industry as such include only a series of wheeled vehicles, as well as a few special equipment items, such as, for example, NBC defense equipment and certain types of ammunition. Apart from a variation of the "Kalashnikov" assault rifle, the GDR did not go into any licensed production of Soviet weapons. Regarding the modern condition of equipment, the NVA ground forces clearly rank below the units which the Soviet Army uses in the approaches to the Soviet Union. But in that respect they do not differ from those of the Polish and Czechoslovak people's armies although the latter, because of its domestic armament industry, seems to have a slight head start. Generally speaking, the accent in the NVA ground forces and those of the other non-Soviet WP armies since the end of the seventies has been on conversion to the most modern Soviet weapons systems. It is interesting to note here that some of them were delivered only after the Soviet Union had filled the orders placed by its Arab customers who have the money to pay for this sort of equipment.

Armored Forces

The NVA's armored forces are still predominantly equipped with the slightly obsolete T-54/55 tank. Not until the course of 1979 was the first unit converted to the most modern Soviet model, the T-72, which, with its better armor and driving performance and its 125-mm gun, has a considerably higher

combat value. It is currently impossible to predict over what interval of time the conversion of the armored units will take place. About 1,500 tanks have to be replaced in the various units. In addition to that, there is a depot inventory amounting to an estimated 900 battle tanks for the organization of reserve units and they reportedly still also include T-34 tanks from the NVA's initial issue.

Motorized Rifle Units

The NVA's motorized rifle units are equipped with BMP [ABC] and BTR-60 PB [armored troop carriers]. The tracked BMP is included in the equipment of all of the motorized rifle regiments in the armored divisions while in the motorized rifle division only one motorized rifle regiment is equipped with that type of vehicle. The other motorized rifle regiments of those divisions are to continue to be equipped with the wheeled BTR-60 PB [wheeled armored troop carrier], which according to NVA concepts is considered a full-fledged fighting vehicle for the motorized rifle units and which is to be developed further. To balance out their rather poor AT capability, the units equipped with the BTR-60 PB a short time ago were issued the latest Soviet AT guided rocket system which resembles the German-French MILAN that is the AT-4/SPIGOT.

Rocket Units and Artillery

The assortment of weapons of the rocket units and artillery extends from the 122-mm field howitzer, model D-30, all the way to the atomic weapons of the rocket artillery battalions and bridgades, the surface-to-surface guided missile systems FROG-7 (range about 65 km) and SCUD B (range about 300 km). They also include the CSSR version of the Soviet multiple rocket launcher BM-21, the RM-70 on TATRA chassis, which is more effective than its Soviet model because of its armor and reloading mechanism. As part of the modernization of its weapons, the NVA last year also received its first 152-mm armored howitzers and the pertinent armored artillery command vehicles.

AA Defense

Unit AA defense has the capability of effectively protecting the combat units against air attacks with its SA-7/GRAIL shoulder-fired AA rocket on the company level all the way to the AA rocket weapons systems called SA-4/GANEF on the field army level. Any still existing weak spots are being eliminated by means of the issue of the SA-9/GASKIN and SA-6/GAINFUL AA rocket weapons systems to be started at the very latest in 1979. The SA-9/GASKIN supplements the ZSU-23-4 armored AA mount in the AA batteries of the regiments while the SA-6/GAINFUL replaces the 57-mm AA guns, model S-60, which are still being used so far in the AA regiment of each division.

Training

To train its future leaders and commanders, the NVA ground forces have available the "Ernst Thaelmann" Officer College in Loebau/Zittau and five NCO schools, including one for techincal duties. The enlisted men are getting their training with the various units.

Evaluating the situation exclusively from the military viewpoint, the ground forces of the NVA--with their tough training, their rigid command, and their sufficiently modern weapons--supply the Warsaw Pact with two powerful field armies which are fully capable of offensive combat.

NVA Air Force and Air Defense

The NVA LSK/LV [Air Force and Air Defense] have primarily an air defense mission and for this purpose have been fully integrated into the air defense system of the Warsaw Pact. Since about 1972, they have been also assigned air support missions for the ground forces. The national command authority of this armed forces component, with about 31,000 men, is the HQ, NVA-LSK/LV in Strausberg-Eggersdorf.

Two Air Defense Divisions

The combat units under this HQ are combined in two air defense divisions. The 1st LV [Air Defense] division, with HQ in Cottbus, includes the following:

Four fighter wings,

One fighter-bomber wing and

Two AA rocket regiments.

They are deployed in the southern region of the GDR; the aircraft wings are stationed near the eastern border and the AA rocket regiments are stationed forward, toward the west.

The 3rd LV Division, with HQ at Neubrandenburg, comprises the following:

Two fighter wings and

Three AA regiments,

which are deployed according to the same pattern in the northern region of the GDR.

Something New: Attack Helicopter Wings

The latest combat unit of the NVA Air Force is a combat [attack] helicopter wing which is directly under the HQ and which was recently given the name

"Adolf von Luetzow"; it is stationed in Basepohl, Northern Mecklenburg. In addition to these combat units, HQ, LSK/LV, also has a series of flying and ground support units. They include the following:

One transport helicopter wing,

Three transport aircraft squadrons,

Two radar regiments (NVA: communications engineering regiment) and

One telecommunications [signal] regiment (NVA: signal regiment).

Each aircraft or helicopter wing is equipped with 40-50 craft. The AA rocket regiments are organized in four battalions each with three firing batteries. Each battery consists of six AA rocket firing ramps.

Equipment

The equipment of the combat aircraft wings of the GDR Air Force was changed several times since it was first set up.

The first wing of the "People's Police of the Air" were still equipped with the Yak-11, a two-seater piston job. Right after the camouflage was dropped, the pilots were then retrained in 1956 to handle the first jet fighter type, the MiG-15/FAGOT, which by the end of 1958 was already replaced by the MiG-17/FRESCO. The first supersonic fighters were not long in coming; in 1959 already, the first flights of the fighter wing were issued the Mig-19/FARMER aircraft, partly in the version equipped with four air-to-air missiles and the MiG-19 PM which was equipped with radar-search and target equipment.

In the meantime, this type has likewise been taken out of the inventory. Starting in 1962, it was replaced by the supersonic fighter called MiG-21/FISHBED, in various versions (C/E, D/F, JX, and more modern versions). This aircraft, which is used in equipping most of the fighter units at this time, depending upon the type of armament, has a takeoff weight of 3-10.4 t and a combat radius of about 65 km. Its maximum speed is 2,200 km/hr (Mach 2). Depending depending upon the particular version, it is equipped with a 23-mm twin machine cannon as well as two air-to-air guided missiles or two firing pods, each holding 16 unguided 57-mm air-to-surface rockets. In place of the missiles or rockets, this aircraft can also carry two 500-kg bombs.

The constant modernization of NVA-LSK/LV thus however has not come to an end. In 1979, they received the first swing-wing aircraft of the MiG-23/FLOGGER type. So far, at least one combat squadron has been equipped with this most modern type. The all-weather fighter-fighter-bomber aircraft has a maximum takeoff weight of almost 20 t and a combat radius of about 1,100 km. Its maximum speed is 2,450 km (Mach 2+). By virtue of its variable-

geometry wings however it also has favorable cruising, takeoff, and landing qualities. In addition to a 23-mm twin machine-cannon, the armament, by way of options, can include four air-to-air guided missiles or firing pods for 32, each, unguided 57-mm air-to-surface rockets or several bombs.

Attack Helicopter Wing

The attack helicopter wing is still equipped mostly with the Mi-8/HIP. In addition to the 12.7 mm bow of this MG, the older version (HIP C) is equipped with firing pods, each holding 16 [rockets], while the more modern version (HIP E) is equipped with six firing pods each holding 32 unguided 57-mm air-to-surface rockets. Besides, the HIP E also carries four firing rails for the type AT-2/SWATTER guided AT rockets.

Since 1979, at least nine attack helicopters of the Mi-24/HIND D type have been included in the wing. This most modern attack helicopter, equipped with IR ground vision system, is made in the Soviet Union and is equipped with a four-barrel rotating machine-cannon. It furthermore carries four firing pods, each with 32 unguided 57-mm rockets and four firing rails for the AT-2/SWATTER.

Overall, the NVA Air Force has about 335 combat aircraft and about 50 attack helicopters. In addition there are about 60 trainers and transport aircraft as well as around 50 transport or multi-purpose helicopters.

AA Rocket Regiments

The AA rocket regiments of NVA-LSK/LV are using the frequently modernized AA rocket weapon system SA-2/GUIDELINE for engaging airborne targets at high altitudes; for protection against airborne targets flying at low and medium altitudes, they use the SA-3/GOA AA rocket weapon system.

Training

Pilots and mechanics are trained at Kamenz, in Saxony, at the "Franz Mehring" Officer College and at the "Harry Kuhn" NCO school. They have attached to them a training wing which is stationed in Bautzen.

The NVA-LSK/LV to be sure are small but have noteworthy modern equipment. For a long time they were almost completely confined to air defense, something which predominates today. Only in recent years were units established for air attack although their scope is still small.

NVA People's Navy

With a personnel strength of about 16,000 men, the People's Navy is the smallest component of the NVA. Because of its equipment, it is a pure coastal navy with an originally defensive character. Because of the

continuing reinforcement of its seaborne landing potential and the improvement of the PT-boat component, referred to as "shock forces," it has however increasingly assumed offensive significance in the western sector of the Baltic Sea. Together with the Polish Navy, it would seem to have the mission of keeping the sea lanes open in the Baltic Sea for the Baltic Red Banner Fleet of the Soviet Navy, whose amphibious forces it would probably have to support in opening the Baltic Sea exit and screening the maritime flank of the WP ground forces.

The NVA People's HQ, stationed in Rostock-Gehlsdorf, in addition to command, logistics, and training units as well as one navy helicopter squadron, has three flotillas under it as operational units:

The 1st Flotilla in Peenemuende, consisting of minesweeper divisions, landing craft divisions, and one ASW division;

The 4th Flotilla in Warnemuende, consisting of minesweeper divisions, one ASW division, and the coast guard division equipped with guided missile frigates;

The 6th Flotilla in Dranske-Bug on Ruegen, which includeds the guided missile and PT-boat brigade.

In addition, the three flotillas have the necessary auxilliary vessels and logistics facilities under them. HQ, NVA People's Navy furthermore, in operational terms, is in charge of the seaborne component of the Border Forces of the GDR, the Coastal Border Brigade.

160 Combat Units

The ship inventory of the People's Navy, which has been going through a second modernization process since the middle of the seventies, currently consists of about 160 combat units and about 80 auxilliary vessels. Most of them were built by GDR shipyards, especially the Peenewerft [shipyard] in Wolgast. In recent times there has been stepped-up armament cooperation with the Polish People's Republic and the USSR. For example, the training vessel WILHELM PIECK, of the People's Navy, which was commissioned in 1976, was built by the Northern Shipyards in Danzig and is a sister ship of the Polish training vessels GRYF and WODNIK.

The two largest and most powerful units of the People's Navy are the coast guard vessels ROSTOCK and BERLIN which were delivered by the USSR in 1978-1979. They are guided-missile frigates of the brand-new Soviet KONI class. They replace the four frigates of the Soviet RIGA class which in the meantime have been taken out of the inventory and which were delivered to the People's Navy during its organizational period. The new, about 95-m long coast guard vessels have a displacement of about 2,300 ts [English tons] and a speed of about 32 kg. They are equipped with two 76-mm and two 30-mm twin guns, one twin launcher for ship-to-air guided missiles of the SA-N-4 type, as well as two ASW rocket launcher groups. Their stern ramp is designed for dropping depth charges and mines.

Shock Forces

The nucleus of the GDR Navy's "shock forces" consists of 15 guided missile boats of the Soviet OSA-1 class which are equipped with four ship-to-ship guided missiles of type SS-N-2/STYX, as well as two 30-mm twin guns. The boats have a displacement of 165 ts and speed of 38 kg. The range of the STYX guided missiles is around 30 km. The guided missile boats are supplemented by 18 PT-boats of the Soviet SHER-SHEN class, with four torpedo tubes and, so far, about 30 so-called small PT-boats (KTS) of the GDR-made Libelle class which, starting in 1972, were commissioned as replacements for the obsolete boats of the ILTIS class. These small PT-boats are equipped with two stern torpedo tubes for firing their torpedos aft. They reportedly have speed of 50 kn but are extremely vulnerable to heavy seas because of their size. Built by GDR shipyards, we also have 12 subchasers of the HAI class which have been in service since the sixties. For ASW, they are equipped with four six-tube ASW rocket launcher groups and at the stern they have two depth charge dropping platforms.

About 50 minesweepers of the KONDOR class constitute the ship inventory of the minesweeper division and the Coastal Border Brigade. The older boats of the KONDOR-1 class are assigned to the Border Brigade while the more modern boats of the KONDOR-II class are assigned to the People's Navy.

The People's Navy's landing ship divisions have the biggest warships so far built in the GDR with the at least 10 medium landing ships of the FROSCH class which they have been getting since 1976. These 91-m long and 11-m wide ships have a displacement of about 2,00o ts. They can carry about 12 battle tanks or 15 APCs or about 1,000 t of cargo. Their armament consists of two 57-mm and two 30-mm twin guns, as well as two multiple rocket launcher groups with 20 tubes each for 122-mm artillery rockets. They are furthermore designed for dropping depth charges and laying mines. The smaller landing craft of the ROBBE and LABO classes have obviously been replaced by the larger and more modern type.

The People's Navy does not have any Marine Infantry units. On the other hand, the "Ernst Moritz Arndt" Motorized Rifle Regiment, 8th Motorized Rifle Division, stationed in Prora, Ruegen, is being trained for seaborne landing missions.

The navy helicopter squadron is equipped with about 20 craft of the Mi-8/HIP type in various versions. They can be used for sea-rescue, transport, and ASW missions.

Training

The People's Navy's officers are being trained at the "Karl Liebknecht" Officer College in Stralsund; the seamen and POs are being trained at the

Fleet Training School in Parow. Overall, the NVA People's Navy is a rather respectable support fleet for the Soviet naval forces in the Baltic Sea. Its equipment with modern guided-missile frigates shows that the Soviets assign considerable significance to it.

Border Forces of the GDR

The Border Forces of the GDR, with about 47,000 men, sprang from the DGP (German Border Police), which initially was under the Interior Ministry and then temporarily also under the Ministry of State Security. In autumn of 1961, the already militarily organized DGP was integrated into the NVA, took over its duty functions and uniforms, and from then on was considered as the fourth component of the NVA under the official designation NVA Border Forces. Starting in January 1974, the direct subordination to the NVA was formally lifted as a result of the fact that it was renamed "Border Forces of the GDR"; but they were kept under the MfNV. It is assumed that this name change was made with a view to the Vienna MBFR negotiations in order to reduce the apparent strength of the NVA.

The Border Forces HQ in Paetz near Berlin is the highest headquarters of this component. It has the following units under its control:

The Northern Border Command in Stendal and the Southern Border Command in Erfurt which are used to seal off the IdG (Inner-German border);

The Central Border Command, with HQ in Berlin-Karlshorst, intended to seal off West Berlin;

The border sector headquarters in Pirna, Saxony, and Frankfurt/Oder, used for watching the borders with the Polish People's Republic and Czechoslovakia, as well as

The Coastal Border Command in Rostock, which is supposed to screen the maritime frontier of the GDR.

The Southern, Northern, and Central border commands each have six border regiments for border security duty. One additional regiment of the Central Command handles border control functions at the border crossing points in Berlin. The sector commands along the GDR's eastern and southern boundaries have only understrength border surveillance units. The seaborne units of the Coastal Command are being directed in operational terms by HQ, NVA-People's Navy.

The border forces are recruited from specially loyal volunteers and draftees without any contacts with the west who are considered politically reliable.

Training

All border guard members are trained not only in preparation for border guard duty but also get basic infantry training patterned along the operational principles of the motorized rifle units. Officer candidates are trained at the "Rosa Luxemburg" Officer College of the Border Forces in Plauen, Vogtland, and at the "Egon Schultz" NCO School of the Border Force in Perleberg, Schwerin Bezirk. Enlisted personnel are trained in the three border commands, that is, North, South and Center, in two training regiments. Training facilities of the other armed forces components are also used for special career fields and for advanced officer training.

Equipment

The equipment of the border regiments assigned to duty along the boundary between the two parts of Germany consists almost exclusively of light infantry weapons and unarmored wheeled vehicles. The border regiments in and around Berlin moreover have guns, multiple rocket launchers, mortars, flamethrowers, and wheeled APCs of older design. Their infantry training emphasizes house-to-house fighting.

To perform their official mission, which is "to screen the western international boundary, to preserve its inviolability, and to prevent border penetrations," the border units fall back on rather expensive barrier facilities. The buildup of this so-called "antifascist bulwark" complete with mines, automatic firing systems, chain link fences, watchdog sectors, and observation towers however makes it clear that the tremendous expenditure in terms of materiel and manpower exclusively serves to prevent people from escaping from the east to the west. Accordingly, the military value of these barrier facilities is Zero. The military value of the border forces themselves--judging by the personnel strength-- is relatively poor because of the rather light equipment. They can be used for guard-duty and protection missions in rear areas and as screening forces in combat areas. Besides, they represent a personnel reserve with infantry training. Essentially however the GDR must provide the second-strongest grouping of its "armed agencies"--the potential for about four motorized rifle divisions--in order to make sure that large segments of the population and the army will not simply take off!

Summary

In a few months, the NVA will--officially--celebrate its 25th anniversary. During those years it has consolidated itself without visible difficulties and how has a high level of combat value.

In contrast to what happened to the West German Armed Forces, the NVA did not have to face any problems of modern manpower management and leadership; its draftees have already been properly disciplined in schools, factories, and youth organizations where they have also been given ideological indoctrination and premilitary training. The drill and the customs of the service were taken over from the World War II Armed Forces although the

first of these is today being justified with the help of quotations from Engels while the other point is being popularized with the rather awkward-sounding form of address which is "comrade." Obedience has remained unconditional and there is no question as to refusing military service. The constitution does not make any provision for this and anybody who refuses to serve nevertheless simply is assigned to construction units or goes to prison. A pseudo-scientifically-justified ideology does not permit any doubts on the system and supplies a rather twisted image of the enemy. Like the uniform and the drill, the phrases have also remained the same old ones, although with a different prefix perhaps. The army is no longer the "armed agency of the people united under National Socialism" but rather must "be loyal and devoted to the Marxist-Leninist party and its socialist state." (Career regulations of the NVA.)

Thus trained and drilled, the NVA seems to be completely in line with the way its creators had visualized it. But what it is on paper and what it is in reality constitutes a gap that is no less wide than in other areas of "real socialism." That brings us to the very basic question as to the reliability of the NVA when the balloon goes up. There is no doubt that most of its officer corps will follow Moscow in every way. The combat readiness of the simple soldier would seem to depend on how credibly the regime can picture, under the conditions prevailing at that time, the threat and the value of the threated gains. So long as both of these are so incredible that the rulers cannot dare open the borders to their younger generation and so long as they must deny contact with the "class enemy" to that younger generation, so long do both of them seem to deny the loyalty of the younger generation to the regime. It would thus seem that doubts as to the reliability of a large segment of the NVA are permitted.

FIGURE APPENDIX

Deployment of NVA headquarters and major units. Key: 1--People's Navy HQ; 2--FRG; 3--Polish People's Republic; 4--Ground Forces HQ; 5--Air Force and Air Defense HQ; MB--military district.

Deployment of GDR Border Forces headquarters. Key: 1--Coastal Border Command; 2--FRG; 3--Polish People's Republic; 4--Northern Border Command; 5--Central Border Command; 6--Border Sector Command; 7--Border Forces HQ; 8--Southern Border Command; 9--Border Sector Command.

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'DER SPIEGEL' PROFILE OF WALESA, SOLIDARITY MOVEMENT PUBLISHED

Background on Walesa

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German Vol 34 No 45, 3 Nov 80 pp 142, 143, 145, 149, 151, 153, 154

[DER SPIEGEL cover story: "'What Happens in Poland Is Our Affair'"]

> [Text] Only a few months ago he was a nobody as far as the world outside Danzig was concerned. Then he advanced to labor leader of all of Poland. Father of six children and a practicing Catholic, Lech Walesa compelled the communist party to make unheard-of concessions. The GDR walled itself off, Prague issued threats, and the Kremlin summoned communist party chief Kania to Moscow for a report.

Had he never been afraid of losing the unequal fight against the all-powerful party, strike leader Lech Walesa of the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk was asked the day after the Gdansk victory by a U.S. television reporter.

Speaking into the microphone, he replied, "No, not of losing," and after a brief pause, "but I was afraid in case we should win."

No later than last week, events in Poland had proved that such skepticism was not playful modesty, let alone clever tactics, but demonstrated a sense of reality.

For it appears that Lech Walesa is unhinging the power of the Polish state and party. For almost 3 months he has made Poland, the Eastern bloc and part of the rest of the world hold their breath. Supported only by a mandate of the trust of his fellow citizens, which meanwhile has taken on mystical proportions, he advanced from Gdansk strike leader to spokesman of the biggest Polish mass organization, the "independent, self-administered Solidarity Trade Union" with a membership of more than 7 million, or about 60 percent of all workers.

In an assault unprecedented not only in the history of socialism, this proletarian revolutionary, virtually unknown until last summer, without violence and relying only on the discipline and solidarity of his fellow workers, razed some of the bastions of the once omnipotent state and party apparatus that had been regarded as impregnable.

What has been dealt with in revolutionary songs in whose words no communist functionary believes any longer, what has been presented to a bored public to the point of surfeit in the way of pompous kitschy heroes of so-called socialist theater and film has been turned into fascinating reality for millions of people in almost daily television reports, and into a source of anxiety for Soviet communism, by this man only 5 feet 3 inches tall, with a walrus mustache; "all the wheels are standing still if that is our strong arm's will."

Without as much as mentioning names or making demands, he has sent a powerful state trade union chief packing in the past few weeks and compelled his successor to swear the bankruptcy oath of a leader without a following.

It was Walesa and his striking dockworkers in Gdansk who overthrew a Polish premier, Babiuch, and a little later even a party head, Gierek--and along with the bigshots of the system a slew of leading functionaries who would be the wrong people in the kind of Poland the Walesas have in mind.

Such sad things had not even been experienced by the hallowed communist party of a state of the Eastern bloc in previous revolts--in East Berlin in 1953, in Budapest in 1956 or in Prague in 1968. A leadership at a loss abandoned one position after another, sacrificed the party leader, allowed its monopoly of power to be attacked by the concept of free trade unions, thus virtually putting its own political existence up for grabs, and incurred the accusation from the pope in Moscow of jeopardizing the faith and rule of "real socialism"--and none of this, not any of it, was of any avail.

Bad previous experience and now the quick breakthrough lent the workers movement a dynamic of its own which, it appeared last week, could hardly be stopped any longer, facing new party head Kania with an almost insoluble dilemma.

If he wanted to prevent the outbreak of already announced new strikes, he had to seek to gain credibility below, proving that he really meant to fulfill his promises of greater freedom.

At the same time, however, he had to demonstrate to Moscow that his yielding in fact was not changing the system--in other words, that he did not mean to fulfill his promises to the people below.

Last week the conflict was drifting toward a decision under ominous signs: in Warsaw the Aeroflot office was burning, the supply situation becoming more dramatic. Throughout the country not only meat but potatoes and sugar had vanished from the market.

Under the pressure of 11 new demands from Gdansk, complete with the threat of a strike on 12 November, Kania and Premier Pinkowski rendered their report in Moscow. The comparison with the meeting in Cierna at the end of July 1968, where Dubcek & Co were given an ultimatum by the Kremlin bosses to straighten out the situation, was obvious.

In that instance, the forces of the Warsaw Pact started on their march 3 weeks later. Now a laconically eloquent TASS statement noted that imperialist forces

were at work in Poland and that Leonid Brezhnev was confident "that the communists and workers of fraternal Poland will be able to solve...the acute problems confronting it."

Prague made it crystal clear that the events in Poland were calling to mind "the activities of the antisocialist forces in the CSSR during the crisis years of 1968/1969."

In Poland meanwhile strike leader Walesa and his fellow workers from Szcsecin and Katowice dictated to the harassed party leadership conditions for a new start which were bound to look like the outbreak of sheer heresy in Moscow's eyes.

Labor leader Walesa declared it was indispensable for the 21 Gdansk demands accepted by the government, and since called "social treaty" by the party press, to be fulfilled.

"Who is that fellow?" party chief Gierek had asked incredulously in mid-August at the crisis headquarters of his Politburo, meeting in continuous session, when reports came coming in about the astute negotiation tactics of that nobody from Gdansk. The files the secret police were able to produce for him merely showed that someone was winning who had come from far below and had nothing to lose.

Today, after not even 3 months, he is known by everyone in Poland, but the most important question has remained unanswered as far as both supporters and adversaries are concerned.

Is he Poland's new national hero, leading the country out of crisis and misery with a boldly calculated plan, or is he a pigheaded fanatic who with his unyielding adherence to principles is triggering military intervention by the infuriated Soviets?

Is this Lech Walesa (pronounced Vowensa) one of those martyrs for justice, strong in faith, of whom there have been many in Polish history, or only a pious fool, who knows nothing about the limits of the politically feasible? Is he acting of his own volition, or is he driven by the base, or even guided by intellectual opponents of the system?

Personifying as he does the development of People's Poland from a backward agrarian state to the 11th-strongest industrial country of the world, the curriculum vitae of the only 37-year-old labor leader might have been taken out of a textbook for Polish sociologists.

Like most Poles of his generation, Lech Walesa comes from a rural area. He was born in the village of Popowo not far from Bydgoszcz 2 years before the end of the war, his father a carpenter and his mother a small farmer. After elementary school, he sought a place as an electrician's apprentice.

The Walesas, a large family, are pious people, like most of the other villagers. Not bothering much with politics, not to speak of the party, they are left largely in peace in their rural isolation, also by the functionaries.

As an electrician Lech Walesa gets a job at the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk in 1967 and already a year later, at the age of 24, is nominated for a seat on the works council. One of his fellow workers of that time says: "He was good at speaking and was not afraid of big shots."

In December 1970, during the workers' uprising in the coastal cities, electrician and trade unionist Walesa is a member of the works council at the Lenin Shipyard. But the uprising is smashed violently by police and militia; according to official data, 45 workers died in the process, including some fellow workers of Walesa's from the Gdansk shipyard.

After the fall of party chief Gomulka, a delegation of dockworkers on 25 January 1971 negotiates with new party chief Gierek, who has arrived specially for that purpose; Walesa is a member of it. Gierek promises workers' self-administration, giving assurances that under his leadership workers will never again be fired on.

In spring 1976 Walesa is dismissed from the Lenin Shipyard because of his advocacy of the formation of free trade unions--as a "preventative measure"--despite the fact that as a member of the works council he enjoys special protection against being let go.

After that, for 4 years, Lech Walesa did not have a steady job and (having married the former wreath and bouquet maker Miroslawa in 1969) had to support his family with occasional work and with the help of friends. He says: "Wherever I went to look for a job, a position that was vacant only a moment before had been filled as soon as the personnel manager saw my workbook."

His parents had taken a trip to the United States to visit relatives in 1973. His mother having died in a car accident in New Jersey, his father, who knows hardly a word of English to this day, decided to remain with the Walesa clan in the States. He has not seen his now world-famous son since and hopes that "since he now has truck with government ministers" he will soon get a passport for travel to the United States.

Until he was fired his son Lech was living like the average Pole. The rapidly growing family (the Walesas are orthodox Catholics) had to be content with a 26-square-meter two-room apartment, he regularly went to mass, spent a lot of time with his children and occasionally went to see a soccer game.

What distinguished the unemployed electrician from his neighbors, however, was his dogged struggle for trade union rights. This brought him into contact with the "Workers Defense Committee" (KOR) founded by Warsaw intellectuals in 1976, which under constant repression by the secret police quickly developed into a germ cell of growing antiparty opposition.

Walesa was among those present when the "Free Trade Union of the Coastal Area" was founded in Gdansk on the eve of 1 May 1978. An appeal to the workers was signed, as a representative of the charter committee, by Gdansk shipyard engineer Andrzej Gwiadza--today Walesa's closest collaborator in the Solidarity union.

From 1978 on Lech Walesa worked on the KOR-inspired underground journal ROBOTNIK WYBRZEZA (The Coastal Worker), which advocated the founding of a free trade union as a legitimate representative of the workers.

Since the journal openly acknowledged the names and addresses of contributors, the secret police did not take long to locate the proletarian dissident. "In those years I was arrested or received summonses up to 100 times," Walesa recalls today.

The Gdansk police were particularly keen on keeping the veteran of the 1970 events under lock and key on the annual anniversaries commemorating the victims of the Gdansk workers' massacre.

However, when in December 1978 police looked for him even with police dogs, fellow workers had hidden him. Walesa managed to deliver his commemorative address on the shipyard premises unhindered. The 3,000 workers who had come to attend the occasion formed an impenetrable ring with their bodies, thus protecting him from arrest.

The following year dockers smuggled him in a container through the shipyard gates. In his commemorative address in behalf of his killed fellow workers Walesa called for "solidarity of all Poles in the struggle for their rights"--with a lasting echo.

For when, following a wave of wage strikes throughout the countries, the workers of the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk went on strike on 14 August this year, one of their most important demands was the immediate reemployment of works council member Lech Walesa illegally dismissed 4 years ago.

At the time he happened to have a job in another Gdansk firm. He was brought to the shipyard by taxi, and in the meantime shipyard director Wojcik, who was trying to calm down the workers, had to wait on top of an excavator.

Two days later, something happened which Lech Walesa now does not like to talk about any more and which might have given a different direction not only to his career but to Polish developments: Walesa wanted to end the strike at the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk.

He told the strike committee that the demands--reemployment of fellow workers dismissed for political reasons and a promise to raise wages--really had been met, and it was therefore time to go home.

A majority on the committee voted against him, however, wanting to continue the strike until precisely defined points were met. Bowing to the majority, Walesa was ready at once to support its arguments with determination--sometimes even too fierily.

When shipyard director Wojcik had the communications center of the shipyard closed in order to prevent agitation, Walesa together with some weighty supporters stormed into the management offices, threatening to beat up Wojcik.

Only his friend Gwiadza, also a member of the strike committee, was able to prevent the worst and in the end, through a peaceful settlement, also managed to have the center reopened.

But then there were also different scenes. It is Walesa who listens patiently to delegations of other firms who want to join the strike.

In fact he listens to just about anyone, with the patience of a father confessor, consoles where necessary and tries to pledge fellow strikers, constantly increasing in number, to consideration and solidarity--a favorite term of his which in the end becomes the trademark of his movement.

When the newspaper writes about "antisocialist people behind the scenes" at the Gdansk shipyard, several times mentioning the KOR, unfamiliar to virtually all the shipyard workers, Walesa delivers a lecture explaining the history and aims of the KOR and stating that its members are friends of the workers and that no one should fall for the press provocations.

One day in the big hall where the delegates of the strike committee, which now no longer deals with the affairs of only one plant, are consulting, a man tries to make a speech defending party chief Gierek. The workers are not sure what to do until Anna Walentynowicz, herself a veteran of the struggles of 1970 and once dismissed for political reasons, unmasks the man as a provocateur, saying, "I know him well, for he is the official who persecuted me for many years."

The aroused crowd wants to lynch the man now identified, but Walesa intervenes, threatening to resign his post if something happens to the man. Grumbling, the workers obey.

They also obey him when he pronounces a strict ban on alcohol and recommends that the government delegates from Warsaw be treated courteously. Even the roughest among them are willing to attend Sunday mass on the shipyard premises with their spokesman Walesa.

Walesa calmly puts up with the dockworkers occasionally making fun of his religiousness, displayed without inhibition. A joke makes the rounds: "If you ask Lescek what time it is, he first asks: What does the pope say?"

But when Cardinal Wyszynski reads mass during the high point of the strike in Czechostowa--broadcast on television for the first time--and in the course of it renders but lame support to the workers' struggle, the disappointed Walesa has a sheet of paper placed under the picture of the Madonna bearing the inscription "The Madonna is on strike."

For as many as 17 days and nights Walesa maintains unity and discipline among his host of workers, now grown to 200,000 persons, in the face of threats and lures.

Then the strikers' demands, whose fulfillment no one had anticipated, are accepted by the shaken party leadership, and Walesa has won.

The historic test of strength had not been planned by either Walesa or anyone else on the strike committee. Sure, Walesa and his fellow workers were not alone in that power marathon. Millions of workers throughout Poland openly showed their sympathy and endorsement, and there were also some active helpers.

The friends from KOR, such as dissident leaders Kuron and Michnik, who became the target of the Polish press and later also the Soviet press as alleged "antisocialist people behind the scenes," certainly did not have the biggest

opportunities for this, for they were not released from prison until the day the strike ended, at Walesa's express insistence. (He had included the demand for their release in the 21-point program.)

The legal and political advisers who helped the strikers draft their statements and check the draft of the agreement are still members of the staff of advisers of the Solidarity union.

Particularly Warsaw lawyer Sila Nowicki was useful to Solidarity. Now an elderly gentleman, he had already courageously defended those charged after the 1968 student revolts.

Tadeusz Mazowiecki too, editor-in-chief of the Catholic journal WIEZ (The Bond) issued by the "Znak" group of parliamentarians, participated from the start.

Walesa has never denied that he received considerable financial donations for his union, also from supporters from the West. He says: "There is no aid which might embarrass us politically."

With similar unselfconsciousness he also reports that the party tried to bribe him with lucrative offers "such as houses, cars, money--anything." And his mentor Cardinal Wyszynski, he reveals, "suggested that it might be a good idea" for him to "assume the leadership of the official trade unions."

Already during the charter period his mania for presenting his new union as a non-political "purely social organization" looked quite naive, and Walesa has long since realized that he cannot make it adhere to that kind of role. The conflict with the currently weaker rival, the Polish communist party, was inescapable from the outset.

As late as end of August, however, when asked about the historical consequences of the establishment of his union, Walesa thundered:

"What do I care about history? What I am interested in is our 21 demands, the first and most important of which, our trade union, we are not accomplishing. I am not fighting for history, I am fighting for the people."

As yet the small man, who does not seem to fit the image of a labor hero, continues to be his old self. Wearing the same crumpled readymade brown suit he wore when stepping before the microphone with Deputy Premier Jagielski at the Gdansk shipyard, he now sits in his office on the fifth floor of the Gdansk suburban Hotel Morski, headquarters of Solidarity.

Only one thing has changed, and the fact that Walesa accepted this present obviously intended as political testifies to his clear conscience: the eight members of the Walesa family (the youngest daughter was born during the dramatic strike weeks) have moved into an apartment of 114 square meters--almost a luxury apartment by Polish standards.

As of mid-September the labor leader, who has given up the job at the Lenin Shipyard he had only just regained in order, as he puts it, "to fulfill a mission," was still uncertain just what the new trade union is to look like: "There are no

schools here for such things; all we have had here is the old trade unions, and the training there was not the real thing."

One thing he thinks he knows: his new union is to remain limited to Gdansk, or at most to the coastal region: "I have so much work to do here that I cannot see to the rest of Poland."

Already 2 weeks later, however, he is outvoted at a gathering of 300 delegates from charter committees from the entire country. Contrary to his wishes, the new union gets a nationwide Polish umbrella organization, with headquarters in Gdansk.

More than 3 million applications have already been received for membership in the new trade union, and by the time that the provisional leadership, meanwhile also including representatives of the far more militant Silesian miners--late in September--submits its statutes to a court in Warsaw for approval, Solidarity already represents more than 5 million persons. Walesa realizes that he is no longer equal to the task of leading such a mass organization, that he is overtaxed by the organizational problems connected with it, that he is running the risk of losing the contact with the base which is so important to him.

Others too on the executive, such as his Gdansk friend Gwiadza, know about the limits of Walesa's abilities, but tactical considerations in a struggle not yet won prohibit exchanging the successful figurehead.

Shaken to its foundations, the party for the time being has too much to do internally to be able to follow the difficulties in Solidarity. Party chief Kania to the point of self-denial is trying to fulfill the "social treaty" with the strikers approved by him.

As yet the party leadership probably also thinks that the pull of the new union might decrease, that it might be possible somehow to integrate or corrupt the movement. Even a warning strike by the leading union in Gdansk intended to speed up fulfillment of its demands is accepted calmly by the leaders in Warsaw.

At the Sixth Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the Polish communist party, party chief Kania after detailed self-criticism of previous economic and information policy, also takes a stand on the new trade unions. It almost sounds like praise:

"We note with satisfaction all the information concerning constructive initiatives or a positive attitude by the new trade unions. We are relying on the organizers seeing to it that the image of the movement is confirmed and formed in consonance with the agreement and the workers' interests. We count on their devoting themselves to the necessary protection of the workers' rights and also shaping their civic attitude toward the state."

Like it or not, Walesa, privately still aiming at a nonpolitical social partnership with the state, is stamped a junior partner of the party, a factor of order in the state--a prisoner of his successes.

Party chief Kania knows full well that only if the independent trade unions cooperate can his reform program take hold--industrial decentralization, full guarantees of the property of private farmers, strengthening of parliament and expansion of the rights of local authorities.

People in his own ranks are criticizing the concessions. Particularly Central Committee members Grabski and Olszowski, who as sharp critics of Gierek were removed from the center of power and were not taken back into the party leadership until the strike wave had crested, are accusing the party chief of watering down the principles of the party.

Walesa takes a long time to understand his new role, but when he starts on a tour through southern Poland in mid-October, he is a changed person. The very route he takes invites fatal comparisons: in the summer of last year, Polish Pope Wojtyla made almost the same stops when he toured the country. Like him, Walesa now seeks to immerse himself in the crowds.

In Krakow, where 30,000 supporters carry him jubilating through the streets, he puts up with being enthusiastically compared to the Polish national hero Tadeusz Kosciuszko who led the uprising against the Russian occupiers from Krakow 186 years ago.

Having been concerned only about "my trade union" a few weeks ago, Walesa now tells the Krakowers: "I too, Lech Walesa, want to pledge at this historic place to serve the people and to do all that you call on me to do."

In Czestochowa he lets himself be feted by the crowd with religious hymns; in the soccer stadium in Tarnow he parades around the place at the people's request so that everyone can get a close look at the new popular hero.

Suddenly Walesa also becomes openly political. In Nowa Huta he sharply rejects criticism of the Polish events by Prague Politburo member Vasil Bilak, saying: "What happens in Poland is our affair. We are in the process of establishing a Polish socialism. Everyone has his own problems. We do not want any kind of interference in our country's internal affairs."

In Katowice he scores the campaign started by party chief Kania against corrupt party bosses, saying: "This is not the time to throw people into prison. It would be best if they made a list on a sheet of paper of all that they have acquired illegally and then simply returned it."

But it is not what he says but the way he says it that causes the enthusiasm of the crowd. His sentences are short and his language is original, far removed from the functionaries' party jargon. As at the Gdansk shipyard so on his tour, he creates the impression of a man who believes in what he says.

The week before last, the state started to put an end to the openly displayed consensus with the union and at long last again to help "real socialism" to assert its rights; resorting to a legal trick, via Justice Koscielniak, it tried to leash the new trade union league on the occasion of the adoption of its statutes.

Without having discussed the matter with the unions, the judge changed the statutes as far as two vital points were concerned. In paragraph 1 he added express acknowledgment of the leading role of the party, and articles 32 and 33 concerning the right to strike were amended by him to read: "The organizing of a strike must not run counter to prevailing law."

In vain did the Polish party press appeal to the union to agree to this "compromise." The doves on the executive of Solidarity, who for a start wanted to exhaust available legal opportunities by lodging an appeal with a view to a possible revision and warned against jeopardizing what had been accomplished by excessively sharp reaction, were in for a bad time.

For the hawks on the executive made it crystal clear at a stormy session at the Gdansk headquarters that such attempts at manipulation had already deprived the works councils of success after the uprisings in 1956 and 1970 and most recently in 1970--an irrefutable fact.

The old distrust toward the attempt, experienced several times, to tie the workers' representatives again to the chains of the party after initial concessions made during a strike had cropped up again. While at heart probably rather on the side of the doves, Lech Walesa became the spokesman of the hawks.

There was a vicious circle with virtually no way out for either side. Party chief Kania knows only too well that the union can be useful to him as a factor of order and stabilization only if it remains independent from the ruling party as unambiguously as possible.

The leaders of Solidarity, on the other hand, know only too well that a Polish communist party tolerating in the long run a truly independent trade union which moreover exceeds it in numerical strength would be giving up its raison d'etre. Such a union would mean the beginning of the end of communist rule in Poland, or the first communist system with a real opposition would come into being.

Under such pressure, party chief Kania sought solace and assistance from the partner that had come to the party's aid several times in the past in warding off excessively liberal demands--the Polish church.

True, the Polish Bishops Conference, if only afraid lest it lose the support of the workers, in principle supported the founding of the independent trade union.

Yet, before ancient Cardinal Wyszynski started his trip to Rome to see the pope week before last, he had a long talk with party chief Kania. What these two dissimilar masters talked about remained a secret, but there are persistent rumors in Warsaw that Kania had requested that the pope address some moderating words of authority to Walesa and his union leadership which the faithful son of the church would then obey.

During Kania's report in Moscow, things apparently were done in a hurry, the Poles remaining only 5 hours. There was need for haste.

For Friday morning Premier Pinkowski had to appear at a meeting, brought about by ultimatum, with a 40-member delegation of Solidarity headed by Lech Walesa. The

most important demand in a new 11-point program: Retraction of the amendments of the statutes made by the court.

Solidarity emphasized its demands with a strike threat. Tools were to be downed throughout Poland on 12 November, the day after the national holiday recalling the end of the First World War and thus the new founding of the state.

At the start of a 14-hour negotiation marathon Pinkowski and Walesa agreed to do nothing until 8 November that might exacerbate the situation.

Last Friday night, however, the meeting ended without the drafted communique having been signed. Walesa's fear of winning appeared to have been justified.

Report on Solidarity Movement

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German Vol 34 No 45, 3 Nov 80 pp 148-149

[Article by British journalist Tim Garton Ash on the Gdansk headquarters of the Solidarity Trade Union: "'Here There Is Not Just Grumbling; Here the Steam Is Building'"]

[Text] "We demand registration of the independent Solidarity Trade Union." The red dye on the white poster has become a little fuzzy in the dull autumn rain, but the poster, as well as the demand, still stands.

"We just cannot trust the word of the government any more," says a young organizer of Solidarity in the Hotel Morski, the headquarters of the union. On the day of the historical compromise at the Lenin Shipyard he had still believed in the promise of Deputy Premier Jagielski: they knew "how Poles (had to) talk with Poles."

"The nicest day of my vacation." The homework comes from an 8-year-old girl, drawn for the people in the occupied Lenin Shipyard. In large child's letters it says: "We want free independent trade unions." The picture is hanging in the window of the dingy Hotel Morski; next to it the latest Solidarity news, perused and discussed by a crowd of people. There is a line of people patiently waiting for each new publication from early morning until nighttime.

Our taxi driver grabs may arm saying: "Did you see? Professor Kowalik will hold a lecture." He points to the announcement. On 4 November Dr Tadeusz Kowalik will hold a seminar about the "social and economic problems of trade unions"--apparently a very exciting piece of news for the taxi driver.

The urge for information can also be felt among the workers. On this wet October evening they are waiting at the hotel entrance for the latest leaflets--a huge line, neutral clothing, many leather jackets and blue peaked caps, serious faces brightly illuminated by a large lamp.

Knowledge is power. Apparently everyone knows that. Even the party: newspapers are gone in no time. Aware of this, the government is doing everything possible to restrict the information possibilities of the new unions.

The press spokesman of Solidarity, Gdansk writer Lech Badkowski, says so with a telling shrug of his shoulders. Just about the only thing he has managed to have printed in his new business card, with full title and two addresses. "MKZ NSZZ Solidarnosc, Gdansk, ul. Grundwaldzka 103" is the unofficially official address of the trade union league on the fourth floor of Hotel Morski.

The rooms of the unionists are small, there are a few pieces of cheap furniture, the cheap paint is peeling off--as one might expect would happen in a sailors hostel.

Badkowski knows from personal experience how the authorities have been keeping their promises since August. A Solidarity column edited by him was to appear in a Gdansk local paper. It has not appeared for weeks. The censors cut so much of it that it was not worthwhile any longer.

So the question of the legal status is the most prominent one. The union leadership is demanding deletion of the elastic clauses--the imposed acknowledgment of the "leading role of the party" and the nebulous language concerning the right to strike.

Dead tired and apparently only kept awake by many glasses of strong tea, leading unionists such as engineer Andrzej Gwiadza and his wife, Joanna Duda-Gwiadza--a Rosa Luxemburg figure or, as some say in the occupied Lenin Shipyard, a Joan of Arc--are looking for the limits of what is possible. And they are doing so in a country where the impossible has already happened and the unachievable has been achieved.

In this utterly unknown terrain there are of course differences of opinion about the best way. It would be a mistake, however, to speak of hawks or doves in the trade union leadership.

Whether Walesa voices the threat of a strike a little more softly or Gwiadza expresses it a little more harshly, in their basic positions the old charter members of the strike committee agree--just as their opponents in the party do.

They also agree about the strategic concept that disciplined warning strikes are a definitely usuful tool--but only to force the hesitant apparatus to keep the Gdansk promises.

Matters are more problematical as far as the intellectuals are concerned. Walesa and his unionists have been getting advice from three different, though interconnected, groups of "experts." KOR members, with Jacek Kuron in the lead, assist him on the left, the Catholic committee of experts, with editor-in-chief Tadeusz Mazowiecki at the head, on the right. A group of advisers dispatched by the episcopate, certainly less influential, is somewhere in the middle.

These groups hold forth behind the scenes in Gdansk. But tension is more likely among the intellectuals than between intellectuals and labor leaders. Tadeusz Mazowiecki, a Catholic cultural policy man inclining to caution as a result of personal experience, did not take a particularly strong stand for the rights of the imprisoned KOR members. According to one person in the know, he does "not always (get along) all that well" with democratic socialist Jacek Kuron.

But Kuron's three-page "open letter" in defense of the committee for social self-defense (KOR) is there to be read in the window of Hotel Morski, with a statement of support and solidarity by the Gdansk men next to it.

One gets the impression that Walesa knows very well how to guide his sometimes quarreling advisers diplomatically.

In addition the party and state leadership, evidently hoping for a split in the Solidarity leadership, has achieved exactly the opposite with its latest steps. Particularly the court coup of 24 October has again fully united the members of the Solidarity leadership--"shock therapy," says one.

In a cozy Russian hangout on Ulica Grunwaldzka a young Solidarity activist talks about a much greater danger. A graduate sociologist and involved in the university opposition since 1968, he is noticing an almost unstoppable "social pressure": the supply situation is not getting any better, and the workers so far have not seen much of the promised wage rises.

So they had hoped that the Gdansk agreements would at least bring about some change in the intellectual-political climate. A POLITYKA newspaperman put it this way: Since the government cannot give the workers much more bread anyway, they might be able to offer a little more truth instead.

So far this has happened only exceptionally. In fact Lech Badkowski believes that "after 35 years they do not believe the party paper any more, even when occasionally it writes the truth."

The workers, says the Gdansk man, feel they are being harassed by the government, and their disgruntlement and militancy are increasing. "Here there is not just grumbling; here the steam is building."

Only Walesa's strong personal authority prevents a wildcat strike by factory workers in Ursus. Walesa realizes full well the danger of new strikes breaking out in other industrial areas, such as the Silesian mines.

The pressure from below, from the trade union base comprising millions to the union leadership, will let up only if the government of its own volition--and very soon--gives tangible signs of good will. As far as the base is concerned, clarity as regards legal status and genuine change in information policy are even more important at the moment than more money and more food; that is the impression one gets from the many delegations and reports arriving at Hotel Morski.

So the question remains as to whether the Kania leadership is in fact capable of such a basic change. "If not..."; a Solidarity organizer does not complete the sentence.

At night, in the dark and in pouring rain, with only the front balconies with their red-white flags lighted, Hotel Morski looks almost like a liner. Solidarity gets up a lot of steam in its boilers. Like Poland itself, it is steaming into the unknown.

PHOTO CAPTIONS

1. p 142. Strike leader Walesa and strikers in Gdansk: "I was afraid in case we should win."

2. p 143. Party chiefs Kania and Brezhnev in Moscow: "Fraternal."

3. p 145. Walesa's father Stanislaw: Remained in the United States.

4. p 145. Paterfamilias Walesa and family: with six children in two rooms.

5. p 145. Catholic Walesa (at mass with unionist Anna Walentinowicz): "Not afraid of big shots."

6. p 151. Solidarity leader Walesa in Nowy Targ with an ax which was presented to him by workers as a symbol of power: "Who is that fellow?"

7. p 153. Polish Cardinal Wyszynski: A good word for Kania.

8. p 154. L'EXPRESS cartoon showing Marx and Brezhnev running away from the huge figure of Walesa kneeling in prayer: A ghost is abroad--the proletariat.

9. p 148. Protest politicians Kuron and Walesa: Guiding his advisers diplomatically.

10. p 149. Solidarity headquarters in Hotel Morski: Disgruntelement and militancy are increasing.

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REACTIONS OF YOUTH ORGANIZATIONS TO RECENT WORK STOPPAGES NOTED

Problems Encountered by Young Inventors

Warsaw WALKA MLODYCH in Polish No 28, 13 July 80 pp 3, 10

[Article by Tomasz Kowalik: "Patent on a Square Circle"]

[Text] Six years of service in industry, working as an engineer and as a laboratory director, the author of 51 original designs, including 23 inventions and five patents--a person with this kind of record does not have anything to complain about. Nor, for that matter, does it sound the least bit strange to label this record a career. Ryszard Mellerowicz has no reason to fear that his inventiveness or his opportunities for making a living have come to an end. Something else is bothering him. Namely, the fact that the results of his inventions could be worth billions, but they are not, nor have they yielded any benefits for the state or the economy.

Right after he graduated from the university he started out working in the galvanizing plant of METALPLAST in Oborniki Wielkopolskie. His first invention, which he came up with while he was still doing his postgraduate practicum, was the subject of his master's thesis, and at the same time it was recognized by the awarding of patent no 91319. While he was still working as engineer and director of the galvanizing plant he made use of this process for etching metals that employs after-pickling solutions for retrieving metal chlorides. He now says that this process was already in use at the plant. He pushed it a step further and went along for the ride. Hardly anyone believes him when he says that it all started with his fondness for angling. As everyone knows, it is harder to catch fish in polluted waters. So, he started thinking about what to do about this, and in the meantime everyone else was talking about the need to protect the environment. "I was upset over all the pollution," he says.

To make a long story short, this was how he got started down the path that led to the invention which is now protected by patents in 16 countries, an invention which eliminates toxic materials and the need to buy expensive equipment to neutralize these materials. In addition, these wastes can be put to use for the production of raw materials that otherwise have to be imported--especially metal chlorides. As an engineer he has done his share, and he is still doing a little bit more of the same for good measure. He is still a young man after all. Other people say he was just lucky. In the meantime he has turned out to be an expert on patent

law and on a number of other branches of law as well. Although he now sums things up by saying that this is essential knowledge, he asserts that he almost turned out to be an engineer who knew how to construct an engine for a kind of motor vehicle that could be operated without a driver's license. But, as we all know, this would be a violation of many standards of community life and a personally risky business as well.

His first invention was followed by others. He was a prizewinner in several young people's competitions, and so the people at the new plant told him that he ought to take an interest in inventions. And so he did. He is the head of the plant's Technology and Rationalization Club. As an inventor, engineer and party member (his is the secretary of the basic party organization in his galvanizing plant) and, to some extent, as a private citizen, he is far from being pleased with what he has accomplished, even though the work he is doing is of the utmost importance in a social and civic sense. Can it be that an invention for which he has been paid should be left sitting in somebody's drawer? Should he be personally responsible for trying to persuade all the other galvanizing plants in Poland to use an idea that could save the country billions in the form of foreign exchange and raw materials? The laws that relate to this matter are an affront to his ambitions as an inventor, engineer and private citizen.

At the time of the Second Congress of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth [ZSMP] he took pride in pointing out that there were many people just like him sitting in the conference room of the Congress platform committee. And the proposals which they were submitting were similar to his own. And the problems that have gone unsolved for years and years are the same as ever. And yet the fact remains that some harsh words were spoken on this subject not only during the proceedings of the Second ZSMP Congress. Similar observations were made at many of the youth conferences held to evaluate the results of the Young Masters of Technology, Young Masters of Organization and Young Masters of Economization competitions, i.e., in forums where no one needed to be persuaded of the need to identify untapped resources and to promote progress. These harsh words were always spoken by the disappointed ones who--to be sure--had invented something, but who did not follow through with the development of their inventions. Here too we are treated to a rundown of the whole litany of thresholds, barriers, obstacles, regulatory snags, inconsistencies and absurd directives.

According to Ryszard Mellerowicz, as soon as work gets under way on the drawing up of design plans for many plants the procedural rules governing this work make allowances for design modifications and overdesigned installations which, as happened in his case, do not give inventors a chance to display their talents until after these installations go into operation. Why do these designers make allowances for blueprint modifications and not for the efficiency of the overall investment project? He was not the only one who asked this question while inspecting installations which, in his opinion, should have cost only a couple of hundred million if the designers had used a different technology, the very same technology which was patented by him. When he shows up with recommendations for process design modifications in galvanizing plants that are already in operation no one will have anything to do with him. Anyway, he has already done his share and made something out of it. Why is it that no one wants to turn a profit by applying his ideas--this is precisely what he cannot understand. There is nothing in the law,

be it in the field of occupational health and safety or technological progress, that says they cannot do this, and, legal considerations aside, common sense suggests that they ought to do so.

This in fact is an illustration of the reason why most inventions are left sitting in desk drawers. Only slightly more than 2 percent of all rationalization plans are ever applied for a second time or on a continuing basis. The law says that you can receive no more than half of the amount of the award paid out to you as an original inventor for the practical application of your invention. In the case of the Mellerowicz technique for extracting metal chlorides, any sum that is paid out for the right to use this technique would be recovered in a very few days, since the need to import raw materials and equipment is eliminated, the protection of the environment is assured, and make-work activities are cut back in many areas. The upshot of all this is that his patent is least well known in his own country, which ought to be taking advantage of it on a daily basis, while the fact that it was published in the Patent Office bulletin clears the way for shrewd businessmen abroad to make a big name for themselves.

There are more such paradoxes. Every inventor who has gone through the wringer of finding practical applications for his invention could write a book on this theme. Suppose a technological applications team sets out to find a practical use for an invention. The limit on royalties paid out on this basis is determined by the amount of revenues generated by the practical application of this invention over a one-year period. What happens if such a team, guided by the interests of its plant and even of the economy as a whole, is ready, willing and able to find practical applications for two, three or a dozen inventions every year? The law on royalties states that royalties can be paid out in an amount equal to two times the value of an inventor's salary. What if an inventor has a way of working that enables him to come up with more inventions? So the limits imposed on an enterprise's nonstaff remuneration fund strike a blow even against those inventors and applications teams who want to work, and even when inventions worth 10 million could be practically applied at a cost of no more than 100,000 and produce goods for the marketplace. What is worse, there are many financial regulations that are clearly at odds with the provisions of the law on inventions.

And this is why Ryszard Mellerowicz made the following statement during the Second ZSMP Congress: "I have developed some very simple methods for recovering imported raw materials from waste products. It turns out that those materials which some plants are discarding as waste products, thereby polluting the natural environment, others are importing. During the 6 years that have passed since I developed this method of mine, millions have been spent on inefficient and unneeded imports." This statement notwithstanding, he is not bitter, nor is he complaining. He does not want to be accused of being a sour-grapes inventor who is only out to make money. The law is the law. But as an engineer he cannot agree with this.

His paper was included in the official proceedings of the congress, and the participants acknowledged that what he had to say was true. Moreover, representatives of the Patent Office requested a copy of his statement. All the more so due to the fact that he advocated changes in the provisions of the law on inventions and in many other laws as well, laws which in effect obstruct the initiative of young inventors. How many young people, already disenchanted with inventing work, will

give up before these changes are made? Is is hard to say. For years now the youth movement has been setting some ambitious tasks for itself in this area, providing organized channels for the technological innovativeness of young people, and trying to publicize positive experiences in this regard. While the congress was being held, an exhibit was set up in the Museum of Technology that displayed only a portion of the accomplishments of these young people.

The appeals and recommendations submitted to the Second ZSMP Congress constitute a body of literature that ought to be studies by teams of experts, and they call for conscientious efforts aimed at bringing about the desired changes. For it is all but inconceivable that these recommendations would be allowed to remain mere words on a piece of paper, or that their importance would be ignored. It is not beside the point to mention that the ZSMP is entitled to call for changes in the law that will promote the growth of the young inventors' movement. What is bred in the bone will come out in the flesh.

Ryszard Mellerowicz is active professionally and in public affairs, and he is a resident of Poznan. He is a member of the executive committee of the ZSMP in his province. We talked with him about the possibility of utilizing the structure of the ZSMP Federation as a basis for setting up a joint program for promoting the drive for scientific and technological innovations. The technology and rationalization clubs of the trade unions, the committees in charge of running the Young Masters of Technology competitions, and the university student science organizations would participate in this program as equal partners. Many projects and plans geared toward the promotion of technological progress have been announced in every workplace, the Young Masters of Technology Competitions have produced many worthwhile inventions, and university and technical school students have written a multitude of theses and dissertations. But as of now nothing has been done to develop the vast majority of these ideas and inventions. Most of them, and not just Poznan, are gathering dust on bookshelves, in desk drawers and in archives. At the same time, it is a well-known fact that the curricula of the schools and universities and of management development courses are guilty of gross neglect when it comes to the study of the innovative process and the law on inventions. It is likewise well-known that students who are led by the hand in the universities seldom take up the study of subjects that would be beneficial to business enterprises. The themes of their dissertations and theses are geared more toward the benefit of some vaguely defined posterity.

All of this needs to be put in some kind of order and thought over. The moldy structures of the past need to be plowed under, and the barriers that segregate young inventors from the facts of life and technological progress need to be torn down. It will be a long time before we can think about honors competitions among theses and dissertations in technical schools and universities that are not geared toward meeting practical needs. And at the same time workers are responding to barely 20 to 30 percent of the problem-solving themes suggested by promoters of the rationization drives in workplaces. For a long time now subsidized research grants, postgraduate practicums and vocational apprenticeships have not been as productive as they ought to be in terms of concrete results, specific plans and designs aimed at boosting the quality and efficiency of production. We lodge eloquent complaints about turnover rates, resignations, and the placement of people in jobs that have nothing to do with their fields of specialized training,

while, at the same time, that field of endeavor referred to as inventiveness, or the opportunity to build a close relationship with one's place of work by performing specific services in its behalf, lies fallow.

Nor is the opportunity for personal financial gain a matter of minor importance. Instead of waiting in line for loans, many young people could be making it easier for themselves to get established financially and professionally by taking part in the innovation drive and in work aimed at finding practical applications for new inventions. But in the meantime the prizes handed out for inventions developed in the Young Masters of Technology Competitions are considered taxable. This does nothing to encourage young people to work actively toward coming to terms with the demands of their social and professional lives. Nor does it encourage them to get ahead in life by displaying their knowledge and by working toward specific professional goals, including goals having to do with work on inventions.

The participation of young people in the innovation drive, their adoption of a dynamic attitude toward themselves, toward their workplaces and toward their society, and, hence, their adoption of a creative outlook toward everyday life in general cannot be ordered, decreed or fostered by a group of experts. In order to achieve this it is necessary to create conditions which are conducive to these attitudes, conditions which must be created with the participation of those young people who are dissatisfied with their lot. The myth of the blessings conferred by a diploma and an official title do just as much to obstruct the spirit of innovation as do the various barriers written into the law, inconsistency, and the arbitrary and frequently petty decisions that sap the energy of inventors. The position taken on this problem by the ZSMP during the second congress was a start in the right direction of doing something to solve it--and not just for the sake of young people.

Poorly conceived laws that hinder the practical application of inventions or modest rationalization proposals and, not infrequently, personal spite and small-mindedness give rise to disenchantment among young people who try their hand at inventing work as a way to make a name for themselves and to display their knowledge, as a way to broaden their knowledge in response to inner drives and desires, and not just for the sake of appearances or in order to win a diploma or medal. As pointed out by many inventors and organizers of ZSMP programs in this area during the second congress, the current laws relating to this subject matter appear to favor inventors. It often happens that these laws are so well written that they cannot be enforced in practice. There is no system for separating out worthwhile inventions, or for exchanging information about things invented by others. There are certain cases, notorious by now, in which plans submitted by young people taking part in Young Masters of Organization Competitions for rationalization inventions were not acknowledged and regulations governing the Young Masters of Technology Competitions were ignored in many plants outside of the machine building industry. Patents are often a stumbling block for Polish enterprises, while at the same time the same patents are taken advantage of by foreigners. For years now the activities of the Patent Office have been subjected to criticism. It has been a long time since the work of enterprises such as "Posteor" have produced any worthwhile results. For years now it has been impossible to gain quick access to practically useful information in the form of the theses and dissertations of young technicians, engineers and PhDs, the kind of information that could be put to use immediately and that could be exported as technological know-how.

Even if somebody does invent the proverbial "square circle," he does not stand a chance of being able to prove that this is what he has come up with or that something like this could be an idea whose time has come. And the practical application of such an invention would be a hopeless dream. Many more worthwhile inventions developed by young people are on the drawing boards, inventions giving rise to projects worth billions or at least a symbolic zloty of financial return. And this is why it is necessary to look for new solutions to this problem--including new solutions to problems in the system for promoting inventions, since this system is the school in which young inventors are reared. We are always going to need inventors, and in large numbers as well.

ZSMP Position on Current Situation

Warsaw WALKA MLODYCH in Polish No 35, 31 Aug 80, pp 5, 21

[Article by Henryk Urbanowski]

[Text] On 21 August the Warsaw Board of the ZSMP met in plenary session. This was the first time any of the country's youth organizations attempted to spell out its position on current sociopolitical events.

Mounting economic and social difficulties recently sparked a series of strikes, and Warsaw's factories were not left out in this regard. Here in Warsaw these strikes served as a catalyst in that the workers here started to speak out loud about the shortcomings and defects of their youth organizations. Some strong opinions were also voiced on this score at the meeting of the Warsaw Board of the ZSMP.

The fact of the matter is that the initiators of the work stoppages in Warsaw were made up mostly of young people, some of whom were members of the ZSMP. It is true that during the first phase of these strikes the various units and components of the ZSMP took a neutral stand on these events. "Evaluating these developments in line with the Marxist methodology," it was stated in the keynote address at this meeting, "we must talk about their causes, and not about their effects." At another point the keynote speaker went on to say that, "But we cannot remain indifferent to the fact that in appraisals of the development of some of these strikes a view was put forward which made it seem as if young people were the most impatient group participating in these strikes, sometimes making demagogic demands without taking into account certain economic facts and possibilities. We accept the responsibility for the fact that some groups of young people, and sometimes isolated individuals, have taken this attitude. We are taking advantage of the conclusions to be drawn from this in our ideological and educational work, and we are stepping up our activities in this area so as to insure that the influence which our organization has on the thinking of young people will be as far-reaching as possible."

Everyone knows that the numerous shortcomings that exist in our economy and in the current policies of the socialist state have been mounting for a long time. These shortcomings have been pointed out on several occasions by working people and young people, for example at the reporting and election meetings held during last year's election campaign in the ZSMP. In many cases they were reassured by the answers they received. They were expected to take an understanding attitude toward

what were said to be the objective causes of the dislocations taking place in the economy. They acknowledged that these objective causes are real enough, but they also wanted to talk about internal bottlenecks and breakdowns. In the factories and in the university departments, that is, in those places where they knew best what was going on, young people came up with their own diagnoses which were sometimes heard out. But in rare, very rare, instances were any practical conclusions drawn from these diagnoses.

"It is too bad that so many of the problems brought to the attention of the management in the past had to wait for strikes to break out before they could be taken care of," said Zdzislaw Kalinski, head of the ZSMP Factory Administration at Ursus, during the discussion period. It is also too bad that the official propaganda counters concerns about the present and the future with stories about the otherwise unquestioned accomplishments of the past. The moral of this story was correctly summed up by Krzystof Wzorek, representing the General Walter Working Cooperative of Handicapped Persons, by quoting the oriental proverb: "If today we boast about what we accomplished yesterday, then tomorrow we won't have anything to boast about."

The fact that young people are by their very nature impatient is not surprising. But what led some of these young people to behave in a more radical manner? One of the reports read before the plenary session devoted a great deal of attention to an analysis of the causes of this problem. The reasons behind this behavior are of a complex nature, even though they can be broken into two basic categories. The first category boils down to the problem of the ineffectiveness of educational work among young people. In many plants, and on certain points this is true everywhere, the resolution of the Seventh Central Committee Plenum held in 1972 concerning the duties of the nation and the state vis a vis young people has been set aside to gather dust on library bookshelves. The wisdom of the ideas contained in this resolution has been supplanted in practice by mechanical, disorganized and improvised educational programs. And of these programs the only ones that were carried out were those aimed at resolving the most glaring of our present problems. This problem covers a wide range of issues. For the time being I am only pointing that the problem exists, but I will come back to it a little later.

The second category of reasons has to do with the long drawn out process by which management and the trade unions attempt to resolve social welfare, wage and employment problems. The report of the Warsaw plenum refers to this problem in the following terms: "This is not just a matter of dealing with our most important problems, such as the problem of providing everyone with a home of their own. There are smaller problems that are more disturbing and upsetting, even if these problems amount to nothing more than the fact that it is now impossible to buy a schoolbook satchel for children, or the chronic shortages of many basic goods that are indispensable in the raising of children, e.g., food items and manufactured goods, powdered milk, supplemental nutrients, modeling clay, and school smocks. This list of items in short supply is a long one. This is the case not because of any general incapacity on the part of our economy to produce these goods. Most of these basic items were more readily available during the years of national reconstruction and during the baby-boom period. The prices charged for childrens' goods are very alarming. These prices are not justified either by the cost of the materials used to manufacture these goods or by the labor that goes into their

manufacture. One is bound to conclude that manufacturers are taking advantage of market shortages in order to push through unwarranted price hikes. We recommend that the prices of childrens' goods and of other products necessary for the care of children should be verified by correlating them with manufacturing costs and they should be placed on the list of the State Price Commission, as was suggested by Comrade Gierek in his televised address to the nation. We think that our economy can afford not to make an excessive profit on the sale of these kinds of products. The fact that there is a shortage of childrens' goods on the market and that high prices are being charged for these goods runs counter to the policy of the party and state on young families and the policy geared toward providing special state assistance to mothers and their children. Social discontent among young people is also attributable to the lack of an adequate number of spaces for children in day-care centers and preschool facilities, and to official unresponsiveness to teh demands that have been raised for a long time now claiming that in the credit terms granted to young married couples allowances should be made for single-parent households. And until Comrade Gierek spoke out on this issue, no one bothered to respond to the demand calling for childcare allowances to be increased so as to make them a real and meaningful part of family budgets, and not just a symbolic income supplement as has always the case until now.

Nor was there any shortage of critical self-assessments delivered by some ZSMP officials, and adverse opinions were expressed on the subject of some of the union's programs. Certain practices occurring in the Young Masters of Economization Competition program, such as the falsification of statistical records, a practice that reinforces the cult of recordkeeping, came in for criticism. It so happened that these were the very reasons why in the annual summary report for this competition it proved to be impossible to review the alleged accomplishments of young people from three Warsaw districts. Also criticized was the lackadaisical way in which the Executive Board has been handling the formal and legal recognition of rationalization suggestions, as evidenced by its responces to suggestions for improving technical efficiency.

A representative of the Polish Optical Works, who also happens to be the head of that plant's public affairs study group, had some exceptionally pertinent things to say about the cult-like preoccupation with proliferating official programs. At this plant matters have already gone so far that it was officially announced that a competition would be organized to see who could come up with the best program for promoting the social and professional adjustment of young workers. Naturally, nothing came of this competition. At this plant nobody could care less about the findings of sociological and psychological studies, and the climate surrounding talks with the study group suggest that the answers they come up with concerning the massive turnover rate at the plant are determined in advance to suit the wishes of the management.

Unfortunately, nothing was said during the Warsaw plenum about the effects of negative examples on members of the ZSMP, about their apathy and opportunism, about the elitism of officeholders in the youth movement, or about the squandering of public funds on banquets. There is hope that in an atmosphere of objective debate these issues will be raised at similar ZSMP plenary meetings held in workplaces. It has already been announced that these kinds of meetings will be held. In insisting that others should live up to their responsibilities it is also necessary to be mindful of the fact that one has done a good job of fulfilling one's own duties.

In the report reference was made to the fact that some members of the youth movement aktiv are isolated from the problems that are being experienced by rank and file workers. "It is not right that aktiv members in some plants should be so dimly aware of the living standards of their organization's rank-and-file membership. We do not know enough about those young workers who are in difficult material circumstances. Some organizations are not speaking out with a loud enough voice when it comes to dealing with these problems at the plant level. Our organization, including its active members above all, must make a stronger effort to speak out for the cause of social justice and to combat displays of favoritism and cliquishness and unfair wage scales that are all too common in some plants. It must fight for honest performance evaluations that are based on facts and real performance records."

Only one of the officials who addressed this plenum performed an act of contrition and asked if it had ever happened in any plant that the workers' Self-Management Conference KSR had refused to endorse a plan thrust upon their plant by a ministry or association: "Where were we when unrealistic proposals were being laid before us?" It would also be a good idea to come up with an answer to the question as to what the ZSMP organization has done to help its representatives in the workers' self-management conferences decipher the deficiencies of an enterprise's performance concealed within synthetic plan indicators.

Parenthetically speaking, it was also fitting that something should be said with regard to the pricing policy proposals spelled out in the report, since there was no hint of self-criticism in these remarks. Most workplaces in Warsaw are entitled to act independently in setting prices for their products. People say that it is a good thing when prices are raised for goods produced by their own plant, since this provides them with extra money for premiums and funds. It is not a good thing when other plants raise their prices, since this hurts their position in the marketplace. How can we go on thinking and behaving in this way? In the future it would be a good idea for plant organizations of the ZSMP to make more consistent stands on such practices, stands which would indicate that they are mindful of the general public interest.

It is understandable that during the discussion period the participants focused most of their attention on worker wage demands. Krzystof Wzorek, from the General Walter Cooperative, reported on the situation in his plant. This plant employs many young people whose monthly pay does not exceed 1,900 zlotys. Due to a shortage of raw materials this cooperative is faced with the threat of having to close down by 15 September. "But we have kept on working," said Wzorek, "and none of this has caused any interruptions in our production schedule. Rather we have been talking over our wage problems during afterwork hours."

Some of the participants in the discussion period spoke out against automatic wage increases for everyone regardless of their actual performance. But it was acknowledged that these kinds of adjustments can be made as temporary corrective measures insofar as they are geared toward compensating workers for losses arising out of increases in the cost of living. However, it was pointed out by several of the speakers that sometime in the future the rules governing worker compensation should be completely revised. We cannot allow situations to arise like the one described at the close of the session's proceedings by Henryk Gawronski, then a secretary of the PZPR

provincial committee and now serving as minister of the machine building industry, whereby one of the people clamoring most loudly for equal wage increases for all was a young man working for the "Warsaw" metallurgical works who claimed that he too was entitled to a raise even though he could not show up for work every day, since he was building a house for himself near Sochaczew. This is at once grotesque and pitiful.

In a resolution that was adopted by unanimous vote all of those attending the plenum expressed their support for the actions being taken by the Warsaw organization of the PZPR. Of the many conclusions that were drawn during this session this one shows most fully what kinds of plans are being made for the future. This resolution states in part that, "we must think about things in political terms, we must learn how to draw the proper conclusions, how to react more promptly to signs of worker discontent, and how to act in a way that will help the working class resist the influence of people who do not belong to this class."

The debate that took place during this plenum did not cover all of the serious problems facing us. This debate should be continued openly, discreetly and calmly and at a time that is most suitable. All youth organizations, not just the Warsaw organization of the ZSMP, should make an honest and careful accounting of the consistency and perseverance with which proper and reasonable demands are acted upon.

ZSMP's Observations, Suggested Actions

Warsaw WALKA MLODYCH in Polish No 36, 7 Sep 80 pp 2, 10

[Article by Henryk Urbanowski]

[Text] In the wake of the wave of strikes that hit the Baltic Coast and that has started to subside since last Saturday the time has come to respond to the many basic questions on the minds of every, thinking young person who really cares about the fate of our country. Many such questions are now being raised, running the gamut from how could it have happened that the current policies of the party and state got so sidetracked in representing the real interests of society and its principal force--the working class to personal reflections about whether solidarity with the strikers, passive or active, was manifested in a proper way and to what purpose. Answers to many of these questions were provided by the Fourth Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee.

So, after all these instinctive, reflex emotions and actions, the time has now come to think things over more carefully and also to look to others for statements of support for our views and attitudes.

The aktiv of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth is also looking for such support.

Responding to this need, the Executive Board of the ZSMP scheduled a conference of the chairmen of the provincial boards and the members of the organization's central aktiv that was held on 31 August.* The participants attempted to answer these questions and looked ahead to the future by making numerous recommendations related to the future activities of the ZSMP.

This relatively late attempt to define its position on these matters was not at all the result of some passive wait-and-see attitude toward the events that were then unfolding. It was impossible to hold this conference earlier in view of the direct involvement of the ZSMP aktiv in the heated debates that were taking place in the workplaces where the front lines had been drawn in the battle to fulfill worker demands.

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* The conference was held on Sunday, 31 August, in the Central School of the Aktiv of the FSZM [Federation of Socialist Unions of Polish Youth] in Srodoborow outside Warsaw. The conference proceedings were presided over by the chairman of the Executive Board of the ZSMP, Andrzej Koltek. The chairmen of the provincial boards of the ZSMP took part in the discussion period in the following order: Andrzej Schulz from Gdansk, Wojciech Kazmierczak from Szczecin, Wieslaw Sowala from Wroclaw, Wojciech Knocewicz from Walbrzych, Zygmunt Bober from Legnica, Marian Mankowski from Elblag, Tadeusz Kuras from Poznan, Jan Sienko from Slupsk, Zenon Wasilewski from Plock and Henryk Gryko from Lomza. At the close of the conference proceedings a statement was read by Ryszard Bryk, director of the PZPR Central Committee Department for Social Organizations, Sports and Tourism.

No one who spoke out during the conference claimed the right to pronounce authoritative judgments and opinions, nor was any attempt made to draft a joint statement reflecting the views of all the participants. This was not because it was impossible to reach agreement on the basic issues, rather it was acknowledged that the time was not yet ripe for this, that it was necessary to solicit the views of more diverse groups and gather together a larger number of reports that would make it possible to come up with a common stand. An attempt will be made to do this at the plenary session of the Executive Board scheduled to be held sometime in the next couple of weeks.

Nevertheless, many pertinent and useful observations were made at this conference, observations which can effectively stimulate all of us to think further about the role of the union, about ways to deal with the backlog of unresolved political, social and economic problems, and about needed changes in the way the organization conducts its affairs. I am going to take the liberty of giving an account of these various observations and remarks in the form of a series of more or less fully developed propositions. I am doing so in the belief that each of the problems highlighted here is a separate issue that ought to be addressed in a series of open-ended debates.

1. The credibility of the organization's program and of many of its activities was confirmed during the hot days of August, for in recent years the ZSMP has served as a genuine spokesman for the rights and interests of working people, especially so in the case of young workers.

It advocated and more or less effectively fought for an acceleration of the program for the construction of new housing. Throughout the long years of the housing crisis the ZSMP has always offered special assistance to the construction industry as a way to harness untapped resources. The result of this 10-year patronage program is more than 40,000 housing units in excess of plan targets. It is open to question whether this housing was really built in excess of plan targets or whether the ZSMP

did not just happen to take the place of some other organization in the line of those who had long been waiting for the same opportunity. And here and there this was indeed the case. But it is true that the vast majority of housing units built under the auspices of the ZSMP were in excess of plan targets. Most of this construction work was completed without any delays, even though the paperwork supporting this effort was haphazardly organized, thanks to the perseverance and hard work of the future tenants. It is also true that here and there those people who built houses for themselves with their own hands had these houses taken away from them by local authorities, thereby greatly prolonging the time it takes to award ownership titles to someone else. Or these same local authorities, by confiscating this housing, would add it to their plan fulfillment figures.

Many suggestions were made with regard to the question of improving social welfare services for families, i.e., building more day-care centers and preschool facilities, increasing family allowances for children and nonworking mothers to a level that would have some noticeable impact on family budgets, extending the period of paid maternity leave to 3 years, and reforming the system that provides credits to young married couples so as to provide coverage also for mothers and fathers who are raising children alone. Strong objections were raised against the high prices of childrens' goods and of products used in the rearing of children. Attention was called to the shortages of these goods. The pressure brought to bear from below by young people to get the ZSMP to do something about these problems was very strong. This pressure was most evident during the period leading up to the Second ZSMP Congress and the Eighth PZPR Congress.

Suffice it to say that many of the demands written into the platform of the ZSMP are identical to the socioeconomic demands that are being made by the striking workers.

The credibility of the ZSMP's platform and programs was put to a serious test in July and August. There were some plants in which ZSMP organizations had proved in the past that they were genuinely committed to solving the social problems of the workers. It was in these plants that ZSMP activists were in a position to provide leadership for the discontented workers and to participate in the process of guiding these strikes in a direction that was characterized by responsibility in terms of the behavior of the striking workers and political maturity in terms of the ensuing debates. But this was not the case everywhere. At this point it is still not possible to speak in terms of the total collapse of certain institutions and organizations. The personal prestige of certain individuals did collapse, and new people emerged to take their place. These are the very people who laid bare the dubiousness of their own authority, an authority which was based on nothing more than their official titles. This statement also applies to certain components and levels of the ZSMP, that is, at those levels where nothing was done to provide true representation for the rights and interests of the younger generation, where this kind of activity was paralyzed by opportunism and conformism and constricted by instrumentalism and pragmatism. Anywhere where courage and candor were lacking.

2. The credibility of the ZSMP's programs are also reflected in its strenous efforts on behalf of the rationalization of our collective efforts as producers. It has been working to this end through its widely publicized "Youth for Progress" program which is being constantly enriched with new initiatives.

The tone of the long ongoing debate on the proper functioning of our economy has been sober and highly responsible. This debate came out into the open in earnest during the First National Conference of the ZSMP Workers' Aktiv held in February 1977. At this point it would be relevant to quote some excerpts from a speech delivered at this conference by Jerzy Rasilewicz, chairman of the ZSMP Plant Board of the Gdynia Port Authority:

"In many plants in our province there are young people with an innovative cast of mind when it comes to production-related matters who are seldom promoted to management positions.....It often happens that many boss and foreman jobs are filled with people without any background in public affairs and without any of the skills that are needed to lead a team of workers.....We cannot afford to waste the talents and knowledge of young people in this way. These young people represent a large pool of untapped talent that belongs to us all....

"During meetings and discussion sessions with workers our members say that, given a properly organized work schedule and an atmosphere that is conducive to good interpersonal relations, we would be able to build a new Poland without having to work overtime, but rather merely by putting in an effective 8-hour shift!

"Young workers do not complain about having to do heavy work, rather they are more often bothered by organizational chaos. I do not have to persuade anyone of the extent to which this confusion raises production costs, adversely affects production performance, and demoralizes the workers!"

These words were spoken before the winter of 1979 laid bare in all its severity the organizational chaos of our economic life.

Later, at the Second ZSMP Congress held in May 1980, some even harsher words were spoken by Jerzy [presumably Ryszard] Mellerowicz from Oborniki Wielkopolskie. We discussed the main arguments of his address and the rocky road of his career as an inventor in the article entitled "Patent on a Square Circle."

Statements of a similar or more vicious nature made by young people number in the hundreds. The result of the decision by management to put off doing anything about the suggestions that had been made was that in July and August some of these young people came to the conclusion their only remaining option was to take extreme measures.

To some observers of the August events the fact that young people are taking part in these strikes on a massive scale, often joining those groups who initiated the strikes, suggests conclusions that are too far-reaching insofar as they allow these observers to accuse the ZSMP of running educational programs that are less than effective. The time has now come to refute these hasty judgments and shallow opinions. Young people now account for from 30 to 70 percent of the work force employed in industrial manufacturing plants, and this is the most impressionable segment of the industrial work force due to its very nature and also due to its social and occupational status. We should not expect to discern the causes of this crisis in the attitudes of these young workers or in their lack of a civicminded maturity, though this too is sometime questionable. Let us not confuse causes with symptoms. We should be pleased to note that this fortunately small number of extreme voices is being resisted by the mature intellectuals and observers of our political life.

4. As was always the case in the past, so it should be now that the youth movement ought to be bound by the rules of fair play when it comes to passing judgment on the trade unions. There is no point now in hiding the fact that in the past trade unions were close partners of the ZSMP. But we should avoid criticizing the ZSMP aktiv as a whole. Rather it is most important that we should now differentiate between the petty tyrants and satraps, and those honest officials who have not dishonored the mandate of trust placed in them by their fellow workers. And of the latter there are many.

Youth movement activists should get actively involved in the debate on proposed laws on the trade unions and workers' self-management conferences. And in so doing they should be guided by a knowledge of how to draw distinctions between the positions of those who are really promoting the near and long term interests of the working class and of those who espouse anarcho-syndilalist views.

When it was time to discuss specific issues the participants in this conference came out against solving the problems associated with the participation of young people in the work of the workers' self-management conferences and the trade unions along pro forma, institutional lines. Instead they proposed truly meaningful forms of representation. The youth committees functioning as adjuncts of the councils at certain levels of the trade unions hierarchy were declared to be outdated and ineffective.

5. The civic and political maturity of the youth movement, which is evident in most cases, entitles it to speak out on general issues of national affairs.

Accordingly, it has been proposed that a young deputies club should be established in the Sejm that would be able to influence the decisions made by our highest ranking national leaders by presenting the views of the younger generation. This kind of arrangement has been employed to good effect in certain other socialist countries (in the GDR for example). In Poland a similar function is performed by the youth committees attached to the national councils.

6. The prevailing belief in the efficacy of institutional solutions, an attitude which was evident during the events of August, may give cause for disappointment if it turns out that good will is lacking when it comes time to take meaningful actions. We have already come up with some fairly good formal arrangements when it comes to the functioning of the institutions of socialist democracy. But we have not been able to profit from these arrangements. As things now stand, many of these institutional devices are taking on the character of defensive-preventive arrangements, and in the long run they do not go far enough in the absence of a willingness to bring about genuine reforms that obviate the repetition of past mistakes.

The ZSMP needs to mount an ideological offensive that is directed both inward and outward toward all young people. It must do this not only in order to dispel the doubts of a more general nature that are coming into the minds of young people, to be sure this is extremely important, but also in order to do a responsible job of propagating class-conscious and civicminded assessments of current problems and events.

For a long time now there has been a noticeable lack of refreshingly formulated ideological and civic education programs that motivate people in a conscious and not just in an instinctive way to get involved in public affairs. It is hardly surprising that in some localities the activities of the ZSMP have been dominated by the cult of efficiency, pragmatism, the overemphasis on the cost effectiveness of programs, and small-scale "patchwork" efforts that are devoid of any broader scope or more general perspective on public affairs.

7. It is above all necessary that we should initiate a new debate on the effectiveness of the work being done by this country's educational system, and in this context we must reconsider the role of the youth movement within the framework of the FSZMP, with a view to strengthening its cohesiveness, militancy, and the meaningfulness of its activities. It would be a good idea to consider whether or not it would be advisable to get the ZSMP involved in the upper grades of secondary schools. The newly interpreted program for the education of the younger generation, as ratified by the PZPR at the Seventh Plenum of the Central Committee held in 1972, might be able to play a very helpful role in the current debate on these issues.

It is especially urgent that we should address ourselves to the need to introduce courses on political science, history, economics and the arts into the curricula of our vocational schools in order to promote the mainstreaming of the members of our young working class. True, this is a task for the ZSMP, but it is above all a task that is incumbent upon the state. Thus far neither the school system nor the ZSMP has had anything to offer in the way of formal courses in any of these disciplines.

8. Improvements are also going to have to be made in the working style and methods of the youth movement. Higher-ranking officials in the youth movement need to spend more time working with members of special-interest clubs. They need to seek the advice of these club members with regard to the decisions that they have made, and to give a hearing to the views of real producers, that is, workers and farmers. In their everyday work they must be guided by the conviction that they were elected to their offices in order to serve young people, and not in order, as it has sometimes worked out, to keep the ZSMP running so that they can score points for the advancement of their personal careers. It is necessary to restore a measure of unaffectedness and directness in interpersonal relations within the ZSMP. It is necessary to provide for greater flexibility in the implementation of the organization's program based on the real needs and interests of young people.

The realization of this goal will be furthered, quite properly to be sure, by doing away with what are referred to as the ceremonial and ornamental functions carried out by the ZSMP in the past. The democratization of the organization's internal life should tend to reinforce the real strength of the ZSMP, that is to say, the clubs, as its basic components, should become the backbone of the ZSMP.

There are bound to be countless other arguments that will be cited in favor of pursuing this course. For the debate on these problems has only just got started.

Resolution of Youth Aktiv at Lenin Steelworks

Warsaw RAZEM in Polish No 37, 14 Sep 80 p 9

[Text] At a youth conference held on 5 September 1980 the aktiv of the factory workers' organization of the ZSMP at the Lenin Iron and Steel Works adopted the following resolution:
In view of the current sociopolitical situation that exists in our country, young iron and steel workers have expressed a desire to participate in and to be the coauthors of the socioeconomic changes that are promoting the underlying processes geared toward the reform of all areas of our national life. We therefore deem it essential that a stronger sociopolitical voice should be given to the youth of our country and to their representative in the working class, the ZSMP.

It is in this connection that we set forth below the demands submitted by the younger members of the work force at our combine:
--to give real meaning to the participation of young people's representatives is local organs of political power and social self-government, and to insure their effective voice in the shaping and implementation of local socioeconomic plans;
--to pass a law that will define the rights and duties of young people and their organizations;
--to empower organs of the youth movement to submit legislative initiatives;
--to establish a young deputies club in the Sejm;
--to give official representatives of the ZSMP a voice in the deliberations of plant collectives and to institutionalize their participation by passing appropriate legislation that conforms to the law on enterprises.

We are presenting our demands as set forth above in the deeply held conviction that their implementation would be in accordance with the policy line of our party with regard to the partnership role of the youth movement and as set forth in the resolutions of the Seventh Plenum of the Central Committee held in 1972, resolutions which unfortunately have not yet been fully implemented.

We believe that the implementation of our proposals will make it possible to define the role of young people in the socioeconomic life of our nation to a degree that will be commensurate with our patriotic goals and aspirations.

[signed] Participants in the Conference of the ZSMP Aktiv of the Lenin Iron and Steel Works

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INDEPENDENT STUDENT ASSOCIATION COMMITTEES FORMED

Meetings at Gdansk University, Gdansk Polytechnic

Warsaw STUDENT in Polish No 20, 9-22 Oct 80 p 5

[Article by Jerzy Siemko: "The Strike University"]

[Text] The Lenin Shipyard is assuming to role of a symbol.

The atmosphere of the city takes the afternoon newcomer by surprise. Nearly every one of its inhabitants has a diploma under his belt granted in August by that institution of continued learning--the "strike university," as it is known here. The strikes, the vigils in the shipyard or in front of the gate, the direct transmissions by Polish Radio of the debates of the Government Commission with the Interfactory Strike Committee [MKS], and above all the solidarity of the whole of society with every Gdansk inhabitant have left their traces.

Gregory is one of the many graduates of the "strike university." He works for the community to complete the artistic details of a plan for a monument in honor of fallen dock workers. He proclaims: "We want to continue the ties with the workers which were set up during the strike, to nurture solidarity and hope. Representatives of all social groups were present in the shipyard conference hall during the strike."

I found many graduates of the "strike university" in the building of the Gdansk University faculty of mathematics/physics/chemistry. It is here that the center of the Independent Association of Polish Students [NZSP] is found. The letters TKZ NZSP (for Provisional Founding Committee of the Independent Association of Polish Students) written on a window may be seen from a distance of several hundred meters. The Provisional Founding Committee has its office in room 226. Two rooms down is the PZPR Faculty Committee.

A small group of students is engaged in a discussion in the corridor. Among them are two members of the presidium of the Socialist Union of Polish Students [SZSP] Provincial Committee [ZW]--Tomasz Krzeminski and Aleksander Koprowski, and an aktiv of the SZSP culture section, Dariusz Nowaczyk. They have come to discuss cooperation between the SZSP and the NZSP in the area of culture and science. The rough draft of regulations is rewritten, the matter of tomorrow's meeting of the NZSP of Gdansk University [UG] is discussed. And so it continues throughout the day.

Andrzej Kasperek, a student of Polish studies at Gdansk University, informs me about the month-long history of the association. The initiative for calling together the NZSP originated on 27 August under the shipyard gate, where many students gathered. At a 1 September meeting of workers and students held at the university, Pawel Huelle read a student appeal; since that day over 1,000 persons have signed the appeal. The signers of the resolution demanded the return of autonomy to the university and the creation of an independent student organization of an apolitical character, among other things. The following day the Provisional Founding Committee, which now numbers 22 persons, was formed. It announced in its first communique that it "is conducting work on a draft of an independent, self-governing student organization, which, having an apolitical character, will participate in a real way in the scholarly, cultural and social life of the institution. The committee is of a temporary nature, and the results of its efforts will be reevaluated by the students immediately following the opening of the academic year in October of this year."

In a second communique of 9 September its credo was somewhat more broadly expressed. In answer to the question "What will become of the SZSP?" came the statement: "Let us make it clear from the outset: we are not out to develop the SZSP. We are of the opinion that this organization itself should define its position with regard to the above questions and should revitalize the forms of its operation (to the extent that it considers this appropriate or essential). In short: let the SZSP do that which it considers fitting for its members."

The initiators of the association admit that at present they do not have a complete program of action. It is to evolve out of discussions with the future members of the NZSP. The views of the present members differ on many issues. They are in agreement, however, about one thing: the SZSP has ossified into an institution and does not represent the youth movement. A copy of a piece of NZSP literature states: "The idea of a truly free and truly student movement which includes Marxists, Catholics and people of other convictions and beliefs can become a reality only if we, the students, implement it."

The idea of creating the association has been positively regarded at the university. During a 17 September meeting of nearly 400 students, the signatures on a declaration to join the association numbered approximately 120. The NZSP has the support of the Gdansk University Independent Employees' Self-Government and the rector, Janusz Sokolowski, who made a location available to serve the needs of the organizers.

Above all August brought about a radical change in the situation of the SZSP. The scene is the College Council of the Technical University of Gdansk on Friday, 19 September at about 2 pm. There is still a whole week before the return of the student body from vacation. Not a soul is around. I find a secretary, who tells me that the College Council secretary may possibly still turn up. And after a time Wojciech Jamrozik does arrive. I ask about the attitude of the College Council toward the NZSP. To be sure, some aktivs, among them even members of the College Council presidium, have gone over to the association. Despite this, the SZSP does not wish to fight with anyone, but to work together to develop in common that form of activity which best serve the student self-government. To this end the SZSP College Council of the Technical University of Gdansk called a meeting on 3 September, at which it presented its position. A parliament, which has a long-

standing tradition at the Technical University, could serve as a platform for the cooperation of all. It would be a body selected by all the students, independent of their affiliation.

The following day, among the members of the Agreements Committee--whose task is to propagate the idea of the parliament and to register student organizations which arise at the university--who were gathered for a prearranged meeting, there was one "representing himself alone," who was actively initiating a return to the concept of a Parliament at the Technical University, Szymon Skup. The chairman of the SZSP College Council, Jerzy Bogdanski, was also in attendance. Once again the question arose regarding the motives of undertaking the issue of a parliament several weeks before the beginning of the school year.

Skup stated: "The mood that swept over the whole city in August was an influencing factor. The Technical University of Gdansk has had a parliament for many years and by now it has practically become a legend. A universal lack of faith in the representative power of our mass organization, a crisis of belief in the organization as such and in the manner of its operation, skepticism concerning the possibility of the existence of an organization which is not run from within, the conviction that resiliency is lacking and the necessity of enabling smaller groups to play a part in making decisions about university matters activated this idea."

Of course I spoke with Tomasz Krzeminski and Aleksander Koprowski about the current student problems of the Gdansk SZSP. They do not hide the fact that "it is an interesting state of affairs." Initially there was the feeling that undertaking a dialogue with the NZSP is a common goal and that a plurality of views may engender a new entity. They are losing members, but until the present time, with 60 percent of the student body organized, only one-fifth at most was active. The association does not have a program of action; consequently, the SZSP cannot embark on a complete dialogue with them. The SZSP College Council takes the position that the student self-government should be represented by a parliament in which there would be room both for members of the SZSP and the NZSP.---"We have come of age rapidly in the past few weeks. The current situation has spurred a release of new motivations among factions of SZSP aktivs, increasing their activism. We react positively to initiatives of the creation of new organizations when they serve to rouse people from lethargy. We are convinced that the SZSP "will also contribute to this ferment."

Student Meeting in Krakow

Warsaw STUDENT in Polish No 20, 9-22 Oct 80 pp 3-4

[Article by Maria Paluch: "In the Beginning Was Chaos..."]

[Text] The posters announcing the creation of an Independent Association of Students (NZS) were already hanging at various points throughout the city on Friday. Then, as if by the touch of a magic wand, they began to disappear. Various hobbyists took part in the action and began tearing them down to enrich their own collections.

Monday, 22 September, 11 am at the Philology Institute on Grodzka Street, the posters said.

Students wearing white armbands stand at the entrance to the university grounds. They check the identification cards of those entering.

The meeting takes place in the open air because the building does not have a room that is large enough to accommodate all those interested in the meeting.

A few benches here and there. Most of the crowd stand. Employees of the Sociology Institute, stand at the windows, which face onto the square.

A banner hanging between the building and a tree announces "Democracy in Our Land, Independence for Organizations, Autonomy for the University."

The ones wearing the white armbands check the sound equipment. Their girl friends hand out an appeal to students published 10 September in Warsaw. "We propose the creation of an independent, apolitical departmental self-government representing the interests of all students. In our opinion, under no circumstances can the SZSP play such a role. Such self-governing bodies must arise in a democratic manner..."

Again the microphones are checked, and after a 20-minute delay the organizational part of the meeting begins. Everyone is asked to move to the left to allow the people near the gate to come within hearing range.

"My name is Jarek Zadencki...we would like to create an Independent Association of Students...we would like to work with independent trade unions..."

Everyone listens with concentration. The murmur of voices typical of large gatherings has completely died out.

"I note: The Founding Committee is not in authority, but wants to work. A new student organization is needed...

"The word democratization is now often used by those in power. The value of such words as justice and liberty is returning. External changes have also occurred. Society, which was apathetic and corrupted by the authorities, has come alive. It was seriously ill, but perhaps not incurably so (much applause).

"We are not permitted to enclose ourselves within the enclave of the university. We must come out against renewal. None of us has reneged in our responsibility for the fate of our country...The renewal process is a continuation of certain former tasks. We also had our share in these tasks. We took part in many activities...Until now they were 'underground' activities."

The speaker had in mind the activities of the Academic Renewal Movement as announced by the SZSP, an action against "student movements."

He continued after the applause, "The whole society, and we as well, have become aware of the fact that we should seek the subjectivity of society...The guarantee of this is organization proceeding from the ranks. But not governmental organization. The new union organizations will be in control of the authorities. Otherwise the government will become despotic...

"The SZSP may not claim the right to exclusivity.

"Its numbers are so great because it is the only student organization which has an available material base.

"It is ruled by the status quo. Only now has it submitted our former demands, which it had boycotted until now...

"The new organization, with the temporary name of the Independent Association of Students (NZS) must have a real right to take part not only in school matters...

"It can help to bring about a return of citizens' freedoms...

"The guarantee of the public nature of political and social life.

"The limitation of censorship.

"Truth in social and political studies and art...

"Respect for persons of other political convictions...

"A passport for every citizen.

"Abolishing the dividend for doing societal work.

"Reinstating those expelled from the university for their political convictions..."

"Are there such people?" shouts someone in the crowd.

"Employment according to one's training..."

The philosophy student standing next to me numbers this last demand of the Founding Committee among the "myths."

The Founding Committee believes that it will be assisted in the realization of the demands listed here and of all their other demands (which I do not list for lack of space) by the Free Unions of Scholarly Workers.

I look at the crowd. The people are determined--so it seems to me. They are quiet and sober. Emotions? I ask about them. I learn that this is not the time for emotions.

"Our initiative began with the Academic Renewal Movement (ARD)," says Marek Ciesielczyk, head of the ARD. Now we operate within the framework of the joint Founding Committee. Both the Inter-Factory Founding Committee (MKZ) and Walesa have given their support...On Friday the rector issued us an office and a telephone."

Borzecki, the representative from the MKZ, confirms Ciesielczyk's words about the support of the MKZ.

"The MKZ extends its heartfelt thanks to the student circle," says Borzecki. "While this is a vacation period which does not foster mutual activities,

cooperation has existed since the creation of the MKZ in Nowa Huta a week ago. At present the Krakow MKZ joins together over 100 work plants and over 100,000 people. This is a regionally operative force, like all MKZ groups throughout Poland...And we wish to maintain this structure...It guarantees contact with the masses. We are opposed to centralization of the union movement...The student movement derives its inspiration from the independent trade unions...A readiness exists for cooperation within the MKZ. A committee for cooperating with the students is to be called."

The meeting ends in a very uplifted mood: "You have the power to influence the student milieu. You are the salt of the earth!"

Next Prof Ryszard Luzny is the first to indulge in humor in the introduction to his speech. But he immediately turns serious as befits the moment.

"This is an opportunity which perhaps will not be repeated," the professor says. "The right to associate granted to the self-government is that right granted to students as well...I have followed university goings on for 4 full years. And I am pleased that these bold tendencies issuing from the ranks have become something universal. They are gaining a healthy color..."

Professor Luzny, who is aware of the fact that we are all being bombarded with appeals and exhortations, nonetheless takes the liberty of making an appeal to those gathered.

The appeal: for reason, reflection, and moderation--for gaining experience from what has happened--for avoiding extremes.

The high point of the meeting finally comes: the representatives of the Founding Committee have managed to get the final approval from the rector of the Jagiellonian University for access to an office and printing facilities.

A momentary easing of the tension: The voice from the microphone proposes the presentation of a plan of regulatory principles. The quiet returns momentarily.

"The association is independent of the authorities and other organizations...The self-governing and autonomous institutions of higher learning..."

And so on and so forth. At the request of the crowd even the organizational portion of the regulations is read.

"We cannot avoid extremes" resounds from the microphone, as if in answer to the demands of the professor.

An impatient wait for the delegates has begun. Students fill out forms. In the course of 20 minutes, nearly 200 persons have joined the new Association. The Founding Committee announces that a meeting of the Jagiellonian University Founding Committee and of all those who are willing to work will take place today at 8 pm at the Philosophy Institute. Finally the delegates return from the rector's office. A young woman, her voice indicating that she is out of breath, announces that the rector has given them an office on Golebia Street...

That evening at the Philosophy Institute.

It is fortunate that I have come early. At 8 o'clock the small room is full of people willing to work in the new organization. The morning's quiet has yielded to everyone's talking at once and outshouting one another.

We must get organized.

There are representatives of other institutions of higher learning. They are also willing to work. They will take the organizational knowledge they gain back to their institutions.

Certain regulatory statements engender doubts. Consequently a statutes committee is set up to work these things out...

"We should differ from the SZSP in that no member will be passive...there will be no 'dead souls,'" they remind each other.

They are in a fever of excitement, but only those who have newly arrived to work for the association. The Founding Committee members remain calm.

They have already been to the MKZ and have seen their legal advisor. At the MKZ it was decided that they should wait for the delegate from Gdansk. The legal questions have not been finalized because they are not, strictly speaking, trade unions.

"Later we will not be moved to act," someone says prophetically.

They went to the legal advisor concerning the registration of the new association. The minister has the right to register such an organization. The regulations are to be prepared and then are to be taken to the rector. The advisor promised to read over the regulations from the viewpoint of legal loopholes. Then they must send a letter through the rector to the minister. Within 2 months they should receive an answer. The 2-month wait dismays the volunteers.

Someone says, "I have the impression that we are acting illegally since we are signing up before the minister's approval."

"We are within the law, but unfortunately that is the official path," the committee members explain. After all, the rector has given his approval of our activities and has offered us an office.

Other committees are created. And there is a great dilemma concerning the joining together of the self-government committee with the committee working on a higher education law...

"The law should be well thought out and well formulated...

"We must announce our plan of student self-government to the SZSP. Self-government should be independent both of the SZSP and of us.

"The SZSP has announced elections to the self-government in which all will have passive elective rights. We must fight for active voting rights...We will present our lists. As a last resort--a boycott..."

The hubbub grows. The chairman of the meeting tries to gain control. Who would like to serve on what committee?

"The economic committee--no, because it will be under the management of the self-government..."

Remarks are made that the present work is mental work. "We must work conceptually to find forms of activism and of involving a large a group of students as possible."

An office of the press spokesman is created. The name of the spokesman will be given later, since this must be decided. It will be someone from the committee.

"There is still the question of the organization's newsletter," the volunteers remind the committee.

"There will be our newsletter and the Communiques of the Founding Committee."

This does not satisfy the volunteers.

"That's no good," a student behind me protests.

"Perhaps someone feels up to editing such a newsletter," the committee proposes. We ask all those interested..."

No one volunteers.

"I propose continuous tours of duty beginning tomorrow. We must have this. People will be coming and they must be kept informed...

"I propose various kinds of information for those who come. Information bureaucracy, or consultation..."

The hubbub grows. The dates of the organizational meetings of other schools are written on the blackboard. The committees set up the dates for their meetings, since "above all we must meet and settle something..."

8536
CSO: 2600

FUTURE OF STUDENT MOVEMENTS DISCUSSED

Is SZSP a Political Organization

Warsaw STUDENT in Polish No 18, 11-24 Sep 80 pp 1,5

[Article by Andrzej Korybski: "Is SZSP a Political Organization?"]

[Text] It is possible that the very presentation of the problem may seem for many people to be a rhetorical maneuver. Why, we talk about the political substance of the whole youth movement, of which the SZSP is one of the basic units, and in the ideological declaration and in the statute of the SZSP the ideological-political nature of the student organization is greatly emphasized. So what is there to discuss?

Nonetheless, the problem is not a contrived one. You can find it in the talks of the activist group of the organization, in questions about its political strength, about the actual nature and basic planes of its operations. There are statements that the organization is gravitating towards more the model of a trade union of student society than a political organization. It is a striking thing that between everyday talks appearing outside the current of the SZSP's life and the assessments and opinions formulated at the forum of the organization there is a tremendous difference. In the organization's official life the problem of its political nature is usually buried in the enormous number of self-government, touristic, cultural, and organizational affairs. With increased strength it appears only periodically: during a conference or reports marking the end of a certain period of operation of a department council, college council, and so on. In the conference-reports style it has become accepted to speak and write about the SZSP's ideological-political activity in the form which has been smoothed out and brought into agreement with all the possible factors, free of any controversial assessments, bristling with stereotype phrases. Unofficially the current of the discussion on the SZSP's political nature is usually a denial of the softened assessments, ground down slogans, congratulating statements. Has the disparity perhaps been a reflection of the SZSP bodies' failure and the milieu's failure to accommodate one another? Or maybe too some of these assessments are inadequate? If so, which?

Talk about SZSP's political nature at the organization's forum is usually limited to ideological-political activity, and often the sole responsibility for the effectiveness of action is laid entirely at the door of the training echelon. Then there is usually also criticism of the meager effectiveness which that element has on the milieu, symptoms of triteness, and ritualism in its work. There is a call for shifting the lion's share of the ideological-political activity to action groups, making them jointly responsible for organizing political discussions and for the course of the basic forms of ideological training. New forms of action are brought in, but forms which after a certain time (for example as in the case of the college centers of political and creative work) return to the well-worn tracks of discussion with an establish subject, talks, camps for cadres, and, most important, reports. There is a report, which is appropriately thick and based on a host of figures, and there is also a favorable assessment of the top echelon.

I think that in reviewing the problem of SZSP's political nature, it is essential to go beyond the question of the ideological-political work. Let me explain, in order that I may be clearly understood: This is an important issue, but it absolutely is not adequate to give a full picture of the student organization as a political organization. It would seem that SZSP's rules and by-laws really do answer the question unequivocally: "It is the task of SZSP to provide upbringing for the socialist intelligentsia [and inculcate] the highest ideological and moral values..." But this is only one side of SZSP's political nature. Let us read further on: "SZSP is the representative of the interests of college youth." Although it is placed further on, this point nonetheless is equally important to SZSP's political nature and may be of even the greatest importance. If the hypothesis that SZSP is turning into a students' trade union does actually pertain to the very question of representing their interests, then this is proof not of SZSP's apolitical nature but of its political character. The question is merely political force and hence the organization's effectiveness in representing the interests of student society.

Returning to the initial problem, my decision is in the affirmative, but not because this is what the by-laws and other documents of SZSP say. The organization's political nature is determined by SZSP's role and place in our political system. The state leadership here is taken to be an instrument for organizing social action to create the desired social goods and to distribute them in the interest of the broad ranks of the social masses. In such a conceptualization, the effective functioning of the system of state leadership depends on the extent to which that system effectively coincides with the important social interests. This requires both a precise familiarity with the social needs and that organization of the actions of individuals and groups which will lead to their creating the greatest amount of desired social goods of adequate quality.

A separate question is the operation of the whole mass of links between the society and political decisionmakers. What is essential is an expanded political system encompassing efficiently operating sociopolitical organizations which express and represent the interests of specific groups and milieus.

For a Democratic Leadership

These are indispensable links not only acting as channels of information but above all informing those links about social needs and about the opinions and social assessments of state decisions.

Each of these organizations is a unit of political life, in a dual sense. First, by its activity it spurs the organization of efforts on the part of a given group in a direction consistent with the directives and decisions which have been drawn up by the managerial decision-making group and implements top general social interests. Second, it represents the interests of the various groups and milieus in the political system. Any ineffectiveness of these organizations' work which might result from their low level of activity or inadequate institu tional participation in political life gives rise to the danger of erroneous decisions. The weakening of sociopolitical organizations also leads to difficulty in the social masses' acceptance of state decisions.

I consider the student organization to be one of the most important sociopolitical organizations. It bears the obligations and right to express and represent the interests of several thousand college students and young academic employees. Student youth should participate through it in the drafting of general social and group decisions, and at the same time through the organization the political and state bodies try to structure appropriate sociopolitical attitudes among the student community.

Hence, SZSP's position and role determine the political nature of SZSP, in the sense of the two aspects mentioned above. This is related to the question: What sort of political force does the student organization have? How effectively does the organization operate as a body which represents, expresses, and accomplishes in part the interests and aspirations of the student community? What is the SZSP's effectiveness of ideolo[illegible] political influence, its effect on the structuring of stude[illegible]ociopolitical attitudes? The answer to this question show SZS[illegible]eal political strength.

Ideological and political activity is treated as only one plane of action, which is considered by many to be less important, for example, in comparison to self-government or cultural activity.

Various Planes of Operation

People make a distinction here forgetting that without the support of cultural and self-government activity the talks and discussion of a political nature become superficial and illusory. Attention is given to the lack of familiarity with Marxism not only among the rank and file members of the organization but also among the activists. Under these conditions the structuring of proper ideological and political attitudes would seem to be a risky undertaking at the very least. On the other hand, it is emphasized that SZSP is burdened with numerous responsibilities and is becoming to an increasing extent a vague organization in the ideological sense. This is linked to its indecisiveness, its lack of clarity concerning models and attitudes to be spread. There is criticism that its forms of political work are meager and sets goals in terms of quantities (for example, the number of students who are party members is one of the most important measures of the effectiveness of ideological and political efforts). Opinions are put forth that the orientation to masses born out of the phenomenon of formal membership, and the passivity of a large share of the student community are an impediment to the effort to give the overall efforts of SZSP any uniformity in terms of world outlook or ideology.

These opinions and similar ones concerning SZSP's ideological and political activity come up rather often in the student community, but they concern only one side of the problem, because if we were to limit ourselves to only this sphere, it would be easy to encounter the accusation formulated in the form of the remote theory of the "drive belt," a theory the essence of which is the fact that it runs in only one direction, from the political and state bodies to the organization, and from the organization to the mass membership. The next accusation could concern tendencies which sometimes occur in burdening the student organization with the role of ideological and political guide, because the structuring of ideological and political attitudes may be effective insofar as it is linked to the effective representation of the interests of its community. It is a question of having each student recognize the actions of the organization as his own, of internal acceptance of the actions of SZSP bodies. Hence, effective ideological and moral work can be conducted only out of a conviction that the efforts of SZSP groups are the same as and mutual with the efforts of the students as a group.

I think that the problem of the political nature of SZSP, seen from the aspect of expressing and representing the interests of the community, should be considered on at least three planes:

From the viewpoint of the system of the flow of information between SZSP bodies and the community,

From the viewpoint of the institutional framework under which the activation of the student masses takes place,

From the viewpoint of mechanisms of representing and accomplishing the interests of the community vis-a-vis the authorities of the institution of higher education and the political and state bodies.

I do not feel justified in stating general diagnoses concerning each of these aspects.

On the Basis of Much Research

in sociology* conducted in the student community, we can put forth a hypothesis concerning the ineffectiveness of at least part of the cirulation of information between it and the SZSP. This is proved by the scant familiarity with the "Ideological Declaration of SZSP" and its by-laws among students. The decisions of the department councils and college councils are usually known to only a narrow circle of activists and finally, in the distribution of certain goods and values, a few other interested parties. Under conditions where the actions of the SZSP bodies are not entirely clear, the membership's control over the decisions of these bodies is illusory. Nor is there any full understanding of how the various decisions of the organization are adopted in the community. At the same time it seems as though the channels through which members of the student community can inform the appropriate echelons of SZSP about their problems, aspirations, and expectations are not operating at full effectiveness either. An analysis should be made of the operation of the lowest-level links in the SZSP: the action groups and the various cells of the department councils. In my opinion it is here that we could find the greatest possibilities for improving the flow of information within the student community.

The flow of information is tied in closely with the question of activating the members of SZSP. There is much disturbing information resulting from research concerning the decline in the level of activity. A small number of students are active, and this activity usually goes on within a closed circle, operating under informal rules. The ritual nature of life within the organiztion, the unclear nature of the real mechanisms by which the organization operates, all this excludes the ordinary student intent on his studies, the student who does not accept these mechanisms, and the student who simply does not know about them. To make matters worse, there is no such thing as a dialogue between the SZSP bodies and the student community. The decided majority of SZSP students do not see their role in SZSP decisions and is convinced that they are powerless, helpless, in terms of having any impact on decision-making within the organization. Various research shows that from over 40 percent to about 80 percent of those questionned consider themselves to be passive members of SZSP, blaming this for the most part on the organization and, especially, on the atmosphere of passivity and lack of clarity concerning the work of the department and college councils.

In Such a Situation

The student organization ceases to be an effective agent to express and represent the interests of the community, because it is difficult to expect the SZSP leadership to be a body which knows everything and anticipates every situation. What reaches it is the not very effective work of the mass media operating in the student committee. On the other hand the situation in which the student organization is threatened with playing the role of this drive belt mentioned above is becoming more and more realistic.

This is the final problem: the means to insure that the SZSP will have an effective role in making decisions concerning the student community and the country, means which will make it possible for it to have an impact on the decisions made by officials of the institution and the state. Decisionmaking in matters of the institution of higher education depends to a large extent on the position and role of the collegial bodies of the college, because this is mainly where student representatives come in. If the life of the colleges is dominated by one-man management and administration as a style, and if there are practically no forms of community control over the actions of college officials, then this also predetermines the extent to which SZSP can decide about matters of the institution. The most important matters remain beyond the sphere of operations of SZSP, when it is not sufficiently active concerning them. On the other hand, the questions are trivial, inconvenient for the administration, or those for whose creation they are responsible are thrust on the organization and presented as justification (for example, the organization of the SPR's), but I would be being unfair if I did not note the frequent stubborn battles of the central, local, and community echelons of SZSP to ease certain problems and to bring about certain decisions. On the other hand, it often also happens that these battles, which enjoy a great measure of success, are presented to the community as the result of the action of the college, local, or central administration and officials. The organization does nothing to bring about a conviction for change, because it does not consider the representation of the community's interests to be its primary task. The organization does not give an accounting with the community. It should be added that many other matters of tremendous importance to the community (for example, the question of the employment of college graduates, changes in study regulations) remain beyond the scope of their operations.

Several Comments on SZSP's Style of Operation

I think that the SZSP has adopted those forms and stereotypes of action which so powerfully dominate our sociopolitical life. After all, it is difficult to imagine that SZSP could be treated as something in isolation. The organization is an integral part of the political system. Its successes and failures are at the same time to a certain extent the achievements and failures of SZSP. The activity of SZSP seen

through the eyes of the ordinary member is activity devoid of elements of conflict. It is flattened out. But after all there are conflicts. There is an abrasion of views within the organization, but all that is unavailable to the general membership, because it is played out in closed circles, far from the broader forum. The moment the problem comes more out in the open, it is presented as the only correct solution, without alternatives. This is the reason for the formal conferences, the flat addresses, the formal papers on the assumptions of the working sessions. The conflicts no longer appear. The general membership is only a passive element which accepts decisions previously made. The tendency to compromise is victorious. Such an operating style doubtless has significant virtues, but I should like to point to the weaknesses: the destruction of alternative solutions, the furthering of the passivity of the rank and file membership, turning collegiality in the phase of passive acceptance into a protective shield for the real authors of given undertakings, and the loss of the general membership's control over the actions of the leadership. In connection with the abuse of the procedure of collegiality, one does not know who is responsible for a bad move or a good one, whom to praise and whom to condemn. And one can always give the explanation that the one most correct decision in the assumptions got lost somewhere along the way, progressing through the various echelons to the mass membership.

I am aware of the fact that the problems mentioned do not exhaust even part of the questions which need to be taken up right away. I am treating my presentation as a view open to discussion. I would like to emphasize once again its main hypothesis. SZSP is not and cannot be a creature for itself alone or an organization directly solely to be an instrumental role vis-a-vis the political and state authorities. The latter is very important, but always in connection with the functional nature of SZSP vis-a-vis the student community. The political nature of the organization is the preparation of its members for life in such a form of our political reality and not some other, the shaping of certain ideological and political attitudes in the student community. All right. But the political nature of SZSP is also, and perhaps even mainly, an effective expression, representation, and realization of student interests to officials of the institution and political bodies and to state authority.

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*Both this hypothesis and those presented later on in this article have been formulated on the basis of sociological research available to me, research which was conducted in the student community at least a dozen and some times during the 1970's. It is worth mentioning here, for example, the research on the student self-government movement conducted among Wroclaw students, research on selected problems of the political awareness of Lublin students, and research conducted at the request of the main administration of SZSP.

Possible Orientation Change

Warsaw STUDENT in Polish No 19, 25 Sep - 8 Oct 80 pp 1,4

[Article by Jacek Raciborski: "If Not Like That, Then How?"

> [Text] In the general national consideration of our country's future, students and young academic employees also have a role, without waiting for the start of the academic year. In the previous issue we published Andrzej Korybski's article, "Is the SZSP a Political Organization?" In this issue we are continuing the discussion on the future shape of the student movement. (See the following text and that on pages 4 and 5).
>
> We warmly invite further responses.

The academic year has not begun yet. The students are still scattered. They have not made a statement yet on the subject of their organization, but even now we can say that the scale of the changes in the country has shaken the student organization, placing before it a question on the order of: to be or not to be. This was caused by the workers turning against the functioning of the trade union movement in its former form. The scale of the political changes is also now creating the possibility for the public to come out and take a stand on subjects which used to be husned up, but this would be a simplification if we were to see only in it the possibility of taking a stand on the direction of reforming the student organization. Taking a stand now is worthwhile, necessary, because it is right now that there are real possibilities and at the same time the necessity of profound changes in its functioning. Now or never. This is no slogan. This is the truth.

The Socialist Union of Polish Students (SZSP), as an "ideological-political, mass, independent organization," has in no way fully confirmed the adjectives stated, taken directly from the by-laws and regulations. Its ideological and political nature have consisted of conducting apologetics concerning the changing directions of party and government policy and even the people representing it. But after all, this was not the concern of those who in March 1973 approved the documents creating it. The organization deserves the name political, if it plays an independent role in the whole system, if it has what is called a "political substance" and can effectively articulate the distinct range of student interests. Being an ally of the party, it cannot be its unthinking arm. Such a situation obviously is not the result of the errors of one activist or another on the Main Board but that of the political relations which have predominated up until now in the country. Nonetheless, such a political and ideological nature of the organization's authority has not been constructive. Obviously this hypothesis can be refuted by giving some sort of example of good activity on the

part of a discussion group, but it is not single instances which determine the nature of the organization. If 80 percent of SZSP members considered themselves to be politically passive (research conducted under the direction of Prof Malanowski at the University of Warsaw in 1979), then this would seem to be strong testimony concerning the extent to which the statutory tasks are being carried out. This organization has achieved a mass quality in its short history, but a declining trend in new membership in SZSP has been noted for some time. There are great differences in how the situation looks, depending on the college and even the department. I do not have any statistics at hand, but I personally know departments where only five or six students joined the organization out of 30 freshmen, although I also know those where 80 percent of the freshmen joined. However, the problem lies not in the numbers but in the quality. The basic masses of SZSP were not active. Many students do not remember having joined the organization at one time. This shows what a low level of identification with SZSP they have. The motives for joining the organization are not very inspiring either. The research already mentioned above shows that the predominating motives are those of individual benefits to be gained. Ideological motives were in last place, fourth, although the desire for social action was listed rather frequently as the major reason for joining, and this finding is encouraging. So much for the mass nature of the organization.

Independence, the next quality mentioned in the by-laws, also gives rise to many doubts. Independent of whom? The academic administration, the party? Surely not. Ironically, one could say of the students, yes, indeed independent. In the assumptions, which I agree with, where there is talk about action under the ideological and political leadership of the party, the reference is to our ideological option on behalf of socialism, to cooperation with the party in carrying it out, and to the fact that our actions coincide with its general political line. But this does not have much in common with implementing the detailed charges vis-a-vis the echelons of SZSP. Previous methods of directing the youth movement do not serve the interests of socialism. Youth activists must understand this fact too. Everything favors it. Independence with regard to the academic administration is a necessary condition for the organization to be able to fulfill its statutory obligations, but practice shows that things are not the best here either. Heads of the College Council and Department Council, usually the pets of deans and rectors, additionally are aware that their function and good relations with the academic authorities are a way of finding a permanent home in the institution or in the upper echelons of the youth machinery.

It is also worth pointing out that the college organization is financially dependent on the rector. SZSP has regulations insuring that it receives a share of the college budget, but the bursar and rector determine the timing and amount of the flow of money. Hence, a "good" head of a college council must keep this in mind too. There are many other, deeper reasons why activists are not very militant in the fight for the

interests of students. Fundamental, it seems to me, is the lack of continual pressure from the mass membership on the way its representatives handle community matters. This is related to the fact that there is little SZSP control activity and also that the machinery of the organization has become bureaucratized and shows a tendency to become autonomous.

It is not my intention in so short an article to present a diagnosis of the condition of the organization, because such a diagnosis after all would require broad discussion and a careful weighing of errors and merits. There is no one objective truth about the organization. It is the way students see it and assess it, and it is difficult to arrive at any unanimous agreed-upon assessment. What should be changed, and how, in order to maintain unity of the student unit, unity in the student community, because this is an important element of its strength? There may be many programs and concepts. The thing is their social acceptance, their authentic popularity, because this is what determines whether or not they are real. I am convinced that we now need to reinterpret the rules and regulations, which have been distorted in many places through practice, as we have shown above, but in many places too we must change them. In hypotheses only now I would like to present directions for concrete changes, which I feel to be essential conditions for obtaining moral authority in the student community and making this authority a lasting one.

1. There must be a departure from the fiction of SZSP action groups. They never really operated well, but the idea of them was propagated with a thrust worthy of a better cause. They could be effectively replaced by a dean's group council leading with an elder. The groups' elders would form the council of the year. The elder for the year should be elected for the whole year in direct elections. In this way a department council could be created. This is an old ZSP custom which simplifies and facilitates the handling of everyday student affairs related to study and environmental conditions. These organizational structures would encompass all students, regardless of their organizational membership and represent real student self-government. If the SZSP does not want to find itself outside these structures, then its members should try for the mandate of the whole group.

2. One of the conditions to the organization's independence is its financial independence. A major share of the funds should come from dues, the amount of which has remained unchanged for years and must be increased. In addition, in order to make the organization independent of the funds of the institution of higher education and therefore independent of its officials, a subsidy for the organization should come directly out of the central budget through the main administration. The department councils must have far-reaching financial independence vis-a-vis college officials too.

3. The need of the moment is a broadly conceived development of the student self-government providing the opportunity for all students to enter into real participation. This pertains especially to the residents' councils in the dormitories, the student club councils, and also the student scientific movement. It would also be worthwhile to popularize the notion of the creation of student scientific societies institutionally independent of SZSP.

4. The student organization, which is itself based on self-government structures, should call for the restoration of the self-government in the institutions of higher education, for example, through the appointment of all academic officials.

5. In the SZSP, as after all in other sociopolitical organizations, we are dealing with the officialdom of the machinery. On the other hand, it should be exerted through the echelons, that is, for example, with the college council being not the presidium but the plenum. In order to counteract the phenomenon which I call the degeneration of the representatives, which consists of the delegates' rapid forgetting of the mandate under which they are operating, I propose that the institution of the imperative mandate be created. Then the representative of the department or college has a strictly defined position which he is obligated to defend. This mandate should also be conditional, and could be withdrawn at any moment. These are the measures of direct democracy, measures essential at the moment of such a deep crisis of trust in the "representatives." The election mechanism in SZSP is not working properly. Important functions are assigned outside of it, for example, through the indirect election of echelon chairmen, the mechanism of coopting people, and the phenomenon of too frequently departing from secret voting. This has a bad influence on the moral authority of operating activists vis-a-vis both students and college officials.

6. The practical operations of the review committees and collegial courts by no means confirm the statutory principle of their independence. The review committees examine only what the chairmen want them to examine. In the same way, the courts review those persons who do not have "immunity" by virtue of their functions. The regulations are good, but some sort of discreet mechanisms influence of the organization functionaries on these links suspend the working of these regulations. Therefore these groups do not enjoy much respect, and it is for this reason that the people who wind up on them are rejected personnel, and in addition they are often incompetent. In order to correct such a state of affairs, it is necessary first of all for the students themselves to become active in the execution of the statutory rights of the review and judicial bodies.

7. In SZSP bureaucracy is progressing at a geometric rate. In the upper echelons there is no social activist group, and this means that the machinery must just keep on growing. Similarly, in the student cultural

clubs, full-time and half-time jobs and lump-sum payments are the only way of mobilizing people to become active. It is a vicious circle. It is necessary to create the positions and the payments, because there is nobody willing to work for nothing. There is no group of social activists here, because these are strictly hierarchical offices. It is probably a substantial share of the organization's budget which goes to maintain this machinery. A change in the style of operation, the programs, and the atmosphere in general in the community is another problem that could be quickly resolved.

8. SZSP distributes many different sorts of goods. There is general criticism that the criteria for distribution are not fair. Great priority is given to activists. There are frequent instances of using friendships. All of this is bound to irritate the students. It would be worthwhile to transfer all these goods for distribution to the self-governments in the departments. SZSP on the other hand should try to see that there are as many such goods to be distributed as possible.

All these proposals are based on the assumption of the unity of the student movement, but not on an assumption of uniformity. This must be a diversified movement, in order to take in the various spheres of student life and articulate the different sorts of needs, but at the same time its strength and place in the political system is a strict derivative of this unity. There is constantly the problem of a guarantee, and in the same way we can also class everything I have written about here too. In my view there are no assurances that changes will be made in the direction of democratization, except for this one: the mass activity of all students. If this activity does not appear and the passive, conformist attitudes are not broken down, then the most radical institutional change will not insure that the student movement is democratized. One bureaucracy will be replaced by another. This has been the way many basic reforms have ended. The project which I have presented here is not complex or comprehensive. A great deal could still be added. Maybe the whole notion is wrong. But if it should not be this way, then how should it be?

10790
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SZSP CULTURAL AKTIV SUBMITS POSTULATES

Warsaw STUDENT in Polish No 18, 25 Sep - 8 Oct 80 pp 4,5

[Article by Jan Tasak: "A Fragment of a Larger Entity"]

[Text] Central Camps of the SZSP Cultural Aktiv [COAK], usually held before the beginning of an academic year, gained a permanent place in the calendar of our student movement. STUDENT usually reported about the discussion between the authors and activists of student culture, a discussion going--admittedly--far beyond the narrowly interpreted framework of the student cultural movement.

This year's Central Camp of the SZSP Cultural Aktiv took place on 6 through 12 September in Chelm under unusual circumstances. There is hardly any need to inform anybody about the events which caused that situation, because at the end of this summer all Polish citizens became spontaneous creators of the life they share. The student movement, particularly its creative aktiv, could not avoid raising its voice for that national cause.

The effect of the few days which the student cultural activists spent in Chelm is reflected in "The Statement by the Participants in the Central Camp of the Cultural Aktiv." In accordance with the concluding pledge the representatives of the participants who had signed the COAK document presented one copy of the statement to our editors for publication in STUDENT. Only the volume of the statement prevents us from fulfilling the wishes of the signatories of that document. However, we publish its contents in a necessary abbridgment.

The Statement opens with an introduction outlining the circumstances at the inception of that document and the motivation guiding its authors. Among other things, the student artists and cultural activists underscore the following: "We have already expressed our anxieties and concerns in our previous artistic statements and in discussions in various forums, and warned against the irregularities developing in our country."

We hardly need to convince the readers of STUDENT that those are no empty words voiced expostfacto to fit the new situation in our country. After all, our editorial board also tried to support students' concerns, especially those expressed in the language of arts. Therefore we shall confine the gist of the introduction to a single quotation: "We are guided most of all by our concern for the future of Poland and of our circle." Presented here are specific postulates articulated in the statement.

In the most general terms, from the 38 postulates stipulated in the document (not counting subsections and annotations) we may single out a group of proposals concerning general democratization of Poland's life, a system of reforms related to a broadly conceived state cultural policy, postulates pertaining to the function of schools of higher education as well as the broadest group of proposals concerning the character of student organizations and the space open in them to artistic activity.

In the first group of postulates expressed by the COAK participants we encounter the problem of democratic social representation in all representative organs, with a focus on the necessity for the young polish generation to increase its participation in those bodies. Here we note also a postulate calling for a regeneration of the life of the party which is supposed to have the leading role in our country (the postulate expressed after all even more forcefully and broadly by the workers' groups) as well as a related task to make our political life less theatrical and to promote such democratic mechanisms as dialog, management and responsibility.

The paucity of postulates addressed to Poland's most generally conceived problems must not be interpreted as an expression of a lack of interest in these issues on the part of the student cultural aktiv. In view of the postulates endorsed by the workers, the student artists and cultural activists concentrated on an area of problems closest to them, namely, on student and cultural affairs.

The postulates and proposals concerning social control of Polish cultural development focus on the question of our national culture, in other words, on the state cultural policy. Consequently, the statement demands that mass communications media, publishing policies, and awards of cultural values also be subjected to social control which should be exercised by representative democratic organs, and in particular, also by an elected council (in which representatives of student organizations would participate). A far from negligible proposal, echoing the views of many other media, underscores the necessity to increase governmental allocations for culture, among other things.

Focusing on the immediate sphere of influence in our higher education (regarded as a part of our educational system), the authors of the statement strongly emphasize the necessity to democratize the academic system. On the one hand, they call for greater autonomy of institutes of higher learning (among other things, by restoring elections of their authorities and giving them greater powers, whether in instruction or research), and on the other hand, they vigorously stress the necessity to enable the students themselves to be partners in the administration of their educational institutes. The postulates concerning student participation in the administration of their schools are presented in rather broad terms; among other things, they call for organization of a democratic student self-government, and discuss the method of participation in collective control of educational institutes, as well as statutory guarantees granting the students the right of effective representation.

The categorically formulated postulates in that group deal with changes in the curricula of higher education. Furthermore, they call in general for updated and individualized program of studies, especially for a reform of the humanities and social studies where the "seasonal character" of propaganda and other concepts is

felt much too frequently. Finally, some of the postulates address themselves to the problems of admission into academic life which have been provoking doubts for a long time (abolition of rectors' seats at examinations in favor of admission and determination of qualification for study exclusively on the basis of the examination, etc.).

The opportunities open to college graduates are correlated to a certain extent with the course of study itself. In six specific postulates designated as "social living" the authors of the statement focus their attention on problems of appropriate employment and correlation of the system of priorities in obtaining a professional start with the results of studies. Of vital importance is the proposal dealing with facilitation of the graduates' start in professional life (jobs, residence, etc.).

The most extensive group of postulates articulated in the Chelm Statement concerns the student organization itself, especially its obligation to stimulate the spiritual life of the academe, and to sponsor every form of student cultural activities. With the sequence of the postulates slightly rearranged, we find here a voice advocating democratization of the student organization, and calling for more interest on the part of its members in affairs of the SZSP, more efficient work, and greater responsibility on the part of the SZSP leadership. Specific postulates suggest a change in the SZSP electoral regulations (direct elections to faculty and college instances, secret ballots in personnel affairs, introduction of a principle limiting the tenure of administrators with concurrent reduction of the term of tenure, and finally, more competent representative bodies and control organs of the SZSP).

Because it is quite certain that student forums will discuss the postulates many times--they must be regarded as a mere fraction of the proposals and views of the students.

This fraction was expressed by the cultural aktiv whose most specific demands are articulated in special proposals concerning the performance of the Cultural Commission at the General Administration of the SZSP. Proposals of changes in the sphere of competence, composition and types of activities of the Cultural Commission at the SZSP General Administration have caused some anxiety--mainly because they are focused on only one level of the SZSP organizational structure (and also of the students' cultural movement), turning organizational solutions into something of a fetish and ignoring the most essential problem of fostering the involvement (including cultural activity) of broad masses of students, as well as creating mechanisms that would make it possible to take advantage of the initiative arising from the rank and file of the organization.

A prominent place in the statement was given to postulates stipulating the tasks of the SZSP in the area of patronage in the art movement. Thus, it was confirmed that "the SZSP must do its best in exercising its patronage of the art movement, offer the best possible organizational and technical opportunities, and above all, a sense of security to authors entering their works in our program and participating in citizens' discussions about ourselves, our organization, our society and our country."

In those terms many more tasks are articulated for the student organization. Other proposals call for mediation in the implemenation of the students' postulates by the Ministry of Culture and Art (among other things, to establish a scholarship fund for young authors in the budget of the Ministry of Culture and Art, to facilitate the professional start of authors remaining within the sphere of student culture--and on the peripheries of the authors' guild system of organization of professional creativity--and to offer more material security for the activities of student art organization). An evidently fundamental proposal deals with stabilization of a mutually binding framework of cooperation between the SZSP (as the representative of the student art movement) and the General Bureau for Control of the Press, Publishing and Entertainment--narrowly linked with the postulated law on censorship.

An ample space in the statement is devoted to necessity of broad-based popularization of the student art movement. Thus, among its postulates we find recommendation of specific methods to popularize student culture, as well as some proposals that are more general from the point of view of student life, dealing with intensification of the students' own publishing potential (for example, establishment of the SZSP's own publishing house, and a guaranteed right to appoint adminstrative cadres of the SZSP to existing student publications). One part of the proposals outlines new institutions of the student cultural movement (for instance, the Organization of Cultural Studies) whose establishment should guarantee, according to the opinion of the authors of the statement, correct development of student creativity and intellectual thought.

The document which we present here considerably abbreviated is quite evidently incomplete, in many sections excessively general, and occasionally again overly detailed. We shall avoid polemics with some doubt-provoking theses in the statement, because we realize that this is but one of the first voices of the Polish students' organization on an issue that is not a matter of indifference to any Polish citizen. We may be certain that in the immediate future a much wider body of the SZSP members and students outside that organization will also express their judgment on issues introduced by the students' cultural aktiv in Chelm. In all probability, the signatories of the statement are aware of that. We regard their voice as an important expression and as an initial pronouncement by Polish students on the most meaningful issue, as continuation of the powerful words hurled in our factories, ironworks and shipyards--a voice in Poland's interest.

9004
CSO: 2600

MINISTER GORSKI MEETS WITH KRAKOW STUDENTS

Krakow GAZETA POLUDNIOWA in Polish 15 Oct 80 pp 3, 4

[Article by Teresa Betkowska: "The Minister and the Students"]

[Text] A loudspeaker blares: "...we demand,...we request,...we want...." From the trolley station, Municipal Transport Enterprise passengers turn toward the building to look.

Dozens, hundreds of students are going into the Rotunda, some with SZSP [Socialist Union of Polish Students] emblems on their sweaters and jackets, others with the green badges of NZS [Independent Association of Students], still others with just an identification card. No one will be allowed in the door without one.

It is crowded in the corridors, and in the coffee shop and the stairways as well. Images flicker on television screens, and the clamor of loudspeakers is mingled with voices. Everyone is pressing forward to a room on the second floor, the main hall. There, at noon on 9 October, a meeting is to begin.

It is exactly noon. There is still nobody at the long table on the podium. A girl with a brown cap hurries to the rostrum. She reads a statement on what a student organization embodying democracy and autonomy should be like. The room is in turmoil. There is applause, loud applause. The girl does not stop even when the persons they are awaiting press through the middle of the hall to the table with the green cloth. They sit down and listen; everyone listens. The NZS representative leaves the microphone and her place is taken by Maciej Brzezinski, head of the Krakow Board of the SZSP, who thanks the previous speaker for occupying those at the meeting while they waited for Minister Janusz Gorski [minister of science, higher education and technology] and representatives of other ministries.

"We planned this meeting," says Brzezinski, "in order to present our views regarding the demands presented on 18 September to the minister, to Premier Jozef Pinkowski and to Central Committee First Secretary Stanislaw Kania. These demands are contained in the 17 September resolution of the Krakow Board and lay the groundwork for the organization's discussion with the student community. I suggest the following program for today's meeting: first the minister will speak, then there will be a discussion, after which we will work out a joint communique specifying the time, the proceedings and the method of resolving the demands."

There are cheers, whistles, shouts and countershouts. There is an air of uneasiness, of tension in the hall. Not everyone here is trustful, and not all are of like mind.

The minister stands before the audience.

"Colleagues, at the outset I must thank you warmly for your invitation." (cheers) "I am aware that this meeting may be less interesting than--shall we say--2 years ago." (loud applause, shouts) "But, my friends, I understand that we will be deliberating in accordance with democratic practice. These practices call for respect for others' opinions--at least, this is my view. And I have had good training in this respect. If i interests you, my mentor as a scientific worker was Professor Edward Lipinski. I worked with him until be became emeritus, and then succeeded to his chair." (Here the minister spoke of his scientific work, his publications, his work in the ministry and the like.) "I have come here, to you, full of humility." (Cheers) "I have! As Comrade Kania taught me to do." (loud applause) "I have given some thought to the procedure for the meeting. As you know, I am a professor, and sometimes professors like to ramble. This is a normal practice. But please don't lose patience right away: there is a purpose in my opening remarks. But I don't want to speak longer than 45 minutes minutes...."

The appointed time passes, and the minister is still speaking. Questions come from the floor, and he answers them. Laughter and sarcastic remarks can be heard in the room. Sometimes the audience is indignant, sometimes the minister is. There are encounters from which the representative of the government does not come out entirely unscathed.

[Question] "Mr Minister, why do you rely on statistics?"

[Answer] "Because they get the point across."

[Question] "More conjuring with numbers? More success propaganda? And what if the material base is growing in terms of figures? You should pay a visit to the schools in Krakow."

[Answer] "My friends, it's not as bad as that! Let me give you an illustration: we are building the Institute of Polish Culture [Institut Polonijny] and the Molecular Institute...."

[Question] "And at the Institute of Pharmacology, wall sections are lying around on the ground, there are no places in the student hostels, there are few dining rooms...."

[Answer] This kind of talk won't do. We are far from thinking that in the last 10 years we have done nothing to develop higher education in Poland and that we have simply taken it apart. Certainly there are shortcomings: we know that. We want to eliminate them. We are developing a new law on higher education."

The minister says that the schools themselves can formulate the program of instruction, the students deny it. He says that there is autonomy, but the

schools are not capable of utilizing it; there are protests from the floor. He says that the scientific research programs are not dictated; the audience has a different opinion.

"As education becomes a common good," says the minister, "you must get used to the fact that with a diploma you will be getting lower and lower positions. Poland is overproducing educated people."

[Question] "Mr Minister, we do not belong among the advanced countries at all in terms of the number of people with a higher education. And educated people are informed people."

[Answer] "We don't have jobs for them, and that is the truth."

The speakers speak both at the microphone and from the floor. They speak of a lack of textbooks, lecture notes, and books in general, as well as of the low level of teaching, of poor organization of assignments, and of overloaded programs.

[Answer] "I know, I agree with you. Three years ago I said that in our education work we are behaving like a locomotive with a large head of steam: it whistles like the devil and does not go anywhere."

It is time for the demands. The minister addresses those presented by the Krakow SZSP Board, reading them one at a time and discussing them--for the most part briefly. "We are moving in that direction" (regarding increased autonomy for the schools). "I agree, and we are already implementing it" (regarding instituting the election of rectors and deans). "I agree" (regarding updating of the principles on which disciplinary and dismissal commissions act). "Their autonomy is complete, so I do not understand" (regarding increased autonomy for schools in choosing their research programs).

"I have my doubts" (regarding the elimination of preference points in entrance examinations). "We are considering it" (regarding the acceptance only of "superstars" [olimpijczycy] without examinations). "We haven't the foreign exchange" (regarding guaranteeing access to all scholarly sources published in this country and abroad). "It's under the jurisdiction of the local governments" (regarding the guaranteeing of a sufficient number of places in student homes and dining halls for those who need them). "I am waiting for suggestions" (regarding a fundamental reorganization of the health care system). "That's your affair" (regarding an independent student press). "I'm sorry, but I'll argue against this, because I have a different opinion" (regarding the system of performance of military service). "We don't deny it; today's meeting attests to that" (regarding the right to public airing of opinions).

There are a good many more demands: 15 regarding the political situation in the country, formulated in the spirit of the agreement entered into on the Baltic Coast, 12 regarding academies, matriculated students, and the young family; and 8 aimed at guaranteeing implementation of the organization's requests.

[Question] "Mr Minister, you have been speaking for 2 full hours, and you have disposed of the most important matter, our demands, in a few sentences, just as if you received them at 5 minutes to 12 and had not yet had time to familiarize yourself with them."

[Answer] "That is because they are too sloganistic, too general. What does this mean: 'Fundamental reorganization of the health care system?' What does this mean: 'We demand a reanalysis of previous work in the administration of justice in Poland'--that if one wife cheats on her husband, all are unfaithful? And you want to go through all the cases that have been on the court calendar! No, my friends. But if there really are some cases about which you have doubts, please ask, but be specific."

[Question] [Mr Minister, you have been cracking jokes and telling anecdotes and treating us as if we are of little importance."

[Answer] "Why do you think that? I have dealt quite clearly with nearly 90 percent of the demands."

Emotion reigns in the hall. A discussion begins. Members of SZSP come to the microphone. But NZS too wants to speak:

"Why did no one invite us to today's meeting? We are already organized. It is true that we are not yet registered, but there are already thousands of students in the Independent Association! This cannot be treated as a trivial matter. We have draft bylaws and a program. But we were not able to get them printed because we have had trouble getting access to printing facilities."

After other speakers, Andrzej Bozecki, representative of MZK NSZZ "Solidarnosc" [Interfactory Founding Committee of the Independent, Self-Governing Trade Union Solidarnosc] has the floor.

"We have already met. We were in the neighborhood of the Jagiellonian University, on Grodski Street, when the Independent Association of Students was formed. Representatives of SZSP have also come to see us to propose cooperation with Solidarnosc. Let me explain the position which the Interfactory Organizing Committee has taken inthis matter: we have promised to cooperate with NZS because we see in the process of formation of this movement many analogies with our labor movement. But we do not refuse to cooperate with any social organization whose program shows that it is concerned with the good of the country and of the working people. Accordingly we have suggested to the representatives of SZSP that they start by developing a basis for agreement in their own sphere, over the years and in their departments. If there is a possibility for developing a unified program and for carrying it out through joint actions, this must come from below, as is the procedure in our union."

Bozecki speaks slowly and stresses the words in which he calls for reasoned action and thought. But he appeals especially to the young students not to ruin what has been achieved by the people in Gdansk, Szczecin and Jastrzebie by any ill-conceived actions or strikes.

Applause follows.

The next speaker: "On behalf of NZS I would like to deny immediately the rumors intimating that we are preparing for a strike. This is not true. Rather, before today's meeting we heard that SZSP has a plan to declare a strike in one of the departments of Jagiellonian University."

There is silence in the hall: consternation. Nobody denies the report. Then? Disputes, reasonable voices and not-so-reasonable voices. At times, debating pure and simple.

The fourth hour of discussion passes. Another speaker from the floor:

"We didn't come here to make conversation; we came to resolve specific matters." (Loud applause for the speaker). I think that we should now begin the second part of our meeting, in which we will have detailed discussion, leading to motions and resolutions. Accordingly I suggest that we begin that part of the discussions, with a much smaller group, downstairs in a specially-prepared room, which is wired for sound and has television cameras. Anyone who is interested in the course of the subsequent debates can listen to what is said at the table when the representatives of students of all the schools and representatives of the ministries sit down together."

Again an uproar. NZS is not prepared for the discussions, because nobody, it says, told it about them. Not being a registered organization, how can it participate officially? Who should be "designated" its representative? NZS suggests putting off the discussion until another time.

Again many young people come to the microphone. There are further disputes. It is approaching 5 pm. A young man comes up with a card.

"I would like to ready an important news item which has just been handed to me: 'Polish Radio has reported that this year's Nobel Prize for literature has been won by Czeslaw Milosz.'"

The loud applause in the hall reaches its zenith. The barriers have disappeared. Now nobody can contain his emotion. Minutes pass and the joy does not subside.

Minister Gorski makes a decision: the students who are now in the rotunda may consider themselves excused from assignments today.

The discussion continues.

It is 6:40 pm. Maciej Brzezinski announces the end of the meeting. The minister and department directors go to the hall downstairs, as do the SZSP representatives. A long discussion begins regarding all matters included in the demands, but also concerning those which are particularly important in the life of the academic community. All are tired, some very tired.

It is 8:40 pm. I briefly leave the hall with the spotlights, cameras and microphones. I take another look into the coffee shop: here, over meatballs in dill sauce, a few people are watching the television monitors. And the rest? They are playing cards or pinball. The sound of guitars and singing is heard from the hall.

At 10 pm the meeting with the minister concludes after 10 hours.

8480
CSO: 2600

ARTICLE ON FREUD AROUSES CONTROVERSY

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 19, 5 Oct 80 pp 51-52

/Article by Dr Leonard Gavriliu: "Accuracy of a Review and Ethics of Scientific Work"/

/Text/ Under the title "Accuracy of a Criticism and the Standard of Scientific Truth," Dr Tiberiu Vlad published a review in ERA SOCIALISTA No 15, 1980 of my Romanian version of three of Sigmund Freud's most representative works ("Introduction to Psychoanalysis," "Lectures on Psychoanalysis," and "Psychopathology of Everyday Life"). In addition to a series of general remarks and some judgments of the suitability and significance of the publication of these works of Freud's in Romanian "as an illustration of our broad cultural receptiveness in these years," this review includes a number of critical opinions (in itself an absolutely favorable fact) which would be welcome if they were the result of a relevant analysis of Freudian psychoanalysis in the light of dialectical and historical materialism and the latest advances of science in general and of the social and medical sciences in particular.

I shall discuss below some of the reviewer's statements and objections concerning the Freudian texts or my introductory study to this volume, "Sigmund Freud or the Right to Truth."

T. Vlad writes, "The lecture on 'The Making of the Dream' includes a synthesis of the ideas in the referenced work 'Die Traumdeutung,' published in 1900, and presents the relationship fundamental to Freud between the 'latent dream' and the 'manifest dream'." Leaving aside the expressions "latent dream" and "manifest dream" (which occur nowhere in Freud and are probably the result of careless reading of the Freudian text by the reviewer), I stipulate that a synthesis of the ideas in the massive volume "Die Traumdeutung" is not in the cited chapter but in all 11 chapters of the second part of the work "Introduction to Psychoanalysis," while the relationship to which T. Vlad refers is specially treated in the chapter clearly entitled "The Manifest Content and Latent Ideas of the Dream."

T. Vlad reproaches me at one point because "an even more marked omission concerns the psychoanalytic type of division of the personality into three compartments" and because, presumably in order to fill this gap, I "inserted in the preface" a passage "of three pages (25-28) from Freud's last work ('View of Psychoanalysis')."

Anyone checking these statements will readily find that the criticized quotation is not even two pages long (to say nothing of the fact that 28 lines are taken up by the footnotes) and that an entire chapter of the introductory study ("Structure of the Psychic Apparatus'," pp 21-28) treats in depth and with the aid of some zincographed sketches what T. Vlad incorrectly calls in his review (and even more incorrectly defines) "division of the personality."

After declaring himself in disagreement with the "dismissal" of Herbert Marcuse as an adherent of psychoanalysis, T. Vlad concludes that I have also applied "similar epithets" (to those he quotes from a note on p 33) to other personalities too, as for example B. F. Skinner, H. J. Eysenck, Karl Popper, Jung or Lacan. I declare that I assume full responsibility for the evaluation of some or others of these authors, but it is beyond my powers to find any mention anywhere in my study or in any note among the many scattered throughout the volume the name of Karl Popper, which probably clung to T. Vlad's pen from a review by the famous English psychologist Anthony Storr.

In referring to "the studies on dreams in the last two decades," the reviewer concludes that "H . Fiss, Michel Jouvet, Liviu Popovici (sic!) and others try to demonstrate the importance of dreams in maintenance of mental health, which supports Freud's idea. On the other hand, the idea of a manifest content of the dream and another latent one has not been confirmed. Moreover the repetition of certain anticipatory dreams, when an individual is expecting some important changes that might negatively affect his existence, can be regarded as a processed form of anxiety, a function postulated by Freud but surprisingly limited by him to the periods that follow traumatizing events." This whole passage, barely disguised by some transpositions of proportions and by slight terminological retouches or minor omissions, reproduces two paragraphs from the above-mentioned review by Anthony Storr of the work "The Scientific Credibility of Freud's Theories and Therapy" (Basic Books, New York, 560 pp) by Seymour Fisher and Roger P. Greenberg, from which review we quote: "Although studies on lack of dreams show that they probably play an important part in maintenance of mental health (which supports Freud's idea that dreams maintain mental balance), the language of dreams is not an obscure text that can be deciphered solely by a psychoanalyst. In other words the idea of a 'latent' content as contrasted with an 'evident' one has not been confirmed. Many dreams, like the anticipatory reveries of the kind we all have when we are faced with the prospect of an important interview, for example, appear linked to a kind of cognizable processing of anxiety. Freud postulated such a function, but surprisingly limited it to the kind of dreams which, he said, he found the most difficult to explain, namely the dreams that are repeated and appear after a 'traumatic' event."

What I think is wrong here from the scientific standpoint is the fact that T. Vlad attributes to H. Fiss, M. Jouvet and L. Popovici a critical view of Freudianism that actually belongs to the two authors reviewed by Anthony Storr, the famous English psychologist, who himself has a quite reserved attitude toward Freud and expressly prefers Carl Gustav Jung in matters of psychoanalysis, whose disciple he was.

T. Vlad quotes the work of Seymour Fisher and Roger P. Greenberg, which he dates as having been published in New York in 1979! That is a sheer impossibility because the review of this volume appeared in THE NEW YORK TIMES BOOK REVIEW in 1977.

This only pertains to dating the book. But here is what T. Vlad tells us about its general content: "In a more recently published volume entitled 'The Scientific Credibility of Freud's Theories and Therapy,' the Freudian legacy is objectively judged and the conclusion is drawn that the founder of psychoanalysis was wrong nearly as

often as he was right, and that in general he proved to be a gifted observer of psychic phenomena but a theorist of much more limited scope." But actually what T. Vlad presents to us as the viewpoint of the book of the two American authors is nothing but the personal comment of the British psychiatrist Anthony Starrat the end of the review to which I have referred. Anthony Storr writes there, "There could still be some Freudian devotees who would be disturbed or angered by the critical judgments of the master made by Fisher and Greenberg. Those of us who are not his disciples will continue to regard him as a genius. Even if he was wrong as often as he was right, he presented a great many fruitful and bold hypotheses concerning the nature of the psychic aspect of man."

Much more could be said about the ideas T. Vlad conveys in his review. But I think it is harmful to the scientific climate to engage in such polemics.

ROLE OF THE STATE IN SOCIALIST SOCIETY

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 20, 20 Oct 80 pp 30-32

/Article by Univ Reader Manea Babut of the Stefan Gheorgniu Academy/

/Text/ As it says in the RCP Program, our party proceeds from the dialectical-materialist and historical conception in which the state is a product of the division of society into antagonistic classes that will gradually disappear along with the disappearance of the classes, the leveling of society, and the creation of a single working people of communist society. "In the period of building the fully developed socialist society and of transition to communism, the state has an important part to play in organization of all socioeconomic activity." Moreover "The state has important tasks in defending the nation's revolutionary gains, independence and sovereignty. To be sure greater emphasis will be placed upon a given aspect of the state's activity in view of the specific conditions in one period or another, but its role in scientific organization of socioeconomic activity will be enhanced under any circumstances."

Socialist State's Role and Functions

As a main instrument of socialist construction and regulation of social relations and activities through uniform government norms and enactments, the state is expected to ensure rational and efficient management of all Romania's material and manpower resources, harmonious performance of all economic, political and intellectual activities in keeping with the workers' potentials, needs and basic interests, defense of the revolutionary gains of socialism, and solution of the general problems flowing from the aims of building the new order, current international relations, and the need of Romania's increasingly active participation in the world circulation of values.

Emphasis upon the purposeful character of social development, the maturing of the new order, and the increased tasks to be performed in all fields require development of the state's role by expansion of its social base and of the public and mass organizations' participation in the adoption and implementation of state decisions.

The socialist state performs its role in development of the new order through its functions, which themselves evolve according to the new characteristics acquired by social reality and the new tasks the solution of which determines social progress.

The scope and importance of some functions in the state organs' general activity increase while other decline. Meanwhile structural changes are made in every function according to the range of interests and the ways and means of activity. The general direction of the changes required by the socialist state's enhanced role is in that of the importance of the constructive function devoted to meeting the demands of social-political, economic and cultural progress. Enhancement of its role in planned organization and management of the national economy should be mentioned first, which is based on application of the principle of democratic centralism, which principle harmonizes uniform management of socioeconomic activity with the autonomy and initiative of the people's councils, economic enterprises, and the other social units. Thus the state performs important functions in further development and improvement of socialist economic relations and in rapid and harmonious development of the productive forces. As the complexity of the socialist economy increases the socialist state's economic role broadens, in pursuance of such essential aims as intensive promotion of the technical-scientific revolution in all fields, development and modernization of the technical-material base by continuing the party policy of socialist industrialization on a higher qualitative level, an extensive agrarian revolution to modernize agriculture and increase crop and livestock production, better organization of production, greater labor productivity and and increased effectiveness throughout the economy for the further improvement of the entire people's welfare and standard of civilization.

A major role in the performance of the state's economic functions is played by planning and purposeful, planned direction of the economic processes with advance determination of the optimal proportions and rates of development in the various sectors of the economy as well as throughout it.

Planning has been steadily improved in Romania, and the Uniform National Plan contains the main lever with which the state distributes and makes good use of the resources and concentrates all activities upon all-around development of the new order. The planned management of the economy is faced with highly complex tasks by the Directive and Directive-Programs ratified by the 12th RCP Congress, forecasting the results of the program by the last decade of the 20th century and even beyond in some fields. Once socialist economic relations were improved to the point of strongly stimulating development of the productive forces of society, socialist democracy was intensified, the organizational and administrative structures of the economic management system were improved, and the new economic-financial mechanism was introduced. In the light of the provisions of its program documents, the party constantly perfects the ways and means of scientific organization and management of society and state activity as well as the methods of preparing and checking plan fulfillment for purposes of closer combination of central management according to the uniform plan with stimulation of the local organs' initiative and autonomy in achieving the aims of the present stage of socialist construction. This purpose is served, among other things, by the new system of socioeconomic indicators and the start of regional planning.

The purposefulness of social development under the new society, the high technical-scientific standards of socialist society in its evolution, and formation of a man with a rich intellectuality and a harmoniously and fully developed personality are factors for development of the state's role in cultural-educational work. In this connection the state is trying to develop and modernize education in a uniform design in keeping with the demands of the present scientific-technical revolution and the current and long-range requirement of our socialist society's output of

material and cultural values. Development of science, encouragement of literary-artistic creation, expansion, diversification and improvement of dissemination of culture, and intensified educational efforts to form the new man are major aims of our socialist state's activity.

In close connection with the problems of economic and cultural development, the state has particular duties in defense of the revolutionary gains of the working class and the people. The specific nature and methods of performing these duties bear the stamp of the distinctive features of every stage of building the new society. In the present stage defense of the revolutionary gains mainly consists of consolidating and developing socialist ownership and the legal order, improving legislation, strengthening socialist legality, and guaranteeing civil rights and freedoms.

In close interdependence with the series of social phenomena and processes peculiar to construction of the fully developed socialist society, the method of persuasion and education is growing in importance. While the coercive instruments are maintained at the proper level, prevention of illegal acts is highly important in state activity, as well as strengthening and improving the legal system as a means of consolidating the gains of the new order and stimulating development and improvement of socialist socioeconomic relations. Measures have been adopted in recent years to enhance the role of advanced public opinion and the workers collectives in preventing and checking violations of the legal provisions and socialist standards of behavior. The decisions of the National Party Conference in December 1977 on improvement of legislation and the work of the trial and prosecuting organs are very important in this respect. They are based on the need of emphasizing political-educational work, efforts to convince every citizen of his duty to constantly observe the laws of the land, communist norms of social coexistence, and order and discipline in all areas, and the effort to prevent violations and to help correct the violators when they have been committed.

An important part in these efforts is played by the organs of the Ministry of Interior, militia and security, who are called upon to guard the public peace and the protection of socialist and private propert as well as the entire people's revolutionary gains. By fulfilling the responsibilities entrusted to them and basing their activity on the support and participation of the masses, these organs must make sure that no violation of socialist laws goes unpunished while no one is unjustly sanctioned.

The state's main functions include strengthening national defense, improving the army's equipment and political training, and preparing the entire people to safeguard their peaceful, creative work. As Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out in his speech at the reviewing convention of army activists and key personnel, "We must not for one moment forget that as long as imperialism exists there will be inherious international contradictions and the danger of aggressions and wars. And we must always bear in mind that there are still antisocialist manifestations in various forms and that in various ways all kinds of attempts upon the gains of socialism and the independence of the nation are being made from outside. Therefore the Romanian army must always be ready to repel any attempts in any form to impair in one way or another the revolutionary gains, the socialist construction and the sovereignty and independence of the nation."

Social Integration, Improvement of State Activity and Role of People's Councils

In construction of the fully developed socialist society and the advance toward communism and with the structural changes in society and the improvement in

management and planning, the state's activity is increasingly involved with that of society as a whole. In fact, the main purpose of the Romanian socialist state's evolution is increasingly complete integration in society. The state must not act as a body divorced from the people, above the masses and society, which would contradict its very nature and the final aim that it should serve as an instrument, namely creation of the new society. On the basis of the changes socialism is making in the degree of development of production relations and forces, in the social and class structure, and in the consciousness of the masses, the RCP perceives the socialist state's role in a permanent correlation with consistent development of socialist democracy, so that all state organs will regularly depend in their activity upon the broad masses and will consistently and staunchly defend their interests. The system of Romanian democracy tends more and more to express the application of the principle of government of the state and society by the people themselves.

In the years of socialism and especially since the 11th RCP Congress, measures have been adopted to improve the organizational structures of the state and the work of its organs. Establishment of collective management and labor as a basic principle of all socioeconomic activity is particularly important. The collective management organs formed and perfected in this period and their broadly democratic and representative complement, from the central institutions down to the primary units, provide possibilities of using the competence, experience and initiative of the workers in the act of management. A number of measures taken in this period improved the organization and exercise of state power on the central level. For closer contact with experience and the specific activities of the economic and social units, personnel with sound political and professional training, specialists and workers who work directly in production and have direct knowledge of the practical problems are promoted in rotation on the staffs of the state administration, the ministries, the centrals and the socioeconomic units.

One of the major aims of the effort to perfect state organization and activity is to rationalize the state system, to simplify it and bring it closer to the specific problems of production and of all social activity. The improved system of economic management meets this requirement. The measures to rationalize the structures of the entire state system and the regulations governing the uniform structural norms of the state organs and the economic, educational, scientific research and other units have important implications. They were designed to eliminate some intermediary units, to simplify and economize on the state system, to make more efficient use of the specialists by employing them in production, to reduce administrative personnel and to increase directly productive personnel. Application of these measures was intended to eliminate some oversized structures generating bureaucracy, red tape, substitutions and duplications. As Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out at the Second Congress of People's Councils, further action must be taken to simplify the system for preparing decisions and solving problems of current activity in order to strengthen state and economic discipline, to establish perfect order in all socioeconomic units, to heighten the sense of responsibility at work and to apply the laws consistently. All this requires better administration of the ministries and shifting of their activities to centrals and enterprises for prompt solutions of all problems presented by the production process.

Application of the principle of democratic centralism also includes the measures which, with the improved territorial-administrative division of Romania, have gradually increased the functions and extended the autonomy of the local administrative units and the social-cultural enterprises and units in solving all problems

within their jurisdictions. This has created increasingly favorable conditions for making the management of the various sectors more democratic, for heightening the responsibility and initiative of the local organs, and for enhancing workers' more direct participation in social-political activities.

The people's councils have greater responsibilities in socioeconomic activity and direct solution of local problems. Their functions and powers in management of all socioeconomic activity in counties, cities and communes and in solving problems of organization of labor and the inhabitants' affairs provide a broad field for responsibility and initiative in developing all counties and communities. Institution of the Congress of County and Communal People's Councils as a supreme collective forum for management of the activity of the local organs of the state authority and administration, as well as that of the conferences of chairmen of communal, municipal and city people's councils, have proved particularly effective in amplifying the functions of the people's councils, since a suitable framework has been institutionalized for a useful exchange of experience and a fruitful common discussion of the basic problems of the activity of the local organs of the state authority and administration. The decisions and specific measures of the Second Congress of People's Councils are especially important in this respect. The Legislative Chamber of the People's Councils performs extensive functions in preparation and improvement of legislation. The measures taken in recent years to coordinate the methods of state planning and management with the requirements of socialist democracy have special significance for improved application of democratic centralism. These measures require maintenance and consolidation of democratic centralism as a fundamental principle of organization and management on a national-state scale and its dialectical, harmonious correlation with self-management and economic-financial self-administration as a basic principle of organization and management of the socioeconomic and territorial-administrative units.

Combination and functioning in a uniform system of the methods of representative participation with direct participation of the masses in social management keep expanding the mass base of political power and contribute to more intensive integration of the political institutions in social activity as a whole. To this end, in the course of development of socialist democracy there is a constant rapprochement and a complete involvement between the activities of the party, state and mass and public organizations and the general development of the organizational framework intended to encourage each citizen's responsible initiative. To accomplish this process, the principle of personnel rotation is applied, as well as plurality of party, state and mass organization functions, and bodies are created for analysis, guidance, coordination and control that operate under the direct supervision of the Party Central Committee and the State Council, some of them being of a two-fold party and state nature. Note also the improvements made in the institutional framework whereby the masses of workers are participating more and more directly, actively and effectively in the act of managing social activity in all its phases, in all fields and on all levels, and particularly the improvement in the organization and activity of the Democracy Front and the Socialist Unity Front.

All these measures are intended to provide for broader participation of the masses and the entire people in social management. In referring to the evolution of this process, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out that "All the big collective bodies in which the workers directly participate should play a decisive role, closely associating their activity with that of the state organs... Let us understand that the principle of the disappearance of the state does not mean its dismantling at

any given point, but creation of the framework wherein the popular masses participate in social activity and assume their responsibility in social management." And so transfer of some of the state's functions to the popular masses and the workers collectives is a distinctive feature of the process of improving its activity in the present stage.

As it says in the RCP Program, under fully constructed communism the production and territorial units will be democratically managed, with participation of all their members and provision for periodic rotation of workers in management functions according to their aptitudes and qualities, as a general social obligation. The democratically elected organs of management and organization will be increasingly subject to the control of the masses, who will strictly enforce the norms of social coexistence and the communist principles of life. This will bring about the most advanced form of socialist democracy, the transition from the rule of necessity to the rule of freedom.

5186
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CURRENT THEATRICAL ACTIVITY EVALUATED

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 20, 20 Oct 80 pp 20-22

/Article by Valentin Silvestru: "How the Theater Is Performing Its Present Functions"/

/Text/ Among other autumn holidays is that of the opening of a new theatrical season. In September the brass gong solemnly rings behind the scenes and the public comes in to see new plays, new actors, new directors and scenographers, and sometimes halls renovated by a municipal effort.

The opening was truly festive throughout Romania. Romanian plays of today and yesterday were duly presented, and a fine start was made. Now in October a brief review can be made, and it is favorable. Original dramaturgy concentrates on major social and ethical problems and has a pronounced controversial tone. The main effort is to seek the truth beyond false or sham appearances. Cases are traced that illustrate evolutions of the personality, revealing with considered acuteness the stoppages of thought and action, the blockages of various kinds, the mystifications and delusions. The propensity for the historical view is also marked. For all good writing projects the destinies examined against a broad background of a period, involving the devious relationship between the individual and time as well as the no less convoluted one between the individual and society. Adrian Dohotaru's "Inquiry About a Youth Who Did Nothing," Theodor Manescu's "Night on the Asphalt," Paul Everac's "The Ordainer" et al. are all, in different forms, results of the effort to discover what is authentic and what is improvable in our neighbors' behavior at the start of the new decade, and how the socialist idea of ethics and justice is taking effect in practice. The critical spirit of the recent plays takes a quite different tone in satirical comedy. For the time being no references can be made to new output on the subject but, since several theaters are showing or have revived "Furniture and Pain" /Mobila si durere/, "Fools in the Moonlight" and other satires by Teodor Mazilu, "Saint Mitica Blajinu" by Aurel Baranga, "Occasional Paradise" and "Competition of Beauties" by Tudor Popescu, "Happy Lament for a Grain of Wandering Dust" by Andras Suto" and "33 Anonymous Letters" by Gyorgy Mehes, the reliefs of the comic genre are noticeable, with the comment that they are relatively high, since the said writers ridicule, sometimes harshly, failings and anomalies in the lives of people and communities. The subject matter of comedy is extensive enough today, as well as honest critical boldness, but in general there is need of more ruthlessness concerning such vexations

as bureaucratic indolence, the gross stupidity that obstructs the new, and the arrogant attitudes of some persons entrusted with managerial jobs in various sectors who forget why they hold these jobs.

Since most of the said plays have enjoyed careful and some even attractive presentations on both the provincial and Bucharest stages, the theater is at a high point of its existence now at the start of the artistic year, honorably and sincerely performing the social-educational and cultural-artistic functions with which our society has invested it.

When we consider the plays advertised, including notable successes of last season like "The Fortuitous Middle Ages" by Romulus Guga (Little Theater), "The Coolness" by Marin Sorescu ("Bulandra" in Sibiu), "Medusa's Raft" /Pluta meduzei/ (Petrosani), "The Game of Life and Death in the Desert of Ashes" by Horia Lovinescu ("Nottara" in Iasi and the German Theater in Timisoara, now revived in Craiova and the Hungarian section of the National Theater in Tirgu Mures), as well as the new plays published and prepared in the last few weeks on several stages, as for example "An Osteological Study..." and "The Thief of Eagles" by Dumitru Radu Popescu, Marin Preda's posthumous play, "Moromete's Youth," and "The Rain and the Investigator" by Leonida Teodorescu, we are entitled to conclude that the diversity of style and subject matter of current dramaturgy is wider than ever. We have also seen how much the public likes some of the current writings and how appreciative the critics are, who have distinguished the literary creations of broad scope in competitions.

To be sure misbegotten plays flatly reproducing petty circumstances are still appearing, and the by-products of local or central triflers presented in phantom performances with very short runs are still leaping over all the barriers, sometimes unfortunately even in the national theaters. But the present period of original dramaturgy is characterized by the vigorous and expressive realism of a direct or symbolic formula, in modern theatrical conventions that are cleansed of factology and reject descriptivism and illustrativism. Adrian Dohotaru's play for example, investigating the condition of youths who do not find jobs and shirk their social obligations, has an interesting documentary approach reminiscent of dramatic reporting. "Happy Lament for a Grain of Wandering Dust" is a juicy piece of buffoonery in the popular spirit, fervently ridiculing religious manias and superstitions. Leonida Teodorescu's "The Rain and the Investigator" is a parable of the responsibility each of us has for the other. Marin Sorescu's "Medusa's Raft" as an ontological comedy brings up the modern scientist's moral obligations in a metaphorical treatment of broad poetic and philosophical scope. Dumitru Radu Popescu's "An Osteological Study..." is a rich and vivid chronicle in Brechtian style of 30 years of a Transylvanian settlement.

The writers' approach is profoundly realistic and uniform in that respect. The diversity of the creative methods and the modes and styles is a natural corollary of the development and differentiation of the personalities. Theoretical attempts to develop only certain ways of changing reality and to discredit others are devoid of reason. Poetry, painting, music and other arts now naturally resort to stylizing, abstractions and metaphors to broaden the horizon of understanding of the world. Intellectualizing the public, continuing evolution of taste, increasingly profound knowledge of the most varied creative works in our own past (from Bolintineanu to Arghezi and from Alecsandri to Lucian Blaga), frequent exchanges with other cultures, and the present verve of the innovating trend result in works

meeting extremely diverse requirements. The theater is no exception, presenting performances that differ among themselves not only in repertoire but also in the ways the repertoirs is presented on the stage. Presentation in popular style of an artimystical satire like "Happy Lament..." and that of a historical tragicomedy of symphonic structure like "The Coolness" do not automatically produce axiological differentiations on the criterion of "Which is more realistic," just as the imposing universalist philosophical parable "The Game of Life and Death..." or the admirable political grotesque "The Fortuitous Middle Ages" do not weaken their messages by the proposed cryptic formulas but on the contrary they strengthen them and enter them in a vast field of contemporary ideas.

No doubt the theater educates and forms habits, helping to mold the consciousness, but it does so in its way, with conventions dictated by genera and species, in a realistic comprehension of existence that knows no restrictions of expression and can never be reduced to an artistic mode or conviction or to any aesthetic orientation or single style. Uniformity is generally the sad outcome of forced alignments and condemnations of originality in the name of a presupposed principle of accessibility, which always hides inability both to create and to understand the artistic phenomenon. True accessibility, which our art and artistic policy legitimately demand, has nothing to do with platitudes, facility or the rudiments of acultural entertainment. It calls for emotional and intellectual participation of the reader, the spectator and the hearer as sharers in the creative act.

The considerable success of some difficult plays and performances, some highly complex novels, philosophical poetry and new music shows that in addition to the established requirements and habits there are also new popular demands that art perceives and tries to satisfy. The theater also assumes this obligation, being unable to remain on the level of vaudeville, outmoded bombastic evocation, alcove drama, and idyllic and studied ruralism. Sensitive representation of our present material and spiritual universe is naturally accomplished by the means of the present world, in a wide range of processes and gradations required by the many rungs of the ladder of general culture.

The theater's cultural-artistic function is also expressed by constant restoration of the store of two centuries of writing and experience to the living cycle of the stage. The national dramaturgical reserve must be constantly known and reknown. It preserves essential information on the nationality, culture, language, spiritual civilization and especially our theatrical culture. The constant appearance of unpublished works and absolute firsts shows that it has not been entirely determined and only partially investigated and brought up to date, as for example Eminescu's dramatic manuscripts after 100 years, a historical drama of Camil Petrescu's after 50 years, a comedy of Eugen Lovinescu's after sixty years, and even after two centuries the tragedy "The Murder of Grigore Ghica Voda" attributed to Samuil Vulcan, the oldest entirely preserved Romanian dramatic text.

The value of the knowledge contained in the old Romanian repertoire, the artistic riches that its patriotic weight totals, and the typological features of the many creations of yesteryear are brilliantly illustrated by Caragiale's masterpieces, for example, which bring great and lasting joy to new generations of spectators in innovating performances. This year "A Stormy Night" (Botosani and Sibiu) has been staged, "A Lost Letter" is in preparation in another staging, "The Ladies of the Carnival" (in Bacau) is being staged, and fragments of short stories ("Nottara") are being dramatized (in the second edition of the collection of sketches and

fragments, "The Rings, Earrings and Tinsel." A new form has been given to Delavrancea's famous drama "Sundown" (Iasi), and the same author's "Hagi-Tudose" has occasioned a noteworthy staging of the Bucharest National (The play is also being performed in Birlad). G. M. Zamfirescu's "Miss Nastasia" (Galati) and Mihail Sorbu's "Red Passion" (Braila) are also notable here. Plays of Vasile Voiculescu, G. Ciprian and Radu Stanca are in preparation.

It is not much in all and perhaps not enough, but the effort is noteworthy especially because colleagues or other theatrical people have sometimes urged us, "Let us allow the old plays to have their well-deserved sleep." To maintain the state of torpor in the field, they also advance the argument, unsupported by facts, that time has made all the hierarchies and therefore there would be no point in looking for what has not been confirmed by success "in its time." Someone even sneeringly called the intensive investigation of the national dramaturgical reserve a "bogyman." Even if I did not mention the sneer, which started at a colloquium and subsequently reached paper, somewhat soiling the page in question, I would have to point out that this "bogyman" (according to the dictionary, a supernatural being used to scare children) resulted in publication of monumental volumes of dramaturgy by Alecsandri (also summarizing some still unperformed plays!), Eminescu, Delavrancea, Macedonski, Duiliu Zamfirescu, Liviu Rebreanu, G. M. Zamfirescu, Al. Kritescu et al., restorations of plays of Slavici, Adrian Maniu, Dan Botta, N. D. Cocea, Hortensia Papadat-Bengescu, Tudor Arghezi et al., discovery of some unknown plays of Mihai Saulescu, Gheorghe Braescu, Anton Holban et al., premieres of some forgotten, overlooked plays, etc. How could "their time" classify and grade plays of Iordache Golescu, Hasdeu, Nicolae Iorga, Gib I. Mihaescu and many others that were never performed, were prohibited, remained in manuscript form, were printed in obscure editions or journals and sometimes posthumously. It is clear that the theater does not have to form a separate opinion in this respect at all concerning historical-literary or artistic research, making its contribution to the record of the nation's spiritual values in its characteristic way, that is by performing and offering contemporaries current opinions about the old dramaturgy for definitive classifications.

It is true that some of these performances, whether uninspired or too timid, have shown mediocre results, but these results have also included many (very many in some seasons) foreign products on Romanian stages. This does not mean in any way that we should give up importing them, although the caliber of some of them is far below what we have (such as farces, musical comedies and sentimental plays for example) in our own repertoire. I. Valjan (not performed today) is unquestionably better than Pierre Chesnot who, probably to his own surprise, is present at about ten places in Romania, just as the trifle called "Gin-Rummy" is in no way comparable with let us say "The Transfiguration" [Schimbarea la fata], a comedy by G. M. Zamfirescu that is still unperformed.

On the other hand "Danton," one of the greatest Romanian plays, has demonstrated that the necessary classifications and qualifications are far from finished, and apparently the problem remains for future generationa to resolve, at least in the case of some of our great dramatists. The archival effort, with mild reconstructions, is outside the art, but it does not have to determine our critical thinking or repertoire policy. The standards are set by successes, by the modern stagings that have shown us the types and customs of yore in a new light and made us establish a more suitable scale of values and restore to the living cultural heritage what belongs there but had remained unknown or insufficiently known or had been lost from sight.

The start of the season also brings the theaters some new administrative and organizational regulations concerning itineraries on tour, cultural exchanges with foreign countries, etc. The interpretation of the regulatory acts must be quite clear and free of any confusion, so that the preliminary ideological and artistic decisions in connection with administrative unification of the artistic institutions in a city will not critically depend at any points upon persons who have neither the competence nor the practical possibility of signing them in accordance with our party's and state's theatrical policy. However capable, honest and well-intentioned a chief accountant may be, he cannot assume the responsibility for determining the theatrical, musical and choreographic repertoire, hiring artistic personnel, especially the stage managers and scenographers, scheduling performances on the weekly program, etc. Precise definition of relations between the theater director and the manager of the unified administration can forestall any harmful irregularities.

We have 43 theaters and hundreds of cities and villages with adequate facilities but without permanent troupes, where the inhabitants see theatrical performances very rarely or sometimes not at all for a whole year. The tours are a necessity for both institutions and audiences, and the possibility should be considered of showing the residents of certain parts of Romania Bucharest performances, for example, at least occasionally. One of the consequences would be a stop to proliferation of inferior troupes (a few people and three suitcases) presenting commercial, hack performances and distorting the idea of the theater in a misleading and harmful way.

Some comrades, especially in the provinces, think the theater can increase its radius of action and collections in any fashion, that is by interspersing its programs with elements of popular or light music and sports figures or by presenting only superficial productions with which to "clear out the suburbs," according to an expression of the old impresarios. Telecasts of sports matches, guitar players, a dromedary or a lady magician may appear in the intermissions of a play of Ibsen's. But let us not forget that the theaters were raised over centuries and left by our forebears as a sacred cultural legacy, that the socialist state raised these monuments to radiate spiritual light, or that the stage has a characteristic function it is expected to perform especially with the aid of Romanian and foreign literature, by building moral universes, presenting living types, and planting ideas in people's minds and exalted feelings in their souls. It is a school of the people, a tribune of the citizens, and a place of elevated entertainment through vivid images. Any measures of correlation with other arts, with poetry, the dance, music and painting are, within these concepts and in the context of socialist culture, possible and perhaps advantageous to the calm and rational effect of particular stage images created by actors upon the consciousness. The theater's ceaseless struggle for quality and timeliness, in its desire to attract the public as much as possible and to give the public its humanistic faith, often requires weapons not to be found in the traditional panoply. But there is a limit beyond which synthesis deteriorates into a conglomeration and dramatic art can no longer preserve its character and its educational mission along with it.

Centuries of experience of ours and others show that by working with cultural sincerity and artistic power we can keep the stages of the theater pure and proper, bringing society benefits of all kinds, including an immense spiritual gain for the benefit of formation of the new man of today and tomorrow in the revolutionary spirit.

5186
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DECREE ON MEDICAL CARE FOR MENTAL PATIENTS

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 83, 16 Oct 80 pp 1-4

/State Council Decree on Assistance for Dangerous Mental Patients/

/Text/ The State Council of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees:

Chapter I
General Provisions

Article 1. The ensuring of the population's health is done through a complex of economic, social, cultural and health measures that pursue the continual strengthening of health, the prevention of sickness, the providing of medical treatment in case of sickness and the recovery of the capacity for work.

The complex medical assistance given to patients with mental disorders constitutes an integral part of health assistance and has as a goal the restoration of health, the improvement of the capacity of the patients to adapt to the living conditions in the family, at work and in society, and the prevention of acute manifestations of the illness that can constitute a danger for the patients themselves or for those around them.

The health units, the other socialist units, and the family members of patients who suffer from mental disorders are obligated to ensure the performance of the specialized treatment at the proper time and their integration into the family and into vocational activities corresponding to their state of health, in order to prevent the appearance of situations in which they may become dangerous.

Article 2. In the sense of the present decree, mental patients who, through their manifestations, endanger their own life, health and bodily integrity or those of others and important material values or repeatedly and seriously disturb the normal working or living conditions in the family or society are dangerous.

Article 3. Dangerous mental patients are subject mandatorily to specialized medical treatment in the health units.

The mandatory medical treatment is done on an outpatient basis and, if need be, under conditions of hospitalization in the specialized health units.

Article 4. The necessity of the institution of mandatory medical treatment will be established by taking into account the patient's condition and the degree of danger that his behavior presents for himself or for the persons with whom he comes in contact.

The institution of mandatory medical treatment has as a goal the elimination of disturbances occurring in the condition of the patients, in order to improve their capacity for psychosocial adaptation.

Chapter II
The Institution of Mandatory Medical Treatment

Article 5. The adult members of the family who customarily live with a person from whose behavior it could be deduced that he is a dangerous mental patient, those who come in constant contact with him at home or at the workplace, and any other person who has cognizance of such a case are obligated to immediately notify the health units in writing. When the mental patient considered dangerous is put under an interdiction or is a minor, the tutelary authority, the guardians or the parents of the minor also have the same obligation.

The notification is addressed to the medical dispensary in whose territorial range the person considered to be a dangerous mental patient resides or to the medical dispensary that serves the worker personnel in the unit at which he performs his activity.

Article 6. The dispensary's physician examines the person, gives him the requisite medical care if necessary and, on the basis of the findings, informs the executive committee or bureau of the people's council in whose range the medical dispensary is located.

The executive committee or bureau will give help to the specialized personnel in the dispensary, for obtaining information, through direct findings and through written statements of the persons who know the patient's condition and manifestations.

The physician will guide the patient and will send his findings, together with the data on the patient's condition and manifestations, to the competent polyclinic dispensary from a territorial viewpoint.

Article 7. The psychiatrist in the polyclinic dispensary will examine the patient and will prescribe and pursue the making of the necessary analyses, including the psychological examination, after which he will formulate the diagnosis and, taking into account the data received and the findings made, will establish if it is necessary for him to be subjected to examination by the medical commission mentioned in Article 8.

When the psychiatrist in the polyclinic dispensary considers it necessary for the patient to appear before the medical commission, he will take steps so that the patient, the medical documents and the other data obtained are sent immediately to the psychiatric hospital or the psychiatric section of the hospital to which the polyclinic dispensary is subordinate.

In the situation in which the specialised physician judges that it is not necessary for the patient to appear before the medical commission, he will send his conclusions, together with the therapeutic instructions and with the data received, to the territorial medical dispensary.

Article 8. In the psychiatric hospital or section, the patient and the documents sent will be examined, within 24 hours, by a commission composed of 3 psychiatrists.

The appointment of the commission is done by the management of the health unit and is confirmed by the county health directorate or that of the municipality of Bucharest.

Article 9. The medical commission can decide on, as the case may be:

a) Outpatient mandatory medical treatment, whenever there is no major medical necessity for confining the patient in the hospital;

b) Mandatory medical treatment in the hospital.

In the situation in which the commission judges that the institution of mandatory medical treatment is not necessary, it can recommend to the patient, if necessary, the taking of suitable medical treatment.

If medical examinations or additional relations are necessary, the commission can order the performance of the medical examinations by the competent health bodies or the supplementation of the relations obtained in accordance with the provisions of Article 6, Paragraph 2.

The commission decides by a unanimous vote. In case of disagreement, the commission will be expanded with two more psychiatrists and will decide by a majority vote.

The decision will include the diagnosis, the solution adopted and the explanation for it and will be signed by all members of the commission, with the possible different opinion being recorded. The commission's decision is executory.

Article 10. Within 24 hours after making the decision on the institution of mandatory medical treatment, the commission notifies in writing about this the patient, one of the adult members of the family with which the patient customarily lives or the person under whose care he is, the executive committee or bureau of the people's council, the polyclinic dispensary and

the territorial medical dispensary. If the patient to whom the decision refers is put under an interdiction or is a minor, the tutelary authority at his residence, the guardians or the parents of the minor are also notified.

Article 11. The mandatory medical treatment will be applied immediately after the making of the decision by the commission, at the direction and under the control of the specialized physicians, depending on the nature and stage of the illness and on the type of evolution of it, in accordance with the technical standards regarding medical assistance for mental patients, established by the Ministry of Health.

Article 12. The outpatient mandatory medical treatment is performed by the polyclinic dispensary or by the territorial medical dispensary, under the guidance and control of the psychiatrist in the polyclinic dispensary. The patients are obligated to appear for a periodic medical examination on the dates set by the psychiatrist in the polyclinic dispensary, to submit to the stipulated medical treatment and to follow the therapeutic instructions in the period between two examinations.

Article 13. The persons under whose care there is a mental patient subject to outpatient mandatory medical treatment, the guardians, and the adult family members who customarily live with him are obligated to take the steps necessary in order to perform the prescribed medical treatment and in order for him to appear regularly at the medical dispensary or at the polyclinic dispensary.

Article 14. The management of the health units in which dangerous mental patients are confined has the obligation to provide the conditions required for applying the proper medical treatment, including psychotherapy, recreational therapy and ergotherapy.

The medical personnel have the obligation to perform the treatment at the proper time and to follow the evolution of the patient's mental and physical condition and his adaptation to the therapeutic activities.

Article 15. The supervision of patients is done by the medical personnel in the psychiatric hospital or section in which they are confined.

In the case in which a dangerous mental patient leaves the health unit without medical authorization, he will be returned to the same unit through the health bodies and, if necessary, also with the help of the bodies mentioned in Article 31.

Chapter III
Modification and Cessation of Mandatory Medical Treatment

Article 16. The commission that decided on mandatory medical treatment in the hospital has the obligation to reexamine the patients in at most 2

months or whenever necessary, depending on their condition, and at the request of the section's chief physician, of an adult member of the patient's family or of any other person and, in the case of those put under an interdiction or of minors, also at the request of the tutelary authority, the guardian or the parents.

Article 17. The commission, after the reexamination, decides on, as the case may be:

a) The continuation of mandatory medical treatment under conditions of hospitalization;

b) The cessation of mandatory medical treatment in the hospital and, further, the institution of outpatient mandatory medical treatment;

c) The cessation of any mandatory medical treatment.

Article 18. The cessation of outpatient mandatory medical treatment is decided by the commission mentioned in Article 8, at the request of the patient, of the prosecutor or of the other persons mentioned in Article 10, with the advice of the psychiatrist in the polyclinic dispensary or only at his proposal.

Article 19. The provisions of Article 9, paragraphs 2 and 3, and Article 10 are also applied accordingly with regard to the decisions on continuing, changing or ceasing the mandatory medical treatment.

Article 20. The socialist units in which patients for whom the cessation of mandatory medical treatment was ordered are or were employed have the obligation, in the case in which they have the capacity for work intact, to provide for the performance or the resumption of their activity in workplaces corresponding to the commission's instructions. In the case in which the patient's capacity for adaptation is not suited to the demands of the old workplace, a change in workplace will be made at the commission's direction.

Mental patients who, prior to mandatory medical treatment, were not employed and who are oriented by the commission that ordered the cessation of treatment toward vocations suited to their aptitudes and level of training will be employed in suitable workplaces.

Mental patients who, at the end of mandatory medical treatment, have a reduced capacity for work will be employed in workplaces corresponding to the recommendation of the commission for medical evaluation and recovery of the capacity for work.

The socialist units have the obligation to employ, in suitable workplaces, all categories of mental patients mentioned in the preceding paragraphs.

The county directorates for work problems and social welfare and that of the municipality of Bucharest will provide for the assignment to work of mental patients who have taken mandatory medical treatment and who have such an indication from the health bodies.

Chapter IV
Control of Decisions and Responsibilities

Article 21. The Ministry of Health is responsible for the way in which the provisions of the present decree are applied and controls and guides the entire activity of the health units upon which there devolve tasks in providing medical assistance for dangerous mental patients.

The Ministry of Health and the Ministry of Labor, together with the other central bodies involved, analyze annually the way in which assistance has been given to dangerous mental patients and the way in which their integration into activity has been achieved, taking suitable steps.

Article 22. In order to verify the manner of application of the provisions of the present decree, the commission mentioned in Article 8 communicates in writing, within 24 hours, to the local prosecutor's office in whose territorial range the hospital is located, the decision on the institution of mandatory medical treatment or the decision on continuing, changing or ceasing the mandatory medical treatment.

Article 23. The bodies of the prosecutor's office in whose territorial range there are hospitals in which dangerous mental patients are confined will periodically verify ex officio the legality of the confinement and the conditions of hospitalization.

Article 24. A protest against the medical commission's decision by means of which the institution, continuation, changing or cessation of mandatory medical treatment was ordered can be lodged by the one with regard to whom such a decision was made, the persons mentioned in Article 10, the prosecutor and any other person.

The judging of the protest comes within the jurisdiction of the court in whose territorial range there is located the health unit where there operates the commission that made the decision.

Article 25. The judging of the protest is done immediately.

The court, judging the protest, verifies the legality of the medical commission's decision, it being able to order the making of a psychiatric medicolegal evaluation and to administer any other tests that it considers necessary in order to establish if, with regard to the patient's behavior and manifestations, the conditions mentioned in Article 2 of the present decree, for applying the mandatory medical treatment, were met.

In all cases, the court will hear the person with regard to whom the mandatory medical treatment was instituted.

The trial takes place with the providing of an official defender by the court for the one with regard to whom the mandatory medical treatment was instituted, if he does not have a defender chosen.

The participation of the prosecutor in the trial is mandatory.

The court decides on, as the case may be, the continuation, modification or cessation of the application of the decision by means of which the mandatory medical treatment was ordered.

Article 26. The decision by means of which the court resolved the protest is subject to appeal.

After the decision becomes final, the medical file will be returned to the commission that decided on mandatory medical treatment.

Article 27. The provisions of articles 25 and 26 are supplemented accordingly with the provisions of the Code of Criminal Procedure.

Article 28. The confinement of a person as a dangerous mental patient and the institution or continuation of mandatory medical treatment without complying with the provisions of the present decree entail, as the case may be, material, civil, disciplinary or criminal responsibility.

Chapter V
Final and Transitional Provisions

Article 29. The Ministry of Health and the county people's councils and that of the municipality of Bucharest will take steps to provide the material base, the medicine and the personnel needed for properly carrying out assistance for dangerous mental patients, within the framework of the approved economic and financial indicators.

The Ministry of Health will take steps to train and improve the medical personnel needed for providing medical assistance for dangerous mental patients and to achieve a unified system of records of them.

The people's councils will provide, in accordance with the legal provisions, the farmland needed by the health units for organizing and developing the activities of ergotherapy.

Article 30. The health bodies have the obligation to provide transportation for patients who are to be confined and for those with regard to whom this measure has ceased and for their companions.

The executive committees or bureaus of the people's councils will give help for transporting the persons mentioned in Paragraph 1.

Article 31. At the request of the medical personnel, the executive committees or bureaus of the people's councils, through the commissions for education, health and culture or persons delegated for this purpose, will give the help needed for applying the measures regarding assistance for dangerous mental patients.

Article 32. Drug addicts who, because of chronic intoxication with alcohol, narcotics or other such substances, are in one of the situations mentioned in Article 2 are also subject to the provisions of the present decree.

Article 33. The requests, protests and other documents in connection with the institution, continuation, changing or cessation of mandatory medical treatment are exempt from any fees.

The mandatory medical treatment, done on an outpatient basis or under conditions of hospitalization, and the confinement of mental patients and of those mentioned in Article 32 are free.

Article 34. The provisions of the Penal Code and the Code of Criminal Procedure are applicable to dangerous mental patients who have committed acts provided by criminal law.

Article 35. Dangerous mental patients confined for mandatory medical treatment in accordance with the provisions of Decree No 12/1965 will be reexamined, within 30 days after the date of publication of the present decree in BULETINUL OFICIAL AL REPUBLICII SOCIALISTE ROMANIA, by the medical commission mentioned in Article 8, which will proceed in accordance with Article 17.

The cases in the course of being resolved will be handled in accordance with the provisions of the present decree.

Article 36. Decree No 12/1965 on medical care for dangerous mental patients, published in BULETINUL OFICIAL, No 4, 27 January 1965, and Decision No 39/1965 of the Council of Ministers for applying Decree No 12/1965 on medical care for dangerous mental patients, published in COLECTIA DE HOTARIRI SI DISPOZITII ALE CONSILIULUI DE MINISTRI, No 3, 27 January 1965, are repealed.

Nicolae Ceausescu,
Chairman
of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Bucharest, 14 October 1980.
No 313.

12105
CSO: 2700

NEW REGULATIONS FOR APPROVING MEDICAL LEAVE

Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 23 Sep 80 p 5

["Regulations on Medical Care"]

[Text] The Ministry of Health recently took a number of measures for the application of methods of prevention, the determination of diagnoses and the execution of treatment in close accordance with the current requirements of health care. Dr Radu Ozun, director of the Directorate for Medical Care of the Ministry of Health has given us some details.

Ozun: Recently, the health organs have undertaken actions and have taken a number of measures for the development of the activity of out-patient units, so that there will be more order and discipline in the hospitals and so that only those who need constant medical attention will be hospitalized. Other organizational aspects in regard to temporary incapacity for work, which has been on the rise in recent months, were taken into consideration. Also, illness certificates issued by doctors, acts which, according to the Law on Ensuring the Health of the Population, should be approved by the enterprise or institution where the citizen works, were analyzed. The Ministry of Health has given further instructions in regard to the way in which doctors and patients should proceed so that all will know and respect the legislation in force. The supplementary measures are intended to help the patient, to make it as easy as possible for him to obtain the necessary documents. Thus, for emergency medical treatment administered by a health unit other than the one to which the patient belongs and if necessity requires it, an affidavit certifying temporary incapacity for work for up to 3 days is issued. As soon as this document is issued, the person is obliged to go to the health unit to which he belongs to receive a certificate of illness, no later than 24 hours after the expiration of the leave period recommended in the affidavit.

Question: What happens if the patient needs more rest?

Ozun: When the patient cannot resume his activity, because of serious illness, he must notify the medical dispensary to which he belongs in regard to his situation. On the basis of the condition of the patient, the dispensary has the obligation to examine the situation and may give a leave certificate granting more rest to the sick person or, if necessary, send him to the

hospital. If, while continuing home rest given for emergency cases, the patient's condition becomes worse and he has to be put in a hospital other than the one to which he belongs, the presentation of the affidavit takes place within 24 hours of the expiration of the leave mentioned in this document. At the same time, the patient or a family member must present the respective certificate to the unit to which the patient belongs on the basis of his workplace so that the certificate of illness can be issued.

Question: Can medical leave be granted retroactively?

Ozun: At present the retroactive granting of medical leave is not permitted, with the exception of situations specified in regulations in force (pregnancy and confinement, treatment in spas, cases where the person is immobilized in a cast, sickness abroad). If the documents testifying to the person's incapacity for work are not presented to the health unit to which the patient belongs within the time limit specified above, this unit can issue a medical certificate only for the days specified in the affidavit. So as to avoid confusion in regard to the way in which illness certificates should be issued, recent instructions prohibit all health units, in practice, all doctors, from mentioning in the affidavits which they issue (I am referring to emergency assistance) the recommendation for continuing medical leave, since this aspect is the strict responsibility of the health unit to which the patient belongs. Therefore, all doctors have the obligation of calling the patients' attention to this fact.

CSO: 2700

RESPONSE TO CRITICISM FROM CATHOLIC PAPER

Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 4 Nov 80 p 5

[Article by Nenad Ivankovic: "A Dialog Entrenched"]

[Text] When someone says in public that relations between the church and state are today as they were way back in 1948 and goes on to support this with the thesis that in this country "... it is permitted for priests to be publicly insulted and ridiculed in their most sacred convictions and feelings, since there is no court that would honor their complaint of having been insulted" (GLAS KONCILA, No 17), and a few weeks later asserts (concerning relations between that same church and state): "We believe that progress is possible in these relations and that the improvement is obvious.... The clergy are getting social security, clerical schools are getting certain privileges, the clergy are allowed to freely perform services, and so on. It seems that it is relatively good for the clergy," then it is obvious that we are dealing with talk that is not at the level of principle, talk which is not aimed at the truth, but at momentary effects and cabalistic aims.

And unfortunately this is precisely the line taken by the editor in chief of GLAS KONCILA, especially in his article entitled "False Charges, Assessments and Blackmail of GLAS KONCILA" (GLAS KONCILA, No 20), in which he answers the article entitled "Delirium of the Tridentine Fever," which was published 27 September in VJESNIK. After all, if that were not so, would an experienced newsman who also regards himself as a responsible public figure and a knowledgeable person await such a proper (improper) occasion to say what otherwise he so skillfully evades and refrains from saying in his newspaper?

But even in this last article, in which he later becomes so bold as even to say something constructive, he unfortunately did not manage to conceal his ulterior motives.

He believes, for example, that we allow violations not only of the religious freedom of "members of the church, (but) precisely of the church itself as a community," and, according to him, the task of his newspaper is to criticize this publicly, to see that the evil is remedied. Nowhere does he say where and how the rights of the church as a community are being violated. What is more, a few lines further on he says that "the clergy are allowed to freely perform their services, and so on," and it really is incomprehensible in the light of this statement how the rights of the church as a community are being violated. Indeed, a bit further on he says "that a long road has to be traveled before every citizen who is a believer is assured that degree of religious freedoms which we clergymen already enjoy in this society." But this sting, which in the opinion of the editor in chief ought to be the truth about the position of believers in our society, is not only not backed up by any evidence, but in fact is eloquently refuted by practice itself, in spite of the individual difficulties and problems which do arise here and there. What is more, this is an old refrain of GLAS KONCILA, one that is so worn out that one need not spend too many words on it. Finally, it would be good if the editor in chief were to explain how clergymen can freely perform religious services when believers do not at the same time enjoy religious freedoms?

The rationale of the editor in chief runs along the same line of reflection concerning the now frequent writing in GLAS KONCILA about how certain churchmen were convicted of offenses immediately after the Liberation, saying nothing about the grounds on which they were brought into the defendant's box. He simply deems it enough for him to say that these people simply did not feel themselves guilty, and on the testimony of believers he also knows this to be true of those who are no longer alive (!), and he concludes that the courts obviously erred. He therefore asked: "Can it be that N. I. wishes to proclaim the dogma that the courts of the state cannot be deceived?" Of course, any court may err, but here it certainly is not a question of this or that possible error, but, as follows from the writing of GLAS KONCILA, of an entire series of errors. Does this mean that the editor in chief feels that our courts intentionally erred, that is, that those errors were natural for such a society as ours?

Perhaps the answer can be suspected from that part of the article where the editor in chief appeals to "our pluralism," which he regards as a "particularly valuable feature of this reality of ours," on behalf of freedom and defense of his own position. More precisely, from the fact that he does not denote in more detail that "particularly valuable attribute" of ours. It seems that the thought of self-management pluralism is odious to him, and he prefers to speak about pluralism as such, which in the final analysis, defined no more clearly than this, is directed toward the pluralism of political parties, which certainly has nothing whatsoever to do with what we call the pluralism of self-management interests, that is, the democracy of socialist self-management. If this is one of the false charges and

assessments, as the editor in chief has chosen to put it, it would be good if he showed when that phrase was last printed in GLAS KONCILA if it ever was.

Destructive Criticism

Of course, the purpose of this article is not mainly to debate the positions taken by the chief editor of GLAS KONCILA, but to indicate how within, in this case the Catholic Church, along with a number of constructive tendencies, there is also an ideological tendency with which all dialog is basically impossible and which objectively wants to close off the possibility of any communication through dialog. I do not say this because the advocates of that orientation are criticizing certain negative things which do occur in practice, but because the intention of their criticism is essentially destructive, which means that it is not aimed at resolving the difficulties, but at petrifying them, at imposing an ideological confrontation, that is, of positional warfare, whose consequences and also outcome can be seen very clearly. That is why they immediately raise every case to the rank of a principle, nor are all of them negative cases, while every constructive step they pass over in silence or portray as an exception. GLAS KONCILA is truly exemplary in this respect: it simply abounds in real and unreal negative examples, at the same time remaining silent about everything that is constructive, pursuing the purpose of imposing debates which cannot benefit anyone.

This is all the more unfortunate when we realize that today many people are advocating dialog as a way of a mutual meeting of minds and understanding through the principle of affirming those things which people, groups and nationalities have in common rather than what divides them. To go against that means going against the constructive historical experience of our nationalities and ethnic minorities, against their present and their future.

Of course, this does not mean that negative phenomena should be passed over in silence, but only that they should be spoken about so as to hasten the conditions of their resolution. In this sense criticism is not merely a right, but also implies responsibility for the consequences which one might cause.

GLAS KONCILA obviously does not take this into account, not because its editors are ignorant, but because it objectively suits them to have things progress as slowly as possible and perhaps because they feel a responsibility to someone else. That is why GLAS KONCILA does not now and will not in the future contribute to anything constructive in this area of the life of society if it continues to hold the position of destructive caviling, of unprincipled behavior and of petty political advocacy on the basis of group interests. In so doing it will inflict damage not only on society as a whole, but also on the believers whom it supposedly represents.

That is, as one of our theologians has said, "the gospel cannot be carried out nor confidently preached in a manner which itself negates what is essential in the gospel. The Kingdom of the Lord cannot be established by trickery, by deception, by violence, by dissension, by mistrust, or by willfulness, things we resort to when it seems that 'our cause' is not faring well."

To mention one other thing, there is another passage in that article where the editor in chief says: "GLAS KONCILA is not 'in the pocket' of any group in the church. As a whole it is always at the disposition of the hierarchy." Since he does not mention the believers nor the clergy at the lower level at all, it would seem worth asking whether the editor in chief meant to say that he speaks on behalf of the hierarchy?

7045
CSO: 2800

ZAGREB HOTEL DIRECTOR'S OUSTER, RETURN TO POST DETAILED

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1551, 21 Sep 80 pp 18-19

[Article by Jug Grizelj: "Epilog to the Jakopovic Affair"]

[Text] The news last year published in dozens of newspapers, in hundreds of editions and in millions of copies containing the serious moral and financial charges against Branko Jakopovic, then director of the work organization of Zagreb hotels Interkontinental was like a shock for all those who knew this man by sight and reputation as an exceptionally good worker, an excellent organizer, an honest man and an upright citizen of this country.

The first news was followed by a second report, the second by a virtual flood of articles in installments which painstakingly recorded every detail in the development of the large-scale scandal and of the large work force of the hotel belonging to the Interkontinental chain, which for decades has been headed by Branko Jakopovic, which had just opened and which according to many is one of the best in the world. The man who up until that time had been unstintingly spoken of as a wonderful business executive, the recipient of many prestigious forms of recognition both at home and abroad, the dean of our contemporary hotel business and a rare example of a worker who had spent almost four decades in the same economic organization, advancing from an illiterate Zagorje peasant boy to elevator boy, dishwasher, waiter, desk clerk, and maitre d' to experienced and educated hotel director (more than once in the world's newspapers the example of Branko Jakopovic has frequently been used as evidence that the Yugoslav system of self-management has succeeded in stimulating every talented worker and of creating an official from him) overnight became a scorned technocratic professional manager, an unscrupulous violator of worker rights, an opponent of the party line, a forger, all but a sexual maniac and finally, a criminal who "for several dozen pages of copied self-management acts" took 300 million old dinars from Geneks of Belgrade, which at that point was preparing to open a second affiliate of the Yugoslav Interkontinental in Belgrade.

For months horror followed horror in portrayal of the character of Branko Jakopovic, and finally it was reported that "since the collective has been

unable to adopt a reasonable decision" the party committee of Centar Opstina in Zagreb, and later the conference of that same organization, unanimously adopted a decision to expel him from the League of Communists. At the same time the public was also informed of the evaluation of this opstina forum to the effect that Branko Jakopovic "because of his documented and unacceptable" moral and political attributes can no longer receive the support of that forum in remaining in the position of director of Interkontinental. Finally, or better--somewhat before that--after a brief pause an additional sensation broke out in the newspapers: in the judgment of various solicitor general's offices, in the contract whereby Jakopovic and a group of his collaborators assumed the obligation to prepare the organization and technology of the Interkontinental in Belgrade for Generaleksport, this man seriously damaged the social community.

"Expelled" From Everything

News items are like that: they start out as snowballs and then roll and grow until they are an avalanche. That is the way it happened with the news on the injurious activity of Branko Jakopovic: when the affair reached its peak, there was no longer a single well-known charge in our system which had not been pinned on this man. The case appeared to be cut and dried--and ended. But that was only the appearance, just as in many other criminal affairs in which things appear excessively and perfectly clear.

Not long ago, following a careful examination of Jakopovic's appeal against his expulsion from the League of Communists, the Bylaws Commission of the Zagreb City Conference of the League of Communists reinstated him in the party. At almost the same time, following a public competition and with the obvious, though tacit, consent of all sociopolitical organizations, including those of the opstina, which up until a few months before had contested even his basic moral and political attributes, Branko Jakopovic was elected director of the Interkontinental hotel organization of associated labor by a unanimous decision of the collective. Finally, just as in a film in which the projectionist reverses the film and the avalanche slowly shrinks until it is a snowball, Jakopovic and the group of those who drafted the contract so much contested and called at one time the "Inter monkey business" won their case before the court which judged that there was nothing unlawful in the Jakopovic--Geneks contract, whereupon the court ordered Geneks to pay the entire fee envisaged by the contract for proper performance of the job.

How the Mechanism of an Affair Operates

Since the story we just told is not the first or the last in the chronicle of scandal in which an error is established sometimes sooner and sometimes later (and sometimes too late), and yesterday's sworn culprit becomes a sworn victim, it is becoming increasingly interesting and important for our society to study the driving force behind the mechanism of these fabricated

affairs. We can follow this in an almost characteristic way in the case of Branko Jakopovic. How did Branko Jakopovic become a waster of public funds? The very beginning of the entire scandal was an anonymous letter sent to some 20 important federal, republic, municipal and opstina addresses, including the address of the work collective Interkontinental. At this point it is not really important whether those are right who swear that they recognize the author of this anonymous letter consisting of nine typed pages and who say that he was one of Jakopovic's closest collaborators, who at one point in what has been referred to as the restructuring following the Law on Associated Labor, felt that he had been unfairly deprived of a promotion to a supervisory position. The letter itself, and this is easy to establish by simply examining its content, consists mostly of hearsay and gossip and "who did what to whom" with one sole, but magical exception: in that letter Jakopovic and his immediate management team are charged with opposing the Law on Associated Labor and of usurping self-management. The same kind of letter--(and such letters, as is well known, are circulating in many quarters in our system) could quite well be sent from any one of our work collectives. Though regarded by all the addressees as insubstantial and not worthy of attention--the contents of the letter, on the basis of our truly strange convention concerning anonymous pieces of this kind of eloquence (this convention calls for all charges to be investigated, and it is up to the accused to prove that the charges, however monstrous, are not accurate) went the rounds of various commissions, working groups, councils of comrades, and so on, and so on.

Little by little the contents of the letter were altogether forgotten, but not the demand that "every aspect be studied." The snowball began to roll, and no longer was anyone able to stop it. At one point it even became clear that certain elements outside the collective did not in fact want to stop the snowball, but were making every effort to turn it into an avalanche. In spite of the tremendous pressure exerted on the collective by individuals outside it for it to take a stand on the "evident guilt" of its director, the collective of Interkontinental, we must admit, held out to the end: in several discussions and in a large number of votes, in spite of the pressure we have mentioned, which took on monstrous proportions in some cases, the collective headed by Branko Jakopovic did not consent even at the end to expel him from the League of Communists, nor to discharge him.

Finally, when the tales about Branko Jakopovic's behavior in opposition to self-management were joined by the "large-scale Belgrade affair" (also trumped up, as shown by the court decisions and also the assessments of the competent sociopolitical bodies in Zagreb and Belgrade) involving Geneks and Jakopovic and Interkontinental and the alleged theft of 300 million dinars, no one was any longer able to stop the avalanche. Even then, however, neither the bodies of self-management nor the party organization of Interkontinental consented to join in the stoning of Jakopovic--and the persistent forces outside the collective accomplished an unlikely pirouette in which they managed to take the entire matter out of the hands of the

basic party organization of Interkontinental and transfer it to the opstina committee for a decision. There, as we have already said, Jakopovic was expelled and was labeled as someone unfit for the job of director; in short, he was liquidated.

The Satisfaction Due to Human Decency

Fortunately, there are also people and forums whose purpose is not to manufacture scandals. Nor, be it said, to cover them up. Nor do these lines offer in any manner whatsoever a vision of Branko Jakopovic's infallibility. Nor does the decision of the Bylaws Commission of the Zagreb City Committee of the League of Communists reinstating Jakopovic in the League of Communists, nor the assessment of the Interkontinental collective in re-electing him director bear witness to his infallibility. These decisions only say that reason and a sober and measured evaluation of Branko Jakopovic's personality and career won out. These decisions speak, then, about satisfaction gained not only by Branko Jakopovic, but also by an authentically democratic, self-management and humanly decent approach to a man with all his characteristics and faults.

Finally, it has remained to the present author to speak of the most unpleasant detail of the Jakopovic affair, one which he finds most difficult to utter. When that affair was current and was an affair, it rolled about for months in many Yugoslav newspapers. Today, that means for the last 2 months, since the moment when it became known that the affair was no longer an affair, none of the newspapers which reported Jakopovic's dismissal as director, his expulsion from the League of Communists, and the steps of the investigation and inquiry into the "injurious contract" with Geneks, has carried even one word to the effect that Jakopovic has been rehabilitated.

This "forgetfulness" is not to the credit of the profession which I love so much and have served so long. Anyone can make a mistake, including a newsman, but a newsman is required to confess his error in public when he becomes aware of it.

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9 December 1980

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1833

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9 December 1980

EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1833

CONTENTS

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Education of Gypsies in Slovakia Still Problematic
(Peter Marianyi; ROLNICKE NOVINY, 30 Oct 80) 1

Briefs
CSSR Refuses Athlete Visa 3

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Former SED Official Analyzes Causes, Consequences of GDR Hardline
(Wolfgang Seiffert; DER SPIEGEL, 20 Oct 80) 4

West German Analysis of GDR Career Guidance Problems
(Katharina Belwe; DEUTSCHLAND ARCHIV, Oct 80) 9

HUNGARY

Briefs
Reassignment of Official 18

ROMANIA

Shortcomings in Internal Party Affairs Revealed
(MUNCA DE PARTID, Oct 80) 19

Importance of Position of Chairman of Trade Union Committee
(Teodor Prunea; MUNCA DE PARTID, Oct 80) 25

Superficiality, Lack of Discipline in Exchange of Party Cards
(MUNCA DE PARTID, Oct 80) 29

People's Councils' Legislative Chamber Approves 1981 Plan
(BULETINUL OFICIAL, 21 Oct 80) 31

Decree on Providing Uniforms for Workers in State Socialist Units
(BULETINUL OFICIAL, 15 Oct 80) 38

Unity of Anti-Imperialist, Democratic, Socialist Forces Needed
(Leonte Rautu; ERA SOCIALISTA, 5 Nov 80) 45

Public Opinion Must Be Aroused Against Antisocial Actions
(Stefan Ionescu; ERA SOCIALISTA, 5 Nov 80) 52

'SAPTIMINA' Retracts Views on Publishing Pre-Communist Texts
(Editorial; SAPTAMINA, 12 Sep 80) 55

Controversial 'SAPTAMINA' Article Discussed in Jewish Organ
(REVISTA CULTULUI MOZAIC, 1 Nov 80) 57

Condemning Anti-Semitism
Rabbi Accepts Review's Explanations

Problems Faced by Women Seeking Promotions Discussed
(Paula Preoteasa Interview; FEMEIA, Nov 80) 59

Fines Set for Violations of Metro Regulations
(BULETINUL OFICIAL, 16 Oct 80) 61

Members of Commission Handling Workers' Complaints
(BULETINUL OFICIAL, 16 Oct 80) 63

YUGOSLAVIA

Poor Reporting on New Conscription Law Scored
(Branko Vukovic; MLADOST, 8 Aug 80) 65

Briefs
Kosovo LC Opstina Organizations 67

EDUCATION OF GYPSIES IN SLOVAKIA STILL PROBLEMATIC

Bratislava ROLNICKE NOVINY in Slovak 30 Oct 80 p 4

[Article by Peter Marianyi: "The Effort Must Be Made by Both Sides"]

[Text] The decade just passed brought a number of positive changes in our society resulting from constant concern for a higher living and cultural standard of the population, from the constantly better satisfaction of material and spiritual needs of our citizen. The humane and democratic spirit of the principles on which our socialist society is based was significantly reflected during this period also in the results of the process of social and cultural integration of our gypsy fellow-citizens into our society.

The changes in consciousness and life of Gypsies, however, take place only gradually. The national committees in particular must exert a great deal of effort and overcome distrust and traditional barriers which had formed among our Gypsy citizens over the long period and which are characteristic for them. An important result of this effort is the spreading differentiation process among the gypsy population. There is a constantly increasing number who realize the inevitability of change in the way of life and see the basic prerequisite for their better life in the active participation in the production process and societywide actions.

The Gypsies are said to have an untamable temperament. They find it difficult to abide by the laws and do not intend to give up their habits and especially their freedom. These features of their character are inherited from one generation to another, from parents to children. And yet, it is precisely in this part of their upbringing that the greatest successes can be achieved--in the upbringing of Gypsy children, in their early and sensitive inclusion in the common educational process and upbringing with other children. In such an environment, the child gets used from the outset to the norms generally recognized by the society, gradually merges into the generation of his contemporaries, and when he grows up, there is no problem for him to join the production process and lead an orderly, socialist way of life.

In contrast to the capitalist society which promotes the separation of Gypsies from the rest of the population and thus excludes them from its center, from the participation in the affairs of the society, the socialist society tries to achieve just the opposite--a full integration of Gypsies from early childhood into the life of the society on the basis of absolute equality. What, however, is the reaction of our Gypsy fellow-citizens? We find from day to day that many of them do not want,

or are not able to appreciate the achievements of the socialist society; that they frequently misuse care given to them by the national committees; that the parents are not willing to comply with the teacher's wishes concerning the upbringing of their offspring. Naturally, the difficult upbringing of the young gypsy generation then largely rests upon the shoulders of the entire society, of our state, and this is obviously quite all right with many gypsy parents. This costs us a great deal of effort, many funds, and a lot of patience. At the beginning of the 1970's, fewer than 10 percent of the children from Gypsy families in preschool age were trained for regular attendance. Due to the increased care in this area and increased attention to the problems of upbringing of the gypsy youth in the past decade, their number increased to 55 percent by the end of last year. This means that we can offer preschool upbringing to almost 10,000 gypsy children at the present time. Although enough possibilities have been created, the parents make less use of them and refuse to accompany the children to the kindergartens. Also children coming there appear to be neglected and there are difficulties with payments for food. The indifferent attitude of Gypsy parents toward these questions must then be dealt with again by the national committees. A number of unnecessary problems arise, troubles which must be remedied at the expense of the entire society.

The situation at the basic nine-year schools is no better in any way. Despite special care for Gypsy children, despite overall attention paid to them by the educators (or perhaps because of that?), the irregularities in school attendance have not been eliminated.

Past practice has demonstrated that, if the Gypsy youth complete at least basic school education, he manages to participate successfully in the normal life of the society. Today, almost 50 percent of gypsy youngsters become participants in apprentice training and the number of those who stay at home with their parents has been reduced to 13.4 percent. Due to this fact, also, the number of economically active Gypsy citizens increased to 93 percent for men and to almost 50 percent for women.

Naturally, the problems outlined here do not pertain to all fellow-citizens of Gypsy ethnic minority. Most of them try to be solid citizens of our society. Yet, it is precisely that minority whose behavior does not correspond to the norms of the socialist coexistence which jeopardizes the reputation of the entire Gypsy community. Our society, our socialist system, tries to comply with the wishes of these people, and to help them in every possible way. Yet, this effort can be successful only if the other side, those Gypsy fellow-citizens who need this help most, will cooperate.

10501
CSO: 2400

BRIEFS

CSSR REFUSES ATHLETE VISA--Former Austrian figure skating champion Sonja Balun, 24 years old, formerly a CSSR citizen and from 1970 an Austrian citizen, had visited the CSSR 15 times since 1970, the last time 2 months ago for the CSSR-USSR ice hockey game in Bratislava. When, in her capacity of trainer of two young Austrian figure skaters who were to participate in the Banska Bystrica Juniors Competition, she recently applied for an entry visa, she was refused. When she inquired about the reason at the CSSR Embassy in Vienna, she was told that CSSR authorities had for years "overlooked a mistake," and that she was still a CSSR citizen. The reason for the CSSR authorities' attitude may possibly be the fact that Sonja Balun, before she came of age, failed to sign an application requesting to be released from CSSR citizenship. [AU141757 Vienna KURIER in German 14 Nov 80 p 27]

CSO: 2020

FORMER SED OFFICIAL ANALYZES CAUSES, CONSEQUENCES OF GDR HARDLINE

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German Vol 34 No 43, 20 Oct 80 pp 35, 37, 39

/Article by Wolfgang Seiffert: "Poland Threatens the Power Monopoly of the SED--Wolfgang Seiffert on the New Course of the GDR Leadership"/

/Text/ Until his resettlement in the Federal Republic in 1978 author Seiffert, 53, was vice president of the GDR Society for International Law, SED member and adviser to the East Berlin Government. At the present time Seiffert, one of the foremost experts on GDR politics, is a guest professor for international economic law at Kiel University.

Last Monday the SED leadership followed the drum roll of drastic increases in compulsory currency conversion for visitors from the West by calling for a totally new and different basis of relations between the two German states, originally agreed in 1972. This completed the GDR leadership's new political formula for dealing with Europe: "Fewer contacts--more money--greater pressure on Bonn." We have to assume that they will pursue it for the foreseeable future.

And yet, neither the GDR, its people nor its leadership have done badly with the earlier arrangements:

-- The German Democratic Republcic received worldwide recognition, joined the United Nations, and GDR statehood was fully accepted by the Federal Republic;

-- On the basis of sensible compromises the GDR obtained many important economic benefits and financial services; economic relations with the Federal Republic prospered;

-- The expansion of opportunities for communication between persons--though usually only in the West-East direction--made the East German public feel that they were not totally isolated, despite the Wall. And the GDR leadership seemed to have learned to live with the ideological burden of increased contacts and opportunities for communication.

The peoples of Europe gained the impression that the Germans had discovered a way of living side by side, despite the hardships of the division and the Wall, possibly even of getting along with one another.

Many people in Germany and other European countries are therefore quite justified in asking would could have possessed the East Berliners to put all--or at least some--of this at risk.

Many indications lead me to the conclusion that East Berlin--and I must add Moscow also--diagnosed a worsening international situation which, from the standpoint of the Politburos in Moscow and East Berlin, looked like a "worldwide conspiracy" (NEUES DEUTSCHLAND) of the West, designed to put the countries of "real socialism" under severe pressure by confrontation.

Until recently the East cited as proof of the alleged conspiracy the NATO arms modernization decision and the situation in the Near East, the Gulf and Afghanistan. The United States, in particular, was held responsible. Yet, it was always asserted that these tensions should not be transferred to Europe.

As late as 4 July last Honecker emphasized in an interview (published in late August at the same time as his autobiography): "Of course we and our allies ar making every effort to prevent the extension of the current international tensions to European relations."

What, then, happened in Europe to cause such an abrupt change in line? Evidently it is the development in Poland, which is turning out to be much more thoroughgoing than was feared: It threatens the power monopoly of the communist party and, among the peoples of the East European countries, strengthens the awareness that the political structures of this system need not inevitably conform to the Stalinist model.

In the case of the GDR there is an additional factor: A constantly reaffirmed and strengthened special relationship between the two German states might not only demonstrate that both states could live together quite peacefully despite their profoundly differing social systems. The special relationship could also serve to strengthen (or arouse) among East Germans awareness of the continued existence and unity of the nation and thereby consolidate the conviction that this unity is a real prospect for the future, albeit in the very long term, and always provided that peace in Europe is preserved.

However, the SED leadership and Moscow always considered the GDR a fortification against NATO and the Federal Republic at the westernmost border of the Warsaw Pact. Now they fear that the situation may be reversed: In the West they still see NATO and the FRG's attraction for Germans in the GDR; in the East a reformed Poland, liberated from Stalinist structures. All this at a time when the economic situation of the GDR and the other socialist contries continues to deteriorate.

It is a characteristic feature of all Stalinist systems--and despite the changes which have occurred there also the USSR and the GDR are still the most Stalinist countries--, that power is their No 1 goal, and that sections of the system, whether the economy, the state or ideology are primarily considered instruments of power.

For these systems power is just about synonymous with the autocracy of the communist party, the security of the one-party system.

There have always been two types of internal security: One based on the far reaching identification of the majority with prevailing conditions, and another which is best described as the quiet of the grave. Up to now the SED leadership under Honecker has tried to achieve something like a basic consensus with the GDR public, insofar as that is possible in the prevailing conditions and within the framework of unchanged political structures.

If this is no longer considered realistic, they will make do with the other internal "stability," provided only that power and the power structure are intact.

Moreover, from the viewpoint of Moscow and East Berlin, it seems that all overland threads linking the opposition forces in Poland with the West run through one country: The GDR. The flow of visitors from the West, especially from the Federal Republic to the GDR, is alleged to provide an ideal setting for "agents" and "counterrevolutionaries" to fish in troubled waters, and where they are difficult to detect, let alone catch.

Against this background Honecker's foray proves to be mainly an attempt to mount a major diversionary offensive for those forces in the Soviet Union, Poland and the GDR, who wish to keep alive the structures of the Stalinist exercise of power. At the same time it is the preparation for the attempt to restore in Poland the shaken if not largely destroyed structure of the one-party system on the Soviet model.

The danger to the Polish reform movement--at least for now--threatens less at the Polish-Soviet border. Instead it hovers at Poland's "open border" with the GDR and the reformed CSSR, although that obviously does not signify any change as far as the Moscow command center is concerned.

The SED bezirk managements in Rostock, Frankfurt/Oder and Cottbus as well as the Ministry for State Security's respective bezirk administrative offices have always been much preoccupied with developments in Poland, not only for their potential effects on the GDR public but also because they consider it their "internationalist duty" to use their numerous links to the Polish party and government apparatus for ensuring that everything in Poland "cleaves to the socialist line."

However, it is quite evident that the GDR leadership's new line has no real future.

The accusations addressed to Bonn are ridiculously far fetched, the demands unrealistic and unfounded, the promises to be made in case Bonn gives in dishonest.

Only an exceptional simpleton could believe, for example, that a change in the Federal Government's basic attitude on the citizenship issue would mean easier travel for the GDR public.

Honcker himself unintentionally admitted as much: In his July interview he criticized the Federal Government's attitude, commenting that the GDR had now concluded consular treaties with 32 countries, including Britain, France, the United States, Austria, Finland, Cyprus, Mexico and India.

And yet GDR citizens cannot freely travel to any of these countries. On the contrary: Honecker here cites only those countries to which the ordinary GDR citizen would not be allowed to travel even after a settlement of the citizenship issue--just as he is not allowed to travel to the Federal Republic.

In fact the GDR is not in the least interested in the "recognition" of GDR citizenship (incidentally, Honecker could have been told by one of his own international jurists that there is no such legal institute in international law as the recognition of citizenship). The real East Berlin intention is to keep their grip on GDR Germans even when they have voluntarily chosen to be domiciled in the Federal Republic.

Much the same applies to Honecker's request to have the present permanent representations transformed into embassies. He is not concerned with satisfying the requirements of international law but wants to change the painstakingly negotiated bases of relations between the two German states to such an extent that the SED state's total power over the GDR population is reinforced.

Honecker's demands do have a certain logic: In a curiously perverse manner he confirms the continued existence of the nation and the special relations arising therefrom.

The attitude of confrontation now assumed in the GDR vis-a-vis the FRG is bound further to alienate the GDR leadership from the people, create new contradictions, possibly provoke a new wave of applications for emigration, arouse anger and disappointment.

On the international stage also the new line may easily boomerang. The GDR's confrontation course is unlikely to evoke sympathy in countries such as Poland or the CSSR. It will probably reinforce the trend among reformist forces in Eastern Europe, who consider a reunited German state a welcome ally for their own independence from Moscow.

In the Federal Republic Honecker's belligerent attitude may have the highly undesirable effect of pushing the political scene to the right, although we must hope that this will not happen. If it does, the confrontation course could turn out to be similarly fateful for Europe as the KPD's doctrine of "social fascism" in the Weimar Republic, which helped Hitler assume power, and Stalin's pact with Hitler, which helped the national socialist dictator to realize his warlike intentions.

Granted, we must be just toward Honecker and his crew. The operation now begun was not generated by German Communists in the GDR. The SED leaders with Honecker wished to continue the former line; they were convinced that this would serve best to secure the GDR's internal stability. Unfortunately they were increasingly confronted with the prospect that the global interests of the Soviet power required a change.

Still in total agreement with Moscow at that time, they had sent out quite unmistakeable and urgent signals to Bonn about expanding relations--ranging from Politburo member Guenter Mittag's visit to Bonn, FRG Research Minister Volker Hauff's to the GDR, Honecker's talk with Schmidt in Belgrade to Honecker's Leipzig statement regarding the GDR's "great interest" in good relations with Bonn.

It will probably have to be left to later historians to ascertain [illegible] Bonn--already in the throes of the forthcoming election campaign--was not receptive enough

or not willing enough to take action. In any case events in Poland cut across the good intentions of the SED leaders as well as the cumbersome decision-making process in Bonn.

Once again, as always at critical turning points of the political situation, Honecker toed the Moscow line. Yet in the course of the necessary analysis and search for a future approach to German-German relations we should not forget the SED's earlier willingness to enter into discussions. Though at the moment well hidden, the GDR leadership's appreciation of the realities, their awareness of their own best interests, offers an opportunity later on to take up the threads where they were left dangling.

It would not be advisable to react by imposing sanctions, although of course relations with the GDR must not be conducted on the principle: "If someone strikes your left cheek, tender the right one also!"

It will be crucial for the Federal Government to react politically, stand by its principles and patiently continue the talks, negotiations and equalization of interests. At the same time this attitude may include the resolve not to agree to every negotiating point of the other side, to state quite clearly that the Federal Republic can do even without this or that treaty--if the situation requires.

After all, despite what has happened, developments have confirmed the correctness, efficacy and strength of this approach. Though the Stalinist power apparatus constantly disrupts and at times plunges the process into crises, the fact remains that the internal reform forces are being freed and the social status quo changed by peaceful means and within the limits drawn by international law.

Other than military confrontation there is really no alternative.

11698
CSO: 2300

WEST GERMAN ANALYSIS OF GDR CAREER GUIDANCE PROBLEMS

Cologne DEUTSCHLAND ARCHIV in German Vol 13 No 10, Oct 80 signed to press 26 Sep 80 pp 1075-1081

/'Analyses and Reports' feature article by Katharina Belwe: "On the Entry of Young People Into the Work Life of the GDR--Causes of Faulty Developments"/

/Text/ The Issue

In view of the shortage of manpower prevailing in the GDR the smooth and successful integration of young people in the production process is of the utmost importance. The planned deployment of the total societal labor capacity, however, poses a problem insofar as it is confronted by the right of every GDR citizen to freely choose his job and by an excess of vacancies.[1] Consequently the planned deployment of young people also is restricted by the circumstances. The organs of the GDR's state management and planning must deal with the problem of "being compelled to achieve the far reaching coincidence of youthful wishes for the greatest possible mobility, the stemming of uneconomic manpower turnover, and the realization of socially necessary manpower movements."[2] This is where the system of career guidance comes in.[3] According to Rudolph career counseling in the GDR has two preeminent goals: Young people are to be enabled

1. To arrive at a decision as to their future work on the basis of the best possible information about opportunities, requirements and prospects, coupled with the realistic assessment of their own abilities and inclinations;

2. To coordinate or subordinate their own interests to social requirements.

Career counseling is largely regulated by the "decree on career guidance"[4] and various orders. The most important institutions involved are schools, enterprises, career guidance centers, local state organs and social organizations.[5] The following report is not designed fully to describe the GDR system of career guidance in all its ramifications. For that see the papers by Western authors.[6] I am concerned with tracing the causes of faulty developments in the incorporation of young people in the social production process by way of GDR empirical studies.[7] The fact is that a career counseling system, though seemingly very well organized, is marred by evidently faulty developments in the career choices of young people.

At the present time some 15 percent of young people change their jobs immediately after completion of their career training. In 1975 Kuhrt pointed out that young

people often begin their career training with certain reservations, illustrated by sociological studies in Halle Bezirk regarding the satisfaction of career wishes, satisfaction with the career as such and interest in the chosen career.[8] Dissatisfaction was greatest among young working people below the age of 25. According to Hille (1978) GDR exports assume that 'about 70 percent of young people per graduating class at POS / polytechnical secondary schools/ achieve satisfactory adjustment to the table of organization. The other 30 percent need a prolonged stage of career orientation and counseling before a training contract can be concluded. They include about 10 percent of problem cases where placement is difficult, incline to 'idleness' and frequent job changes and, sometimes, require the intervention of the youth aid agencies."[9] At least 10 percent of POS graduates per annum must therefore be considered potentially unstable. In 1978 this involved 24,000 job seeking juveniles among 240,000 school leavers (60,000 of the total of 300,000 wished to apply for admission to colleges or technical schools).[10] This figure, though, is far too low because the 70 percent of POS graduates who achieve satisfactory adjustment to the table of organization also include apprentices who are dissatisfied with their choice: "Though more than 70 percent of school leavers are able to conclude a training contract after a first application to an enterprise, some of them obtain a training contract for a career which is not their first choice." Balzer, head of the career guidance section of the State Secretariat for Career Training, cites three reasons:

1. Contradictions between the student's subjective expectations and professional interests on the one hand and social needs on the other, which fail to be settled before the conclusion of the training contract.

2. Many enterprises tend to unduly orient hiring requirements to grades achieved at school rather than the total personality of the student.

3. Career guidance of students to help them settle on a career and conclude a training contract is often inadequate.[11]

Empirical Material on Faulty Developments

The comparison of two different studies--one involving 300 tenth grade students at eight Magdeburg secondary schools and another of 400 apprentices in various occupations in Magdeburg and Prenzlau--will illustrate this faulty development:

The 300 students polled had basically made their career decisions, that is most were fully aware of the career and the enterprise they would join for training after their graduation from school. The 400 apprentices belonged to the career groups skilled machinists, machine design draftsmen, skilled workers for manufacturing aids, maintenance mechanics, skilled construction worker and sales clerk. The results of the poll--subsequently cross-indexed in table 1--allow the conclusion that most students "err" in their career choice because, as the poll of apprentices showed, only 14.5 percent would choose the same career if given a second chance.[12]

Table 1[13]

Appraisal of the profession to be chosen/chosen	Student Replies Percentage	Apprentice Replies Percentage
Job preferences largely met	77	145
Job preferences partly met	16	55-88
Problem cases	7	

Consequently, while a majority of students consider their choice of career correct, "a lot of apprentices tend negatively to appraise the result of their career choice."[14] Obviously students believe to have received adequate information for their career choice; later--in the course of training--they find out that they were wrong.

About 64 percent of the tenth grade students polled were also convinced that they had chosen a favorable career, suitable for their purposes; 25 percent thought this likely; the remainder was deemed to be "problem cases." Table 2 compares the students standpoint with a view to the appraisal of their chosen careers with that of apprentices. While the majority of students believe that they have given sufficient consideration to their own abilities and characters with regard to suitability for the respective career, and that they know all about their chosen career, only relatively few apprentices make the same claim. We may thus assume a fairly widespread lack of information and (therefore) a less than acute student awareness at the time oc career choice.

Table 2[15]

Viewpoints regarding the appraisal of the chosen career/training	Student Statements Percentage	Apprentice Statements Percentage
General knowledge about the career to be trained in	85	36
Consideration of ability	78	29
Consideration of suitability	75	42

In addition only 36 percent of the apprentices polled stated that they knew something about their future career; only 37 percent believe that they considered their interests and inclinations in connection with their career choice, and only 46 percent now say that they had appreciated future career opportunities when making their choice.

The learning effect is remarkable: 90 percent of the 400 apprentices polled pleaded for general, 85 percent for special knowledge of the career; 88 percent consider indispensable a thorough test of abilities, 86 percent a review of their inclinations and interests for the chosen career; 81 percent advocate greater consideration for career opportunities at the time of choosing.[16]

GDR empirical studies of young people's knowledge about the careers chosen reveal similar gaps in their information: A 1977 poll of 194 first year apprentices, for

example, showed that only 3.6 percent of those polled felt they had been very well informed about the nature of their career, 5.2 percent about its requirements and prerequisites, 3.1 percent about the training, 9.8 percent about future earning potentials, and 10.8 percent about opportunities for further education. Most gave a verdict of "well informed" (maintaining the above sequence: 38.1 percent, 38.7 percent, 32.0 percent, 40.2 percent, 42.8 percent) or "satisfactorily informed" (40.7 percent, 38.7 percent, 37.6 percent, 37.6 percent, 32 percent). Sixteen percent were "not informed" about the nature of the job, 12.4 percent about requirements and prerequisites, 13.9 percent about the future earning potential, and 26.8 percent about opportunities for further education, that is more than 25 percent lacked proper information.[17]

The results of the study seem to indicate, on the one hand, that there are some deficiencies in career counseling. According to Dietz actual contact with the future job "corrected the erroneous assumption that the career decision had been made responsibly."[18] On the other hand they are proof that the transition from school to working life is a problem general to young people. It seems doubtful whether it can basically be resolved by better career guidance (= limits of career guidance). Young people must live this stage of their development--contradictory as far as they are concerned--in the course of which they experience a raising of consciousness (learning effect). However, it is accepted that the general transition to working life may be eased for the young person by the provision of realistic information. Here are the opportunities for career counseling. The summary of an empirical study conducted in 1978--it may be applicable generally--revealed "that the possibilities for the achievement of a higher standard of information as the prerequisite for a responsible and informed career choice have certainly not been exhausted."[19] At the time the career decision is made some of the school leavers still display a certain lack of information. The following factors are held responsible for the insufficiently realistic ideas of young people as regards their future careers.

They are:

-- The sometimes inadequate utilization of existing sources of information,

-- Insufficient familiarity with the respective career,

-- Occasionally the tendency more actively to recruit for certain careers than provide objective information about them,

-- Subjective recommendations by friends and acquaintances,

-- Repeated reorientation of some young people/students to other apprentice jobs for one reason or the other, because the initial career wish cannot be realized,

-- Manifestations of an unduly passive or apathetic attitude of young people at the time of career choice, as well as

-- Insufficiently distinct career interest and belated choice of career training.[20]

Causes of Information Gaps

Some of the gaps arise because schools sometimes feel hard put to it to meet their responsibilities for career guidance. Quite often they consider career preparation "a marginal duty, especially because it is not explicitly mentioned in the curriculums."[21] As, however, preparation for the choice of career is in first place in the problems confronting senior students in particular,[22] school represents the first cause of wrong career choices which may later result in undue job instability. Though the significance of polytechnical instruction[23] for the illustration of various careers and working life should not be underestimated, it is necessary to point out the "picture book nature" of the impressions given.

Information gaps also arise from the fact that career guidance centers--the real providers of information--do not exert the greatest influence on the young people who chose careers. The juveniles polled "almost unanimously cited their parents as the foremost influence." The latest studies confirm this statement without exception (see tables 3 and 4).

Table 3[24]--Prime Factors Influencing the Career Choices of Students (706 Graduates)

Influenced by	Total 706	Males 353	Females 353
Parents and relatives	372 (52.7%)	152 (43.0%)	220 (62.3%)
School and youth association	146 (20.6%)	68 (19.3%)	78 (22.1%)
Enterprise and polytechnical instruction	126 (17.9%)	90 (25.5%)	36 (10.2%)
Mass communication media	62 (8.8%)	43 (12.2%)	19 (5.4%)

Table 4[25]-- Survey of the Efficacy of Various Influences on Career Choices (involving 194 first year apprentices)

	Percentages
1. Parents	28.3
2. Career guidance centers	18.5
3. Relatives, acquaintances	8.3
4. Classmates, friends	8.3
4. Siblings	5.7
6. Enterprise representatives	4.4
7. Informational material at career guidance centers	3.9
8. Home room teachers	3.4
9. Other factors	19.2

According to Bonring/Ducke the fact that parental influence is decisive for the career choice of students underlines "the necessity even more to involve parents in carrer choice orienting activities and making available to them more information for the proper guidance of their children."[26] That, however, is difficult because information is usually available only at parents meetings,[27] which many parents fail to attend. Consequently the expensive career guidance system tends to be undermined to a certain extent by parents who--consciously or unconsciously--misdirect their children (by reference to "social requirements").

Added to this is the unduly low priority of individual career counseling for students. Individual counseling is provided only for juveniles who are considered "problem cases." As a result important sources of information are insufficiently exploited. On the other hand it is well known "that information responding to subjective needs is more readily accepted and absorbed."[28] Of little benefit to the smooth running incorporation of career entrants, finally, is the trend to flowery job descriptions. Often this is entirely counterproductive. A career entrant, for example, who decided to train as a "calculating machine mechanic" because "it sounded nice" in the index of apprenticeships, may well feel disappointed and "cheated when she ends up on the assembly line." That disappointment is due to inadequate or misleading information about the particular career. The attitude that "it may not be bad as far as earnings are concerned but can't satisfy me for the rest of my life" implies the thought of future job changes.[29] "Lack of knowledge and information about the actual circumstances of the job" are cited as among the main reasons for errors in career choices.[30] True, all 291 possible job training opportunities are listed in the systematic register of careers and described on half a page each,[31] but the information provided about various aspects of the prospective career (subject matter, physical and intellectual requirements, prior qualifications, the kind of training, opportunities for advancement, earnings, and so on) is not always adequate.[32] The description "skilled word processing worker," for example, primarily means "typing from tapes, taking dictation and transcribing it on the typewriter; typing from handwritten or shorthand notes; writing letters from brief notes; producing texts for office printing processes (mimeographing, copying machines and small offset printers)."[33]

Conclusion

Using the results of GDR empirical studies I was able to show that faulty developments in the stage of career choice tend to occur despite a most comprehensively planned and generally persuasive career guidance system. Disregarding the general problems of the transition of juveniles to working life they are mainly due to the fact that too little use is made of the opportunities to influence career choices available to schools, enterprises, career guidance facilities and social organizations. All these institutions should be able to offer the young people a realistic picture of their enterprise and career opportunities, but some are underused, others inadequate or so organized that the reality of working life is not clearly appreciated by the young people. Here is a wide field of possible reasons for the subsequent tendency to excessive manpower turnover. More realistic and sophisticated information could certainly help to largely avoid this. Equally important is the provision of such social and material working conditions as may compensate the nonfulfillment of the career wish, disappointment with the "dream career," and so on. Aiming in this direction is the summing up of GDR sociologist Ducke: "However

perfect the information available, it cannot make up for defects, inadequacies, lack of challenge, and so on."[35]

FOOTNOTES

1. See: "Experiences and Problems of the Sociological Study of Manpower Movements," colloquium of sociologists from academic life and practical life in the ZFA. SOZIALISTISCHE ARBEITSWISSENSCHAFT, 24th year (1980), No 3, pp 191/192; GDR Constitution, article 24 (1).

2. Jutta Bastian/Renate Johne, "On Problems of Job Changes of Young Workers," SOZIALISTISCHE ARBEITSWISSENSCHAFT, 23rd year (1979), No 3, p 222.

3. "Between school and career training and against the background of manpower planning and guidance, career and academic counseling and guidance are of the utmost importance...," see Ulrich Lohmann, "Career Counseling and Career Guidance Within the System of Manpower Planning in the GDR," in "Berufsberatung und Berufslenking" /Career Counseling and Career Guidance/, Goettingen 1976, p 234.

4. GESETZBLATT DER DDR, Part II, No 43/1970, p 311.

5. See Walter Jaide/Barbara Hille, "Jugend im Doppelten Deutschland" /Youth in Duplicate Germany/, Opladen 1977, pp 26 ff; Barbara Hille, "On the Efficiency of Career Preparation in the GDR," DEUTSCHLAND ARCHIV, special issue 1978, pp 107 ff; Lohmann, "Career Counseling...," (note 3), pp 234 ff; Irmhild Rudolph, "The Educational System," in "Erbe u.a. Politik, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft in der DDR" /Heritage and so on, Politics, Economics and Society in the GDR/, 2d revised and expanded edition, Opladen 1980, pp 356 ff; Rolf Balzer, "A Significant Decision," PIONIERLEITUNG, 29th year (1978), No 22, p 5; Rolf Balzer, "Helping by Career Counseling to Get Individual Desires in the Choice of Careers to Coincide as Much as Possible With Social Needs," BERUFSBILDUNG, 32d year (1978), No 3, pp 119-122.

6. See especially Jaide/Hille, "Youth...," (note 5), pp 26 ff; Lohmann, "Career Counseling..," (note 3), pp 234 ff; Hille, "On the Efficiency...," (note 5), pp 107-116; Rudolph, "The Educational System" (note 5), pp 356 ff.

7. "Young people in the GDR get an early purposeful and varied preparation and guidance to the world of work and the structure of its requirements," see Jaide/Hille, "Youth...," (note 5), pp 44/45.

8. Willi Kuhrt, "Basic Issues of the Preparation of School Students for the Choice of Careers," PAEDAGOGIK, 30th year (1975), No 2, supplement 2/1975, p 8; "Colloquium on the Efficacy and Rational Use of the Labor Capacity," SOZIALISTISCHE ARBEITSWISSENSCHAFT, 21st year (1977), No 2, p 151.

9. Hille, "On the Efficiency...," (note 5), p 111; see also Kuhrt, "Basic Issues...," (note 8), p 7.

10. Balser, "A Significant Development," (note 5), p 5; Inge Wullrich, "Goals of the Training of Future Skilled Workers Again Exactly Mapped. On the Preparation of the 1979/1980 Training Year," ARBEIT UND ARBEITSRECHT, 34th year (1979), No 8, p 349.

11. Rolf Balzer, "The Search for a Career Does Not End With the Completion of the Training Contract," ARBEIT UND ARBEITSRECHT, 31st year (1976), No 3, p 74.

12. Berthold Dietz, "The Career Decision as a Leaning Event," PAEDAGOGIK, 30th year, (1975), supplement 2/1975, p 15.

13. Ibid, pp 15/16.

14. Ibid, pp 13/14.

15. Ibid, pp 14/15.

16. Ibid.

17. Guenter Bohring/Kurt Ducke, "Mensch und Beruf" /Man and Career/, series on sociology, Berlin (GDR) 1979, p 164.

18. Dietz, "The Career Decision...," (Note 12), p 15.

19. Kurt Ducke, "Some Sociological Aspects of Information in Career Guidance," FORSCHUNG DER SOZIALISTISCHEN BERUFSAUSBILDUNG, 12th year (1978), No 4, p 7.

20. Ibid, p 8.

21. Kuhrt, "Basic Issues...," (note 8), p 7; Hille, "On the Efficiency...," (note 5), p 113.

22. A study by the pedagogical college at Erfurt/Muehlhausen revealed that in 14 groups of problems career selection is the outstanding issue for 76 percent of students in grades 7 and 8, and for 81 percent of grades 9 and 10. See Kuhrt, "Basic Issues,,,," (note 8), p 7; see also Otmar Kabal vel Job, "Geschlechtstypische Einstellungen und Verhaltensweisen bei Jugendlichen," /Sex Typical Attitudes and Behavior Among Juveniles/, Berlin (GDR) 1979, p 100.

23. Polytechnical instruction begins in the upper grades of the POS (grades 7-10) and is carried on in cooperation with local industry. This happens in schools proper and--mainly--the "polytechnical cabinets," the "supra" enterprise polytechnical centers and in production departments of enterprises. Efforts for the further centralization and further removal of polytechnical instruction from the enterprise are in direct contradiction to the avowed aim to facilitate the students transition to working life by their immediate confrontation with socialist production.

24. Kuhrt, "Basic Issues...," (note 8), p 9.

25. Bohring/Ducke, "Man and Career," (note 17), p 155.

26. Ibid, p 156. see also Ducke, "Some Sociological Aspects...," (note 19), p 8.

27. Information is handed out mainly in parents meetings at the schools. Career counselors and enterprise representatives there give the parents a survey of the opportunities in career choice and training offered in the region. These and other career-orienting events begin from the 6th grade on. Unfortunately parents attendance at parents meetings drops sharply from the 5th grade on. As a result parental influence is based far too little on topical information. See Birgit Heinze, "How Does Career Guidance Proceed at the Schools"," PRESSE-INFORMATIONEN/ MINISTERRATE, No 141, 4 December 1979, p 4; "Career Guidance--A Permanent Task," ELTERNHAUS UND SCHULE, 27th year (1978) No 2, p 20.

28. Ducke, "Some Sociological Aspects...," (note 19), p 9; Hille, "On the Efficiency...," (note 5), pp 113/114.

19. "Where Do Experience and Expectation Meet," series "Family Portraits," in SONNTAG, 33rd year (1979), No 32, p 9.

30. Bohring/Ducke, "Man and Career," (note 17), p 164.

31. Herbert Thur, "Was Willst Du Werden" Ausbildungsberufe/8. und 10. Klasse, Studienberufe/10. Klasse," /What Do You Want To Be? Career Training/8th and 10th Grade, Academic Training/10th Grade/, 6th revised edition, Berlin (GDR) 1978.

32. Ducke, "Some Sociological Aspects..," (note 19), p 8.

33. Thur, "What Do You Want...," (note 31), p 207.

34. Ducke, "Some Sociological Aspects," (note 19), p 10.

35. On the effect of crucial working conditions on juvenile workers, see Katharina Belwe, "On the Work Situation of Juveniles in the Enterprise. Selected Problems of Juveniles in GDR Iindustrial Enterprises--Illustrated by Examples of Results of Manpower Turnover Research in the GDR," DEUTSCHLAND ARCHIVE, 13th year (1980), special issue.

11698
CSO: 2300

BRIEFS

REASSIGNMENT OF OFFICIAL--The Ministry of Agriculture and Food Industry relieved Laszlo Zentai of his post as department head in the Ministry as of 30 September 1980. The government wishes to employ him in the secretariat of CEMA. [Budapest MEZOGAZDASAGI ES ELELMEZESUGYI ERTESITO in Hungarian 14 Oct 80 p 976]

CSO: 2500

SHORTCOMINGS IN INTERNAL PARTY AFFAIRS REVEALED

Bucharest MUNCA DE PARTID in Romanian No 10, Oct 80 pp 7-12

/Unsigned article: "Internal Party Affairs As a Fertile Field for Strengthening Sense of Responsibility, Order and Discipline"/

/Text/ The party's intensified leadership in all fields in the process of building the fully developed socialist society is considerably enhancing the scope and content of internal party affairs and lending them new dimensions. But however diversified the interests of the party organs and organizations are, economic problems are still central to the party's agenda. Furthermore as society evolves and the volume and complexity of the tasks increase, the importance of economics in the affairs and activity of every party organization grows considerably, and the internal affairs of the organization are the favorable environment wherein the communist familiarizes himself most intimately with the economic world and the specific requirements of development of material production. Through it and charged with definite responsibilities, he plays an effective part in preparation of solutions that will help to enhance the efficiency of the whole production system. In fact, fulfillment of the economic plans, enhancement of profitability, full exploitation of the great reserves of the enterprise, constant improvement of quality and regular reduction of outlays are the substratum of internal party affairs, the basic purpose of the main measures taken by the party organizations. This requires every organization to check first of all how the communist is performing his professional duties and what he is doing specifically to keep himself in the lead and to influence all those around him. The primary organization that takes no interest in the results obtained in production by its members and their efforts to keep improving them will find it difficult or nearly impossible to successfully fulfill the prerogatives that flow from its role as a leading political force of the collective.

In pointing out the unbreakable bond between the quality of party life and development of the capacity of the party organs and organizations to unite the efforts of the workers in the struggle to implement the RCP Program, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu asked them to devote the greatest attention to exacting organization of internal affairs because it is there in that favorable environment that the communist becomes a social militant inspired by a powerful revolutionary spirit.

The Party's Strength Is in the Quality of Its Members

Numerical and qualitative reinforcement of the party organization's ranks, a correct social and national composition and proper distribution of the party's forces are essential components of party affairs.

While implementing the decisions of the 12th Party Congress and the directions handed down by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the party organs and organizations have made notable progress this year in the qualitative and numerical reinforcement of their ranks. The fact is noteworthy that the party now numbers over 3 million members, and it is an eloquent expression of its enormous political and organizational influence among the masses and of the boundless confidence of all the workers regardless of nationality and of the entire people in our party's wise policy.

The fact that 54 percent of the party members are workers, nearly 17 percent are farmers, over 21 percent are intellectuals and office workers, and over 28 percent are women is indicative of the concern with which the party administration keeps trying to achieve a healthy composition.

In pursuance of the decision of the Plenum of the RCP Central Committee in March 1980 and the directions of the party secretary general, emphasis is still placed on the quality of party members and improvement of their political and ideological standards and their sense of responsibility and aggressiveness. In other words the priority is on making sure that in all party organizations every recommendation, every decision to admit to the party and every confirmation will express certainty that the individual abundantly deserves the high title of communist.

First attention is given to recruiting the most advanced and purposeful workers in the enterprises of the machine building and light industries, the state agricultural enterprises and the cooperative farms. The party organizations also concentrate on reinforcing their ranks with the best workers in the construction enterprises, especially bricklayers, reinforced concrete workers and carpenters.

Political-organizational work is planned so that in the counties with over 35 percent farmers in the total employed population the proportion of workers will be 55 percent of the total admissions to the party and that of farmers at least 25 percent. In the other counties farmers will be at least 15 percent of the total 80 percent workers and farmer.

Furthermore the party organs and organizations are required to militate for recruitment of the most active women, especially agricultural cooperative members, with strict observance of the decision that they shall comprise 40-45 percent of all new party recruits.

The effort toward party education of party members, especially the young communists, has been intensified. The method whereby the bureaus of the primary organizations hold discussions with the communists at least once a year has been extended at most points.

But in view of the ever growing demands made by the party on its members, the party organs and organizations are expected to make even more intensive efforts toward revolutionary education of party members in order to strengthen the spirit of order and discipline so that each one will become an active militant in implementing the party decisions and laws of the land.

Some organizations are not taking due care to educate party members, so that some of them seriously violate party discipline and morality and the regulations. Almost half of those expelled from the party last year were found guilty of acts requiring criminal sanctions.

Basic qualitative changes have also been made in the party members' cultural and political training. Now more than half the party members are graduates of institutes of higher education, specialized high schools and technical and trade schools. Aid to party members who have not completed their elementary school studies, a program instituted at Nicolae Ceausescu's direction, has shown very good results. In the last 2 years over 300,000 party members up to 50 years of age completed the eight elementary grades, and over 52,000 are now taking courses toward graduation.

Yet some counties (Dimbovita, Dolj, Bacau, Prahova, Arad, Buzau, Iasi, Mures and Teleorman counties) still number a great many party members up to 50 years of age with only four elementary grades who have not been enrolled to finish general school, proving that the program has not been followed up everywhere with due perseverance. The party organs and organizations, jointly with the school inspectorates, must appoint the most capable teachers to help them graduate properly and to check how they study and are prepared to take their examinations.

Several counties have instituted worthy programs to help party members complete their high school studies. A total of over 68,000 party members are in this program, a greater number being in Bucharest, Galati, Cluj, Dolj and Mures. Therefore the organization and propaganda sections of the party committees must check the progress of this program closely, organize aid to party members to attend evening high school, make full use of the experience acquired when party members complete elementary studies, and regard this as an important measure for applying the party secretary general's direction to expand party members' cultural horizon during expansion of the technical-scientific revolution in Romania.

On the basis of the Decision of the Plenum of the RCP Central Committee of March 1979 and the directions of the Secretariat of the Central Committee on the start of the exchange of party documents, individual discussions practically ceased and nearly all organizations held general assemblies to discuss the conclusions drawn from these discussions. About two-thirds of all party members have received the new cards.

As the party secretary general pointed out, the exchange of party documents is profoundly political in nature, with very favorable effects upon development of the party organizations' ability to mobilize the workers' collectives to accomplish their objectives, and upon the revolutionary spirit and the sense of party responsibility in performing the assigned tasks.

The general assemblies to deliver the new party cards are now in full progress, an occasion which should be made a veritable school of communist, party education of the party members everywhere. In view of the great importance of this action, the bureaus of the county committees must keep the exchange of documents firmly in hand and conduct it effectively, not leaving it for one moment to the sections for problems of regulations, documents and records of party members.

Now the most important task in connection with the exchange of party cards is a close check on application of the lessons learned from this important event to party affairs, implementation of the good suggestions and ideas, consideration of all

criticisms, and implementation in every particular of the measures adopted on this occasion. Viewed in this light alone it can be said that this action has truly contributed to intensification of the communists' activity and to consolidation of every party organization's leadership.

In accordance with the directions of the Secretariat of the Central Committee, the assemblies to deliver the new cards are an occasion to develop the communists' sense of responsibility for the way they keep this important document.

It is the task of the organizational section to check strict observance of the rules governing regular control of the cards at the general assemblies and upon payment of dues, questioning every instance of negligence in keeping and handling the card. Even more determined steps must be taken so that all communists will see that the party card is kept quite safely, putting a complete stop to any show of negligence. When the documents were exchanged cases were discovered (in Petrosani, Sacele, Fagaras, Vaslui and Brasov) where even secretaries of primary organizations could not properly keep the cards entrusted them by some party members.

Therefore all primary organizations must make new educational efforts so that every party member will carry his party card with the greatest care and in perfect safety.

An Essential Method of Party Education of Communists

The party task is a basic instrument that enables every communist to know exactly what he has to do at any point, how to use his political and professional aptitudes, and how to develop his capacities as a volunteer fighter in the communist avantgarde.

Precise fulfillment of the party task is the most conclusive expression of a high communist discipline. When the party secretary general asked the party organs and organizations and the activists to militate more firmly for a stronger sense of discipline and for development of revolutionary aggressiveness and party responsibility, the fact that all these are essential ways of providing for unflagging implementation of party decisions and the laws of the land is what he had in mind.

As Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out at the conference in September 1979, a strengthened sense of responsibility and labor discipline is an essential requirement for fulfulling party and state decisions and the RCP Program for Romania's Socioeconomic Development, without which no proper performance of party activity is possible, nor scientific management in any sector of social activity.

But an analysis of the way the party organizations use the party task system to keep the active spirit alive in the communists' ranks shows that there is room for considerable improvements there. When we say this we have in mind the fact that in some of the county organizations (Arad, Bacau, Buzau, Dimbovita, Ialomita, Iasi, Suceava and Teleorman counties and Bucharest municipality) almost all the party members have definite tasks, while in others (Bihor, Brasov, Dolj, Hunedoara, Mures and Olt counties) their number is more limited.

The existing data show that in June only half the party members had tasks in Olt and Dolj counties. Do these counties have no objectives to attain or business to occupy all party members? It is hard to believe that Olt and Dolj counties have solved the great problems of socioeconomic development to such an extent that they can leave a large number of party members inactive.

We are also referring to the superficiality that appears in the division of tasks, since consideration is not always given to the background, interests or aptitudes of the party members or the particular requirements of the political and organizational work in each organization.

If in addition to all these we also consider the existing defects in control over the communists' performance of the assigned tasks it is clear how broad the field of action is here. The experience of many party organizations in Alba, Botosani, Braila, Prahova, Suceava, Timis, Vaslui and Vrancea counties, which request party members to report regularly on their work in assemblies should be emulated as soon as possible by the party organizations in Cluj, Constanta, Galati and Maramures counties that exercise no party control over many communists.

An important part in internal affairs is played by the general assemblies, the higher organs over the primary organizations and the forums that enable the communists to participate effectively in decision making, directing all political and organizational work, and managing the affairs of the organizations to which they belong. But the facts prove that the general assemblies do not invariably receive due attention. Some county, municipal and city committees not only do not know what has been discussed in the assemblies in the course of a month or what kind of suggestions, criticisms or comments have been made but do not even know whether they are held regularly as provided by the regulations. Nearly every month a number of primary organizations in Arges, Dolj, Ilfov and Arad counties fail to hold their general assemblies, in clear violation of the regulations.

There are cases unsatisfactory attendance at assemblies, the most limited being indicated in Dimbovita, Mehedinti and Buzau counties. This reveals neglect of these aspects of party life on the part of the respective county party committees and the oganizational sections.

When we consider that many assemblies do not take up the most urgent problems, do not display the necessary militance against defects and those who caused them, and adopt no measures or definite tasks for communists, we better realize how deficient the work of some organizational sections is.

Therefore the organizational sections must come to grips with these problems seriously and devise a system to check on them constantly, to inform the bureau and the secretariat, and especially to intervene with solutions and measures for the most efficient conduct of internal party affairs, with unfailing observance of all regulation norms.

Emphasis on Practical, Systematic Briefings

Organization and performance of briefings of the party organs and staff are an important aspect of party affairs and the management process. The party administration is constantly concerned with improving their content and effectiveness and eliminating superficiality in their organization and performance.

Any appreciable improvement in the briefings necessarily requires the bureaus of the county committees to concern themselves directly with their preparation and performance, enlisting the most qualified personnel, starting with the first secretary of the county party committee, to give the briefing properly speaking. The practice in some places of leaving the briefing to some staff workers not only impairs its

effectiveness but does not even allow the activists to take congnizance of the problems that actually come first among the concerns of the respective party organ.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu recently pointed out that the briefings must place greater emphasis upon the practical aspect and teach those present how to work better and how not to work, drawing conclusions both from favorable experience and from the existing defects and failings, with special emphasis on their causes. This means the briefings must dwell more on exchanges of experience, practical demonstrations, discussions of reports, visits to leading units to collect material, and other approaches capable of maintaining a dialogue among the participants.

Special attention must be given to organizing the biefing within the time limits set in the Central Committee's instructions and with strict observance of the days devoted to each kind of briefing. Unfortunately some county party committees (Buzau, Constanta, Olt and Mures counties and Bucharest municipality et al.) have not observed the provisions on periodicity and duration of the briefings, briefing their own staffs only 7-9 times last year instead of 12 times. In the same period in Alba, Arad, Bihor, Botosani, Dolj, Gorj, Ilfov, Teleorman, Vaslui and Vilcea counties briefings of the secretaries of the party committees and the bureaus of the primary organizations in the industrial, construction and transportation enterprises and state agricultural enterpises in the rural areas were held only 1-2 times instead of 3 times as specified in the RCP Central Committee's instructions.

The efficiency of internal party affairs heavily depends upon the way they are conducted, directed and controlled by the local party organs and the efforts made in this direction by the organizational sections. The facts indicate that the bureaus and secretariats of the party committees and their organizational sections do not pay attention to all aspects of internal party affairs at all points.

It is vital for the organizational sections to thoroughly check the progress of the internal activity of all party organs and organizations and for the problems of party affairs to recur often on the agenda of the controls and analyses made by the bureaus and secretariats of the county, municipal and city committees so that political and organizational work will proceed in perfect order, characterized by a high sense of responsibility and communist discipline.

5186
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IMPORTANCE OF POSITION OF CHAIRMAN OF TRADE UNION COMMITTEE

Bucharest MUNCA DE PARTID in Romanian No 10, Oct 80 pp 54-56

/Article by Teodor Prunea, first vice chairman of the Commission for Problems of Organization, Regulations and Autonomy of Trade Unions under the Central Council of the General Union of Romanian Trade Unions: "Highly Responsible Office of Chairman of Trade Union Committee"/

/Text/ The Law on Organization and Management of State Socialist Units provides that the trade union committee and the workers council are responsible for organization of the workers general assembly. Involvement of the trade union organization in this vital task was considerably increased when its chairman was made chairman of the supreme forum of collective management of the enterprise's socioeconomic activity. As Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out at the constituent meeting of the National Council of Workers, "We have made the stipulation, which actually became a practice long ago, that the chairman of the trade union in an enterprise, who is also vice chairman of the council, will conduct the workers general assembly, because the trade union as the largest workers organization should have more responsibility for the working masses' participation in social management."

The function accorded the trade union chairman eloquently expresses the profoundly democratic character of Romanian socialist society, which enables the trade unions to fully perform their social mission and contribute to their full capacity to the nation's further development and prosperity and to the success of the party's measures to enhance the material and cultural welfare of the workers and the entire Romanian people.

The responsibility of the trade union organization takes on new proportions because the workers general assembly is one of the vital components of the system of worker self-management, as the forum wherein the working class and masses of workers participate in organized fashion in management of socioeconomic activity and in discussion and solution of plan fulfillment problems. Moreover the general assembly exercises control over the unit's management organs and is a means of developing the workers' socialist awareness, strengthening discipline and social responsibility, and encouraging the masses' creative initiative on behalf of good management of public property.

In practice, the function of chairman of the workers general assembly includes many obligations that go far beyond the task and time of chairing the proceedings of the meeting.

In the preparatory stage, the assembly chairman's contribution is first required in order to make known, assimilate and adjust to the unit's specific conditions the provisions of the plan of action approved by the national council of workers concerning the organization and conduct of the general assemblies. It is essential to efficiency for the policies set by the central collective management organ to be received with very serious attention, so that the activity will be analyzed in full accord with the supreme social imperatives of the respective period.

In the present special session (September-October 1980) the subject of the general assemblies is discussion of the enterprises' tasks in the Uniform National Plan of Romania's Socioeconomic development for 1981, in the light of the decisions of the 12th RCP Congress and the guidelines and directives handed down by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the party secretary general, at the working conferences of the RCP Central Committee this year, at the expanded plenum of the National Council of Workers in June 1980 and at the recent Congress of County People's Councils and Chairmen of Municipal, City and Communal People's Councils. It is the duty of the assembly chairman to ensure the active participation of the trade union committee under the party organization's guidance and to contribute personally to determination and implementation of all the measures required for sound and responsible preparation and conduct of the program.

Organization of the workers general assemblies requires special attention at the start of each year and of the half-years. In big enterprises, the trade union organ and its chairman are expected to provide jointly with the workers council for optimal scheduling of the assemblies that are organized according to sections, sectors, worksites, plants, factories, mines and other such units, so that management personnel with the authority to resolve the questions that arise promptly can be present at their preparation and proceedings.

The materials specified on the agenda must be drafted with great care. As a common document of the workers council and the trade union committee, the report is prepared with the direct and active participation of the chairman of the general assembly on the basis of the party organization's directions, making sure that it includes a very exacting and responsible examination of the operational problems in the past period and of the future tasks, so that the workers or their representatives can rule knowledgeably upon the performance and the decisions to be made.

Party Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu's repeated statements about the interpretation and application of the new economic-financial mechanism call for the most careful examination of the execution of the enterprise budget of incomes and outlays in order to clearly bring out the state of management and formation of the funds as well as the efforts of the unit's management and the workers collective to enhance profitability, reduce costs, and increase the incomes and profits.

While directly participating and interesting the other members of the trade union organ in drafting the materials on the agenda, the assembly chairman cannot overlook the importance of preparing all workers in the enterprise for this event. Many trade unions, like those at the Ploiesti Dorobantul Textile Enterprise, the Baneasa-Bucharest IPRS /Enterprise for Radio Parts and Semiconductors/, Alba Iulia

Portelamul et al., have started organizing various programs encouraging workers to think over the major problems to be discussed at assemblies so that they can come with suggestions for solutions. The chairmen arrange for regular work with individuals, articles in the wall newspapers and broadcasts on the radio amplifiers, creating a climate of keen interest on the part of the masses of workers.

The chairmen's responsibility for efficient use of the efforts made to prepare the general assemblies requires them to maintain an atmosphere conducive to criticism and self-criticism during the proceedings. Democracy demands that during the discussions the participants should be able to express their views, even if contradictory, freely and sincerely so that the best of the proposed solutions can be chosen. This requires participation in the discussions of as large a number as possible of highly skilled workers, foremen and other workers thoroughly familiar with the problems of the various activities who can present what is useful as well as the deficiencies and their causes and can make suggestions to improve the work in all areas.

As we know the assembly approves the uniform plan of technical-organizational measures, the programs for improving the work norms and standards, the budget of incomes and outlays, the collective labor contract, the pledge in socialist competition and other documents shaping and predetermining socioeconomic and political-educational activity for a long period of time. The chairman of the trade union or assembly has responsibilities to carry out the approved decisions in the whole organization of labor. It is one of his first concerns to see that the proposals made in the discussion are actually included in the established programs and measures, so that the decision on them, which is usually approved in the general assembly, will not be merely an empty formula as it sometimes happens in some enterprises.

Experience in many units shows that good results are obtained when, after every general assembly, the suggestions made by those present are studied by the collectives formed for the purpose which, jointly with the management personnel of the respective sectors and services, determine the resolutions. The assembly chairman is asked to help in this important work and participates in supplementing the operational plan of the workers council on the basis of what was decided in the assembly. He also has this obligation in connection with the operational plan of the trade union committee, especially in the case of problems concerning organization and conduct of socialist competition, the mass movement of inventors and innovators, strengthening order and discipline, and worker control over socioeconomic activity and working conditions.

Of course efficiency depends upon carrying out the provisions of the plans based on the assembly's decisions. More than the other members of the workers council, it is the duty of the assembly chairman to make a definite contribution to implementation of the adopted measures and programs. Therefore the heavy machinery enterprises, the Dacia Textile Enterprise and the Bucharest Electronica Enterprise form collectives to perform certain tasks or solve problems, including the workers who made the respective suggestions. This makes it possible to adopt previously devised solutions promptly and encourages efforts to find the best solutions.

Interesting the trade union groups in holding true open sessions of the workers general assembly is an important task of the chairman of the trade union committee in his twofold capacity. Experience shows there is no job not directly or indirectly affected by the decisions and measures approved by the general assembly, by the

analysis made there, or by the workers council's decisions. This makes it absolutely necessary for the group assemblies to regularly examine the action taken to implement what was determined by the higher collective management organ. And in their entirety the group assemblies are the organized medium on the job level for the entire collective's participation in discussion and solution of the problems of organization and management of socioeconomic, political and cultural-educational activity, providing the workers council with suggestions and opinions and consequently requirements for its more efficient performance as a collective management organ.

This also makes it necessary for all workers council members to participate regularly in the group assemblies in order to take cognizance of the workers' problems and to solve them on the spot as far as possible. In enterprises such as Ploiesti 1 May, Sinaia Precision Machinery, Braila Wood Processing Combine et al., the main problems within the competence of the management organs that are raised in the trade union group assemblies are entered in special records, providing for an accurate recording and a check on their solution.

The council for worker control over socioeconomic activity in the enterprise is a very efficient instrument for stimulating efforts to carry out the general assembly's decisions and measures. It is important for the assembly chairman, in his capacity as chairman of the trade union committee, to whom the worker control council is subordinate, to appeal regularly to this body for help. The regularly organized subject controls can inform him of the action taken by the executive bureau of the workers council and the managers of the sections, sectors and work places to solve the problems for which they are responsible.

By thoroughly mastering their functions in all their complexity and acting more responsibly and competently to perform them, the chairmen of the workers general assemblies can make an essential contribution to the proper organization and operation of the state socialist units, to fulfillment of the tasks assigned by the RCP administration and by Nicolae Ceausescu in person for precise application of the principles of the new economic-financial mechanism, and to general enhancement of the effectiveness of productive activity.

5186
CSO: 2700

SUPERFICIALITY, LACK OF DISCIPLINE IN EXCHANGE OF PARTY CARDS

Bucharest MUNCA DE PARTID in Romanian No 10, Oct 80 pp 68-69

/Unsigned article: "When Superficiality Joins Disorder and Indiscipline"/

/Text/ In view of the particular political and organizational importance of the exchange of party cards, the Plenum of the RCP Central Committee in March 1979 pointed out the need for this action to be directly under the bureaus of the county, municipal and city party committees, the first secretaries being fully responsible for the proper management and handling of the party documents.

The fact that in most of the party organizations the individual discussions, the general assemblies to discuss the conclusions drawn from those discussions, and the delivery properly speaking of the new cards took place with strict observance of the directions of the Secretariat of the RCP Central Committee proves that the party organs understood their great responsibilities in this respect, making sure that the goals set by the party administration would be entirely attained.

But a check made recently in Gorj County revealed some facts indicating that in both the county committee and some city committees the exchange of the party documents was left largely to the sections for problems of regulations and documents and records of party members. Otherwise it is inexplicable how it could have happened that a great many cards, personal record cards and control slips were filled out incorrectly in the Tirgu Jiu Municipal Party Committee and the Motru City Party Committee. Although the RCP Central Committee's instructions expressly state that no no corrections or erasures of any kind can be made in these documents, both party organs allowed various changes to be made in documents containing mistakes. Moreover the directive that the party documents must be filled out in special ink was not observed, as some of them were written in India ink /tus/.

The fact that the Tirgu Jiu Municipal Party Committee allowed four persons to draft the documents who were not even party members and were not approved by the party organ, in violation of the directions of the Secretariat of the RCP Central Committee, also indicates how superficially this action was conducted. In the Motru City Party Committee, the head of the section for problems of regulations and documents and records of party members, with intolerable carelessness, allowed the party documents on the 1980 form to be filled out although the documents on the 1965 form had not been brought up to date with the exact name of the organ wherein the party file is kept. Of course this was a main source of many errors.

It is true that after an analysis made by a collective of the Central Committee the bureau of the county committee sanctioned and discharged the head of the section for problems of regulations and documents and records of party members of the county committee as well as the heads of the respective sections of Tirgu Jiu Municipal Committee and the Motru City Committee and sanctioned other activists found guilty of these violations. But it must be said that the bureau itself and the secretariat of the county committee are much to blame for what happened. In fact, it cannot be said that the secretary for organizational problems, the head of the organization section or the other activists of the section did their duty.

Furthermore the existing data show that other aspects of internal party affairs are also not checked and known as they should be here, and that they are actually out of hand. For example, there is the way admission to the party is handled. It is incomprehensible how in a county with a high proportion of farmers in its total population only 10-20 people of this category are admitted to the party for months on end, far less than the number of intellectuals and office workers. Nor is the duty observed to consistently apply the directive of the Plenum of the RCP Central Committee of March 1980 to the effect that 40-45 percent of all those admitted to the party shall be women.

Or to consider another aspect indicative of indiscipline and laxity in the organization and conduct of internal party affairs, about 350 party members in Gorj County have not paid their party dues regularly for months. One wonders quite rightly what the effect is of the individual discussions, which have practically ceased, and the general assemblies to discuss the conclusions drawn from these discussions, held in nearly all the primary organizations, if they have not succeeded in making the censured party members conform to the standards of our regulations in their entire activity?

It is to be expected that these instances will not be treated in isolation by the bureau of the county committee but in close connection with the general state of organizational work and internal party affairs and with the whole approach of the county party organ. An extensive analysis of the way internal party affairs are conducted, directed and organized as well as planning and application of rigorous measures will undoubtedly inspire a strong revolutionary spirit in all party activists and imbue them with order, discipline, loyalty to party principles and communist responsibility, which are indispensable if the party organs and organizations are to meet the current high standards set by the party administration.

5186
CSO: 2700

PEOPLE'S COUNCILS' LEGISLATIVE CHAMBER APPROVES 1981 PLAN

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 87, 21 Oct 80 pp 1-4

/Decision of the Legislative Chamber of the People's Councils on the Approval of the Draft of the 1981 Sole National Plan for Economic and Social Development of the Socialist Republic of Romania, in Territorial Form/

/Text/ Socialist Republic of Romania

On the basis of Article 13 of Law No 5/1975 on the congress, legislative chamber and conferences of the people's councils, we approve and order to be published in BULETINUL OFICIAL AL REPUBLICII SOCIALISTE ROMANIA Decision No 1 of 14 October 1980 of the Legislative Chamber of the People's Councils on the approval of the draft of the 1981 Sole National Plan for Economic and Social Development of the Socialist Republic of Romania, in Territorial Form.

Nicolae Ceausescu,
Chairman
of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Bucharest, 21 October 1980.

Decision of the Legislative Chamber of the People's Councils on the Approval of the Draft of the 1981 Sole National Plan for Economic and Social Development of the Socialist Republic of Romania, in Territorial Form

The Legislative Chamber of the People's Councils, discussing the draft of the 1981 Sole National Plan for Economic and Social Development of the Socialist Republic of Romania, finds that it was drawn up on the basis of the directives adopted at the 12th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party with regard to the country's economic and social development in the next five-year period.

The improvements made in the draft plan as a result of the directions given by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist

Party and chairman of the Socialist Republic of Romania, at the Second Congress of the People's Councils and on the occasion of disclosing the plan projects, for raising all economic activity to a qualitatively higher level and strictly applying the provisions of the new economic and financial mechanism, promoting a firm policy of rational management of raw materials and increasing the degree of utilization of them, sensibly utilizing energy resources, concentrating the investments for speeding up the putting of the new capacities into operation and reducing the cost of the work, increasing the efficiency of production and exportation and reducing imports, using better the work force in each county and locality, and fulfilling the program for raising the population's standard of living, were pointed out in particular during the discussions.

The Legislative Chamber of the People's Councils judges that the 1981 plan provisions reflect the policy of the party and the state with regard to the continual, balanced and dynamic development of the national economy, they being in keeping with the decisions of the 12th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party with regard to economic and social development in 1981-1985.

On the basis of Article 6 of Law No 5/1975 on the congress, legislative chamber and conferences of the people's councils, the Legislative Chamber of the People's Councils decides:

Article 1. It approves the draft of the 1981 Sole National Plan for Economic and Social Development of the Socialist Republic of Romania, in Territorial Form.

The proposals made in the session of the Legislative Chamber on the occasion of discussing the draft will be forwarded to the Council of Ministers.

Article 2. In order to fulfill and overfulfill the 1981 Sole National Plan for Economic and Social Development, in Territorial Form, the people's councils will take steps regarding:

a) The raising of the efficiency of all economic and social activity in each county, municipality, city and commune, with a view to the steady fulfillment of the plan targets by all units, regardless of their subordination, especially those concerning the physical output and the value of the net output, the reduction of material expenses, the steady application of the provisions of the new economic and financial mechanism, for strengthening self-management and self-administration in order to obtain better economic results;

b) The better utilization of production capacities, the suitable employment of technological lines and equipment on all shifts, the strict observance of the standards for operating the machines and equipment, the reduction of the period for attaining the projected parameters at the units going into operation, the furnishing and training of the necessary work force;

c) The raising of the technical and qualitative level of products, through the intensification of the process of renovating, typifying and standardizing them, the assimilation of new materials and equipment with better characteristics and low energy consumptions into manufacture, the modernization and diversification of the production of consumer goods in accordance with the population's requirements;

d) The rational use of energy resources in all fields of activity through the further reduction of the specific consumptions of electric and thermal power and of fuel, through the modernization of the consuming installations, the perfecting of the manufacturing technologies, the improvement of the structure of production, the raising of the outputs in the fuel-consuming processes, the supplying of heat-recovery equipment, the reduction of technological consumptions and losses in the electric power stations and in the transportation and distribution networks;

e) The sensible management of resources of raw materials and supplies, the raising of the degree of utilization of them, the achievement of a strict policy of economy through the substantial reduction of consumptions, intending that measures for further reducing them be provided in all economic units;

f) The intensification of the actions for recovering and reusing the materials resulting from the process of production and consumption, with a view to the greater utilization of them in production for meeting the need for raw materials and reducing imports, the steady application of the measures established for organizing the activity of recovering these resources both from the socialist units and from the population, for introducing them into the economic circuit; the reconditioning of used spare parts, components and subassemblies to a greater extent;

g) The faster development of small-scale industry in order to increase to a greater extent the production of consumer goods, the activity of services for the population, construction materials, the reconditioning of parts and subassemblies, the production and exportation of handicrafts, and cooperation with large-scale industry; the expansion of the utilization of local resources of raw materials, of byproducts and recoverable materials in industry and agriculture;

h) The rational exploitation of land resources through the complete utilization of agricultural areas, as well as those held by the population, the full and highly productive use of the areas set up for irrigation; the execution of the work of drainage and of control of soil erosion on the stipulated dates;

i) The raising of agricultural production, through the execution of the agricultural work at the proper time and in terms of high quality, the better utilization of the fleet of tractors and agricultural machines, the efficient administration of chemical and natural fertilizer, the rational use of chemical means of pest control;

j) The intensification of the action of modernizing the fruitgrowing and vinegrowing plantations, the raising of the production of vegetables to a greater extent through the concentration of the areas of vegetables and the cultivation of them on land set up for irrigation, the expansion of the crops of early summer and fall vegetables and the better utilization of them, the providing of a crop structure taking into account the meeting of industry's need and the supplying of the population as well as possible;

k) The increasing of the populations of animals and the raising of their outputs through the improvement of the selection and reproduction of the breeds, the full use of the capacity of the livestock complexes, the providing of fodder resources through the raising of the average yields per hectare, the improvement of natural meadows and hayfields, the use of roughage and byproducts; the raising of the production of meat, milk and eggs, for meeting the needs of each county, will be pursued;

l) The stimulation of the growth of vegetable and animal production on the farms of the inhabitants in rural areas;

m) The intensification of research and the prompt application to production of the results of the research for achieving high-yield seeds and planting stock adapted to the climatic conditions in our country;

n) The complete fulfillment of the tasks established by means of the plan for the deliveries to the central supply of agricultural products, the raising of the population's contribution to the fulfillment of these tasks;

o) The continual raising of the efficiency of the economic activity in all state and cooperative combined agroindustrial councils and the other agricultural units through the reduction of material expenses, the raising of labor productivity, the reduction of the consumption of raw materials, supplies and fuel;

p) The mobilization of the working people in villages for the performance of agricultural and land-improvement work at the proper time and with good quality, the shortening of the harvesting period to the utmost, the better organization of labor, the strengthening of the discipline and responsibility in each agricultural unit for fulfilling the plan targets;

r) The achievement of water-management work, the rational use of resources and the reduction of water losses to the utmost, the application of the measures contained in the environmental-protection program, the execution of the installations for purification of used water and the operation of them at the projected parameters;

s) The putting of the investment facilities into operation on the planned dates, to which end action will be taken regarding the contracting for the technological equipment and the delivery of it on schedule, the preparation of the working designs in advance, the steady performance of the activity on all construction sites, the expansion of the mechanization and

industrialization of building-assembly work, the efficient use of the technical equipment and the work force throughout the year; special attention will be devoted to using the existing areas to the utmost by equipping them with machines and equipment and to shortening the periods for putting into operation the facilities in the course of execution;

ş) The application to design of new technological and construction solutions that would provide minimal consumptions of energy and fuel in operation, would reduce the volume and area of the constructions, the installations and the sanitary-engineering, thermal and electrical networks, as well as the consumption of energy-intensive materials, especially metal and cement, the expansion of the utilization of light construction materials and of those that are provided from local resources, of prefabricated elements and of cheap materials, which would lead to the growth of the efficiency of the investments;

t) The providing of the supply of goods for exportation in the assortment and quality structure demanded on foreign markets, which would lead to an increase in their utilization, the maximally efficient utilization of the valuta funds allocated by means of the plan;

t) The rationalization of the use of means of automotive transportation within the counties in order to reduce expenses to the absolute minimum, the utilization of the motor vehicles and trailers in the fleet at full capacity;

u) The intensification of the efforts in the field of scientific research, technological development, and introduction of technical progress, the identification and utilization of new natural and synthetic resources and new sources of energy, the utilization of raw materials and supplies with greater efficiency, the economization of fuel and energy, the devising of modern technologies and the perfecting of the existing ones, the optimum utilization of recoverable and reusable materials;

v) The complete fulfillment on schedule of the measures established in the programs for growth in labor productivity through the improvement of the work and personnel standards and quotas, the raising of the degree of mechanization and automation of the production processes, the improvement of the organization of production and labor, the better utilization of worktime, the strengthening of discipline at the workplace, the raising of the degree of qualification and polyqualification of the worker personnel.

Article 3. With a view to the fulfillment of the tasks that devolve upon the directly subordinate economic and social units, the people's councils will provide for:

a) The maximally efficient use of the investment funds provided by means of the plan for housing construction, the expansion of the water-supply and sewer system, the development of the technical-material base of the building-assembly organizations, for education, culture and health care; special

attention will be devoted to putting into operation the facilities in the course of execution from previous years;

b) The exercise of efficient control over the application of the systematization plans on approving and carrying out investments, in order to ensure the rational use of the land in the buildable perimeters of the localities, the avoidance of the changing of the purpose and the demolition of existing constructions and of the removal of land from the agricultural or forestry circuit;

c) The generalization of new construction solutions in the design and execution of housing and sociocultural buildings, for reducing the weight of the constructions, the volume of the municipal technical networks and the consumption of materials and fuel; the expansion of the utilization of building stone, volcanic tuff and other local materials; the introduction of the new typified materials for construction into the production of their own units and the replacement of those that do not correspond to the requirements for reducing the energy consumptions;

d) The expansion of the degree of industrialization in housing construction, the promotion of a specific architecture to a greater extent, and the raising of the quality and durability of residential buildings;

e) The improvement of the activity of contracting with the population for privately owned dwellings that are achieved with the state's help in loans and execution;

f) The faster development of the activity of performing services for the population, the diversification and the improvement of the quality of the services, especially for repairs and maintenance of dwellings, chemical laundries and cleaners, maintenance and repairs of automobiles, various domestic services, with provision being made for the complete fulfillment of the tasks in the program for development of the performance of services for the population according to new groups of dwellings and localities; the improvement of the distribution of the service-performing units according to territory and in localities;

g) The accentuation of the reduction of the specific consumptions of materials, fuel and energy, the strict observance of the planned quotas, with action being taken in conformity with the programs of measures established for the rational utilization of metal, energy and fuel in all sectors of activity of the people's councils;

h) The development of their own sources of energy from biogas, wind and solar energy, the putting of new microhydroelectric power stations into operation in order to expand the utilization of these new sources on a local level; the equipping of dwellings with a solar-energy installation in order to provide them with hot water for home use in the summer months;

i) The furnishing and training of the worker personnel needed in the activities of building-assembly and communal and housing administration, the

organization of qualification and polyqualification courses, the improvement of the organization of labor and the expansion of the overall contract system, the strengthening of discipline in production, the providing of better working and living conditions to the workers;

j) The providing of the participation of the population and of the worker personnel of enterprises and institutions to a greater extent in fulfilling the program for housing and sociocultural construction, in carrying out municipal-administrative and locality-beautification projects.

Article 4. In order to achieve in a better and better way the supplying of goods to the population and improve the serving of the consumers in all localities, the people's councils will provide for:

a) The pursuit of the fulfillment of the tasks for completely and steadily delivering in the assortments and qualities wanted by the population the supply of goods stipulated by the plan and in the economic contracts;

b) The sensible distribution of the supply of goods according to localities, commercial systems, and units, the steady supplying of them, giving priority to the worker centers and cities;

c) The expansion of the trade network in correlation with the putting of blocks of dwellings into use, the intensive utilization of commercial spaces, the promotion of modern and quick methods of serving the population to a greater extent, the further development and modernization of the network of public food-service units;

d) The strict observance of the trade standards and the hygiene and health conditions by all units, the strengthening of responsibility and control of the activity in each unit.

Article 5. The people's councils will act steadily to fulfill all the tasks that devolve upon them for the balanced economic and social development of the localities, the good management and beautification of the cities and communes, the fulfillment of projects of public interest, the raising of the material and spiritual standard of living of the population in all zones of the country.

Legislative Chamber
of the People's Councils

Chairman,
Ion Sirbu

Council of Ministers
of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Prime Minister,
Ilie Verdet

Bucharest, 14 October 1980.
No 1.

12105
CSO: 2700

DECREE ON PROVIDING UNIFORMS FOR WORKERS IN STATE SOCIALIST UNITS

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 82, 15 Oct 80 pp 1-4

/Decree of the State Council on the Providing of Duty Uniforms and Typified Vestmental Equipment for the Personnel in the State Socialist Units/

/Text/ The State Council of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees:

Chapter I
General Provisions

Article 1. The personnel in the state socialist units who, by the nature of the function or activity that they perform, are obligated to wear a duty uniform or typified vestmental equipment on duty receive them under the conditions of the present decree.

Article 2. (1) A duty uniform is provided to the personnel in the railroad, customs and forest units, marine transportation, the Sulina Free Port Administration, civil aviation, posts and telecommunications, the watch, civilian firemen, and the operational personnel who serve the public automotive fleet belonging to the Ministry of Transportation and Telecommunications and the automotive fleet for urban transportation in the municipalities of Bucharest and Constanta.

(2) The duty uniform is composed of a summer costume, a winter costume, the coat, a man's cap or a woman's cap. The uniform can also be supplemented with other objects and with distinctive insignia of rank, in relation to the function performed.

(3) Typified vestmental equipment is provided to the personnel in the courts, including the prosecutors who participate in the court session, the personnel in the representative culture and art units, the big commercial, public-food-service and hotel units, the gatemen and overseers in the road and bridge units, the personnel who directly serve the aircraft at the international airports, the personnel in the tourism units, including the operational personnel in the tourist automotive transport unit, the personnel in the stations for furnishing retail petroleum products, and the personnel

in the protocol departments within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation. The objects of which the typified vestmental equipment is composed are established, in relation to the type of activity of the unit, by means of regulations approved in accordance with Article 3.

(4) Only badges will be used for other situations in which a form of identification for the unit's personnel who come in contact with the public is necessary.

Article 5. The categories of personnel who are entitled to a uniform or typified vestmental equipment, the description of the objects of which they are composed, the assortments of material from which they are made, the set period of wear, and the conditions of use and preservation are established by means of regulations approved by the Council of Ministers.

Chapter II
The Procurement and the Bearing of the Cost of Uniforms or Typified Vestmental Equipment

Article 4. The procurement of duty uniforms or typified vestmental equipment is done through the units in which the personnel are employed or through other units designated by the ministries or the other central and local bodies.

Article 5. (1) The persons who receive a duty uniform or typified vestmental equipment bear, in relation to the level of the basic wage, established after the application of the second stage of the general increase in wages in 1979-1980, the following portions of the expenses for procuring them:

Percent of the cost of the uniform or equipment that is borne by recipients	Basic wages (lei)
50 percent	up to 1,470
80 percent	1,471-2,000
100 percent	above 2,000

(2) By way of exception, for the personnel with the functions mentioned in Appendix 1,* the portion of the cost of the duty uniforms or typified vestmental equipment is established in this appendix.

(3) The expenses for the duty uniform or typified vestmental equipment that are borne by the recipients, in accordance with paragraphs 1 and 2, are withheld from the salary, through the paysheet, in monthly installments spread over a period of at most 36 months, but not less than 100 lei per month.

Article 6. For the expenses for the cost of the duty uniform or typified vestmental equipment that are borne by the recipients, the state units can

* The appendix is communicated to the institutions involved.

get bank loans with an interest of 1 percent per year, which is borne by the recipients within the framework of the portions owed in accordance with Article 5.

Article 7. In the year prior to conscription or pensioning, a duty uniform or typified vestmental equipment will not be provided to persons who are to be conscripted for the fulfillment of military service and to those who are to be pensioned. If the set period of wear for the pieces of uniform or equipment that were provided to them earlier is greater than the time left in the unit until the date of conscription or pensioning, the installments will be established in such a way that the whole sum owed is recovered from the recipients, in accordance with the provisions of Article 5.

Article 8 (1) For the persons who have been transferred for official purposes to other sectors of work where a duty uniform or typified vestmental equipment is not worn and for those whose work contract has been cancelled for reasons that are not imputable to them, the units will consider, in relation to the state of wear of the uniform, whether it can be issued to another person, under conditions of payment of the difference, or whether it remains with the recipients, who would still pay the installments owed.

(2) In the case of transfer on request to another unit and in the case of cancellation of the work contract on the initiative of the persons employed in work or for reasons imputable to them, the persons in question have the obligation to bear completely all the installments remaining unpaid and the unit's portion for the unamortized part of the uniform or typified vestmental equipment.

(3) In the case of degradation of the duty uniform or typified vestmental equipment, before the set period of wear, due to causes imputable to the recipient, another duty uniform or new typified vestmental equipment can be provided, with the recipient having the obligation to bear the expenses for the old duty uniform or typified vestmental equipment, under the conditions of Paragraph 2.

(4) The debts for the cost of the duty uniform or typified vestmental equipment remaining as a result of death or pensioning due to work accidents occurring during the performance of official duties or due to an occupational illness are no longer pursued and are borne from the financial results of the respective unit.

Article 9 (1) The personnel within representative hotel and public-food-service units subordinate to the Ministry of Tourism or the Ministry of Domestic Trade can receive, free of charge, specific clothing--a national costume, a period costume or equipment with a distinct specific character--which will be able to be used only on duty and is part of the unit's inventory. The units at which this provision is applied are established by means of regulations approved in accordance with Article 3.

(2) For the personnel attached temporarily or employed for set periods at the seasonal units at the seashore who come in contact with the public, it

is possible to provide--for use--typified vestmental equipment, under the conditions established by means of regulations approved in accordance with Article 3, which is part of the unit's inventory, it having to be used only on duty, in many seasons.

Article 10. (1) The military personnel attached temporarily to units where a duty uniform is worn will bear for the uniform that is provided to them only the difference in excess of the cost of the military uniform to which they would have been entitled in the same period.

(2) The personnel who directly serve the aircraft at the international airports can receive, for use, under the conditions established by means of regulations approved in accordance with Article 3, free of charge, typified vestmental equipment, which will be able to be used only on duty. These personnel will no longer receive similar assortments of protective or work equipment stipulated by other regulatory acts.

Chapter III
Final and Transitional Provisions

Article 11. The duty uniform and the typified vestmental equipment provided by units prior to the date of publication of the present decree will be used up to the expiration of their period of wear under the conditions, including those of payment, established by means of the regulations on the basis of which they were provided.

Article 12. The provisions of the present decree also apply accordingly to the personnel within the cooperative organizations and the other public organizations, on the basis of the regulations drawn up by their central bodies, with the advice of the Ministry of Labor and the Ministry of Finance.

Article 13. (1) The application of the provisions of the present decree in each unit is done from the date stipulated for the general increase in wages in the respective unit, for the second stage in 1979-1980. The applicability of the regulatory acts contained in Appendix 2 and any other contrary provisions ceases on the same date.

(2) Within 60 days after the date of the present decree, the ministries and the other central bodies involved will present to the Council of Ministers the draft regulations mentioned in Article 3, including for the units of local subordination in their field of activity.

Article 14. Appendices 1 and 2 are an integral part of the present decree.

Nicolae Ceausescu,
Chairman
of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Bucharest, 14 October 1980.
No 312.

Appendix 2.

Regulatory Acts That Are Repealed

1. Decree No 538/1954, published in BULETINUL OFICIAL, No 2, 15 February 1955, on the regulation of the system of uniforms for civil servants.

2. Decree No 231/1974, published in BULETINUL OFICIAL, No 9, 15 January 1975 (which became Law No 7/1975), on the guarding of goods.

3. Decision No 2,781 of 31 December 1954 of the Council of Ministers on the restriction of the categories of employees with a right to be provided uniforms by institutions and enterprises and the modification of the system of payment of their cost.

4. Decision No 2,054 of 23 September 1955 of the Council of Ministers on the compulsoriness of the wearing of the uniform by customs employees and the regulation of the gratuitousness of this uniform.

5. Decision No 2,356 of 1 November 1955 of the Council of Ministers for supplementing Point 5 of Decision No 2,781/1954 of the Council of Ministers.

6. Decision No 495 of 28 March 1956 of the Council of Ministers for supplementing Decision No 2,781/1954 of the Council of Ministers on the restriction of the categories of employees with a right to be provided uniforms by institutions and enterprises and the modification of the system of payment of their cost.

7. Decision No 1,655 of the Council of Ministers, published in BULETINUL OFICIAL, No 55, 31 October 1956, on the providing of equipment to the attending personnel of the hotels in categories I and II and in category III in the capital, Sinaia and Busteni, under the conditions of Decision No 2,781/1954 of the Council of Ministers.

8. Decision No 269 of 15 February 1957 of the Council of Ministers on the uniforming of the personnel of the Ministry of Railroads, the Ministry of Road, Naval and Air Transportation and the Ministry of Posts and Telecommunications.

9. Decision No 1,266 of 14 August 1957 of the Council of Ministers on the uniforming of employees in the forestry sector.

10. Decision No 1,249 of 26 August 1959 of the Council of Ministers on the extension of the application of Decision No 269/1957 of the Council of Ministers to the people's council of the capital of the People's Republic of Romania.

11. Decision No 189 of 18 March 1961 of the Council of Ministers on the use of clothing--the uniform--by the operational personnel of commercial, public-food-service and hotel units.

12. Decision No 621 of 19 June 1962 of the Council of Ministers on the founding of the Department of Special Transportation in the Ministry of Transportation and Telecommunications (Article 6, Paragraph 2).

13. Decision No 784 of 12 October 1963 of the Council of Ministers for extending the application of Decision No 189/1961 of the Council of Ministers on the use of clothing--the uniform--by the operational personnel in commercial, public-food-service and hotel units.

14. Decision No 753 of 8 October 1964 of the Council of Ministers on the providing of uniforms to categories of employees in culture and art units.

15. Decision No 906 of 14 November 1964 of the Council of Ministers on the raising of the salaries of the workers and the technical administrative personnel in the communal-administration enterprises of the regional people's councils and those of the cities of Bucharest and Constanta (Appendix 3).

16. Decision No 881 of 12 November 1964 of the Council of Ministers on the raising of the salaries of the workers, the operational personnel and the management, technical-engineering, specialized, economic and administrative personnel in the postal and telecommunication units subordinate to the Ministry of Transportation and Telecommunications.

17. Decision No 909 of 19 November 1964 of the Council of Ministers on the improvement of the pay and other rights that are given to categories of employees of the "Carpati" National Office of Tourism (Article 4).

18. Decision No 1,264 of 19 October 1965 of the Council of Ministers on the quotas and ceilings of basic wages in accordance with which the road- and bridge-maintenance units bear the cost of the uniforms.

19. Decision No 858 of 11 May 1966 of the Council of Ministers on the application of Decision No 269/1957 of the Council of Ministers to the traffic-management personnel of the Constanta Transportation Enterprise subordinate to the People's Council of the City of Constanta.

20. Decision No 924 of 17 May 1966 of the Council of Ministers on the free providing of articles of apparel to the employees with tasks of representation employed in the protocol directorates, sections, offices or services in the apparatus of central state bodies.

21. Decision No 2,295 of 18 October 1966 of the Council of Ministers for supplementing the appendix to Decision No 753/1964 of the Council of Ministers on the providing of uniforms to categories of employees in culture and art units.

22. Decision No 239 of the Council of Ministers, published in BULETINUL OFICIAL, No 13, 16 February 1967, on the regulation of the providing of uniforms to the employees of the enterprises and economic and budgetary organizations subordinate to the Ministry of Railroads.

23. Decision No 1,600 of 6 July 1967 of the Council of Ministers for amending Article 3 of Decision No 1,266/1957 of the Council of Ministers on the uniforming of employees in the forestry sector.

24. Decision No 1,889 of the Council of Ministers, published in BULETINUL OFICIAL, No 73, 11 August 1967, on the providing of vestmental equipment to categories of employees of socialist organizations subordinate to the Ministry of Automotive, Naval and Air Transportation.

25. Decision No 79 of the Council of Ministers, published in BULETINUL OFICIAL, No 11, 3 February 1968, on the providing of uniforms to the personnel in the merchant marine.

26. Decision No 175 of the Council of Ministers, published in BULETINUL OFICIAL, No 44, 9 May 1970, on the establishment of the vestmental court dress in the courts.

27. Decision No 1,628 of the Council of Ministers, published in BULETINUL OFICIAL, No 133, 26 November 1970, on the providing of uniforms to categories of employees who serve the public automotive fleet belonging to the Ministry of Transportation.

28. Decision No 841 of 12 July 1971 of the Council of Ministers for supplementing the appendix to Decision No 753/1964 of the Council of Ministers on the providing of uniforms to categories of employees in culture and art units.

29. Decision No 844 of the Council of Ministers, published in BULETINUL OFICIAL, No 87, 12 July 1971, on the providing of uniforms to the personnel who operate the "PECO" stations for furnishing retail petroleum products within the Ministry of the Chemical Industry.

30. Decision No 1,400 of the Council of Ministers, published in BULETINUL OFICIAL, No 148, 12 December 1972, on some measures referring to the operation of the State Committee for Romanian Radio-Television (Article 7).

31. Decision No 295 of the Council of Ministers, published in BULETINUL OFICIAL, No 37, 27 March 1975, for approving the regulation on the description, the wearing of the uniform and the distinctive insignia of the watch personnel who provide the socialist organizations' own watch and of the distinctive insignia of the public and field watchmen, and the schedule for providing the uniform.

32. Decision No 927 of the Council of Ministers, published in BULETINUL OFICIAL, No 127, 16 August 1972, on the uniforms of the personnel in civil aviation.

12105
CSO: 2700

UNITY OF ANTI-IMPERIALIST, DEMOCRATIC, SOCIALIST FORCES NEEDED

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 21, 5 Nov 80 pp 17-20

/Article by Leonte Rautu, member of Executive Political Committee of RCP Central Committee: "Unity of Anti-imperialist, Democratic, Socialist Forces As an Imperative of the Period"/

/Text/ In the millennial history of mankind the present period stands out as a decisive one dominated by radical economic, social and political changes. It is the period of socialist revolution wherein the objective historical trend of man's transition to worldwide socialism is inevitably asserting itself through all the contradictions, zigzags and turning points of history. It is the period of abolition of imperialist, colonial and neocolonial domination and the struggle to base relations among states upon new principles of equality and respect for national sovereignty. The worldwide technical-scientific revolution, with its vast implications for all social activity, is a powerful factor for historical progress.

The radical change in the international balance of power in favor of the socialist, progressive, anti-imperialist forces is a definitive characteristic of present social activity. The socialist countries, which have made profound revolutionary changes in all social activities in the course of building the new order, the working class, whose role and influence have increased considerably in many countries of the world, the gigantic national liberation movement, the appearance of dozens of new states militating to defend and consolidate their independence and sovereignty, and the broad masses of peasants, intellectuals and youth as well as other social strata are factors in the struggle for social and national freedom, a true democracy, and international collaboration in a climate of peace and security. As it says in the RCP Program, close unification of all revolutionary, progressive, democratic and anti-imperialist forces on both the national and international levels is the controlling factor in the innovations of our time.

The extent and rapid rate of social-political changes, their dialectical linkage and interdependence, and the growing diversity of the conditions under which the communist parties and other forces for social progress act intensify the complexity of the world revolutionary process. This requires the communist parties to prepare answers and solutions to the often radically new problems on the agenda of current historical development and to approach the new processes and phenomena creatively, drawing the necessary conclusions for their strategy and tactics.

As a leading political force of the entire people, the activity of which is based upon creative application of the theory of scientific socialism to Romania's particular conditions, the RCP invariably concentrates the workers' efforts upon further harmonious and steady development of the productive forces accompanied by implementation of the program to raise the people's material and cultural living standard. We emphasize improvement of production relations and of planned management of the national economy as well as intensified socialist democracy based on self-management for purposes of widespread mass participation in social management on all levels. We are inspired by the resolve to make our further contribution to growth of the forces of socialism and peace, to confirmation of the superiority of socialism as a new form of social organization, and to the greater drawing power of socialist ideas through our specific achievements in building the fully developed socialist society and through our state's active and constructive foreign policy.

It is the historic mission of the socialist countries, communist and labor parties and revolutionary forces everywhere to lead the effort to solve, in the interests of all peoples and of socioeconomic and cultural progress, the highly complex problems rightly called global because their solution concerns all nations of the world and our entire planet. First among these problems prevention of a new world war and safeguarding international peace and security as essential to solution of all other problems facing all humanity.

Elimination of underdevelopment and the huge economic gaps separating the developed from the developing states, one of the chief sources of aggravation of international distrust, contradictions, conflicts and tensions is exceptionally important among the basic problems of the times. Complete economic and technical backwardness accompanied by such phenomena as chronic famine, mass illiteracy and serious endemic diseases is a specific instance of this serious anomaly that afflicts two-thirds of the world's population with varying intensity. Division of the world into rich and poor countries due to centuries of oppression and domination by imperialism and colonialism is an objective reality of the world of today. Statistics on these conditions are not wanting in the materials of the specialized bodies. Moreover they prove that despite the "decades of development," due to the policy of neocolonial exploitation and the unjust operation of the mechanisms of the present international economic order, the very serious phenomenon of aggravation of the gaps is taking place. Less than 7 percent of the gross world income (1) is received by 21 percent of the world's population, belonging to the most underdeveloped countries. I also mention that the total foreign debt of the "third world" countries increased from $50 billion to $400 billion between 1970 and 1979, or one-fourth of these states' total national income. (2)

The neocolonial policy is designed to keep the newly liberated countries in the system of relations of oppression and domination generated by capitalism and to keep the developing countries in a capacity of suppliers of raw materials, semifinished goods or products of inefficient industries and in that of markets and fields for advantageous investments, in order to increase the profits of the big monopolies and transnational companies and to throw the difficulties caused by the economic crisis upon the backs of the underdeveloped countries.

Neocolonialism takes extremely diverse forms, from brutal, blatant acts of interference in internal affairs and violation of independence and sovereignty to highly refined and camouflaged methods..

Elimination of underdevelopment is unquestionably a highly complex and lengthy process. The social and national changes taking place in many developing countries striving for full liberation from the imperialist yoke, consolidation of their independence, ownership of their national resources and assertion of their inalienable right to make the social-political and economic changes they wish without outside interference are highly important to the accomplishment of this basic requirement of our times.

Elimination of underdevelopment and the economic gaps directly depends upon radical restructuring of international relations by establishment of a new world economic order. The present international economic order is in flagrant contradiction with the radical changes made in the world's political, social and economic configuration. The RCP documents constantly point out that the effort to change the existing international economic order is a natural continuation of the anti-imperialist struggle to abolish all traces of colonialism and neocolonialism, as well as a component of the strategy of worldwide social progress.

In the modern world, wherein all countries are interconnected by the international division of labor and share in the world economic cycle, and wherein the serious disturbances caused by underdevelopment, the crisis in energy and raw materials and the financial-foreign exchange crisis affect all national economies in varying degrees, establishment of a new international economic order is not just a slogan of the moment but an objective necessity for the entire world community.

Of course accelerated socioeconomic improvement of the developing countries must be based primarily upon each people's efforts, close collaboration among the developing countries, and cooperation with the other states on a new basis. But the underdeveloped and developing countries have the legitimate right to ask the former parent countries to return to them in the form of aid at least a part of the resources of which they have been plundered for centuries. At the same time, in view of the gravity of the problems caused by underdevelopment, the urgency of eliminating it, and the huge proportions of the means necessary to do so, all developed countries must lend aid to the backward states. The conclusion of the recent special session of the U. N. General Assembly with no unanimous agreement on global negotiations due to the opposition of a few developed capitalist countries poses an even more acute problem of new actions to implement specific measures leading to a new international economic order.

We regard resolute action so that these countries will help to accelerate the socioeconomic progress of the backward states and the radical reform of international economic relations as a vital task of the revolutionary forces in the developed countries and a definite expression of alliance and militant solidarity between the labor movement and the national liberation movement. The socialist countries are called upon to actively support the developing countries' efforts on behalf of their socioeconomic progress as well as their struggle to achieve the new international economic order. Nicolae Ceausescu said, "We feel the socialist countries, the communist and labor parties, the revolutionary movement and all progressive, democratic forces should actively support this effort and play an important part in the struggle to achieve these major objectives of the world of today." (3)

As a developing socialist country, Romania its consistently expanding its collaboration with the African, Asian and Latin American countries. Over 20 percent of Romania's total foreign trade is with the developing countries. We are building a

great many socioeconomic capacities in these countries and lending them extensive aid in personnel training. Romania has made many specific proposals in the United Nations and other international forums to establish a new international economic order and a more just international division of labor, beginning with promotion of intensive productive, industrial and agricultural activities in the developing countries and provision for economically substantiated ratios between the prices of the various categories of products (raw materials, energy, food products and manufactured goods), and also to lighten the foreign debts of the developing countries, balance their payments, and help to train personnel for them.

The RCP has been constantly promoting a policy of militant solidarity with the peoples fighting for the right to a free and independent existence and abolition of any form of colonial or neocolonial domination. We take great pride in the fact that our party and state and the Romanian people have been giving active, all-around support to the struggle of the peoples in Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe and other peoples in Asia, Africa and Latin America in their heroic struggle to win and consolidate their independence. We support Namibia's fight for liberation and the legitimate aspiration of the peoples of South Africa to do away with the disgraceful policy of apartheid and racism.

In the future too the RCP will side with all peoples fighting for their full self-determination. It will staunchly support and strengthen its solidarity with all forces fighting imperialism and neocolonialism for independence, freedom, the end of colonial domination and revolutionary reforms.

Study of the results of the very diverse changes going on in the "third world and careful analysis of the content, stages and forms of the developmental process, the participating social and political forces, and the alliances and contradictions between them are a rich source of new theoretical conclusions and enhancement of Marxist thought and revolutionary action.

The options of some of the countries that have thrown off the colonial yoke for the socialist path of socioeconomic construction have profound historical implications. Social organization on a capitalist basis cannot offer the developing countries the possibility of rapid progress or the prospect of radical solution of the serious socioeconomic and cultural problems confronting them. For these countries transition to socialism is a historical necessity and the sole sure way to achieve any radical changes in all social activities and to place them firmly in the orbit of historical progress.

It goes without saying that construction of the new order can begin only by the efforts of the progressive, revolutionary forces in each country, who must consolidate their unity, staunchly support the majority of the population, and act according to the particular historical, social and national conditions.

No one, neither a state nor any outside force, has the right, regardless of the reasons given, to hinder a people's struggle to accomplish democratic revolutionary changes in any country or to export counterrevolution. Along with this, Marxism rejects the idea of exporting revolution. The solidarity of the working class, the other democratic, progressive forces and the communist parties with the peoples who are fighting for structural socioeconomic changes should be based on the conviction that it is the mission of the revolutionary forces in each country to solve the

complex problems of building the new society independently and in keeping with the wishes and interests of the respective peoples.

As I have already said, the solution of all the great contemporary problems ultimately depends upon securing a lasting peace in the world.

As we know, international affairs have deteriorated sharply of late. The atmosphere of tension in relations among states and the frequent recourse to arms in the conflicts that arise are creating serious dangers to peace in various areas of the world and throughout it. The states of tension and the conflicts appearing in the world mainly originate in violations of the principles of independence, sovereignty, equality of rights and noninterference in internal affairs in relations among states, as a result of manifestations of the imperialist policy of force and dictation, redivision into spheres of influence, reinforced domination of other states, and interference in other peoples' affairs.

Democratization of international relations based upon strict and invariable observance of the foregoing principles and active participation of all countries regardless of social order, size and economic or military potential, of the small and medium countries, of the developing countries and of the unaligned countries in the solution of the major international problems is a basic prerequisite for placing relations among states on the lasting basis of peace and collaboration.

Under the complicated circumstances that now characterize the international situation, when the armaments race is assuming an unprecedented intensity and when in various parts of the world new conflicts are arising that are often generated by the onerous heritage of the past, the only way is to renounce force and the threat of force and to resolve all disputes, however complex and difficult they may be, solely by negotiations and dialogue in the political way and in accordance with the interests of peace, security and cooperation among peoples.

It is vitally necessary for the socialist countries, the communist and labor parties, the national liberation movements and all the progressive, democratic forces to mobilize and unite their efforts to resume and carry on the policy of detente and cooperation, to stop the armaments race and to take some effective measures for disarmament and especially nuclear disarmament. The huge military expenditures, with a growth rate this year that far exceeds that of the world product, are devouring the nations' resources for economic development and destabilizing the world economy. A recent study of this problem (4) shows that the military expenditures in the world have now reached the incredible sum of $1 million a minute! The illusions that the immense military outlays will be a panacea for the crisis in the capitalist world have been dispelled. As it says in the above-mentioned study, most economists agree that the military outlays considerably reduce the resources available for productive investments, retard many countries' economic development, block the growth of productivity in the civilian sector, and stimulate the phenomena of crisis, unemployment and inflation.

Space does not permit me to mention the many serious effects of the armaments race upon the developing countries' economies. I shall confine myself to pointing out that the funds allocated to aid for development are only 5 percent of the world's military outlays.

All this brings out the great urgency of the proposals made by Romania and other states to initiate international programs and agreements to cut military outlays

by at least 10 percent, so that some of the funds obtained this way will be used for each country's socioeconomic development and most of them will be used to stimulate the economic development of the developing countries.

It is difficult to speak of the dangers threatening world peace or of stopping the armaments race without referring to the special situation of our continent, where the greatest and most dangerous means of mass destruction have been accumulated. Romania resolutely opposes locating new rockets with a medium radius of action in Europe, regarding them as a source of aggravation of the danger of a military conflagration. Complete abolition of nuclear weapons from Europe and the whole world, implementation of the Final Act of Helsinki concerning detente, security and collaboration on the continent and the measures for disarmament and military disengagement, reduction of military budgets and contingents, and dismantling of the military bases and blocs must be the basic aims of the common struggle of the forces of socialism, peace and progress, and the popular masses for a lasting peace and to preclude the danger of a world conflagration.

The RCP's international policy is guided by the idea that further consolidation of the friendship and solidarity of the socialist nations and the communist and labor parties and that of collaboration among all the democratic, progressive and anti-imperialist forces are essential factors for modern world development.

Development of friendly relations with the other socialist countries is emphasized in Romania's international activity. Under the present circumstances it is more necessary than ever to make every effort to overcome the existing divergences among socialist countries on the basis of the principles of scientific socialism, full equality, noninterference, and mutual respect and collaboration, avoiding any action likely to impair relations among them. That is the only way the socialist countries will be able to make an increasingly effective contribution to the policy of peace, detente and national independence and to the greater international prestige of socialism.

Romania's relations with the developing and unaligned countries are being broadened, and its relations with all states regardless of social order are being developed on the principles of peaceful coexistence in the interest of international peace and collaboration.

We are making a consistent effort to consolidate collaboration and unity with the other communist and labor parties, a new kind of unity, a unity in diversity that allows for the variety of particular historical situations in which the revolutionary struggle, solutions, forms and methods of action differing from country to country are developed. This requires expanded contacts and exchanges of experience and opinions in the spirit of mutual respect, equality and observance of each party's autonomy and its exclusive right to determine its revolutionary policy, strategy and tactics independently.

The RCP is also trying to develop relations between our party and the socialist and social-democratic parties and to consolidate relations of solidarity and collaboration with the national liberation movements, with the government parties in the countries that have thrown off the colonial yoke and with all democratic and progressive parties and factions.

In its documents the RCP brings out the necessity of enriching the concept of international solidarity and adapting it to the realities of the world of today. Comrade

Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out, "We view the idea of international solidarity in the context of the vast revolutionary changes that have taken place in the world, so that it includes both the unity of the socialist countries, the communist and labor parties, and the working class and support of the national liberation movements, the struggle with imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism and underdevelopment in order to create the new international economic order, the achievement of disarmament, and the effort on behalf of observance of every people's right to self-determination." (5)

We have every confidence that in the future too, by acting in union and with firmness, the progressive, democratic and anti-imperialist forces throughout the world will play a decisive part in the process of historical development and will make new progress in the struggle for abolition of imperialism and colonialism, for the freedom and independence of all peoples, and for the solution of mankind's urgent problems, on behalf of the cause of collaboration among all peoples of the world, peace on our planet, and the cause of socialism and progress.

Talk at the International Scientific Conference on the subject of "The Common Struggle of the Labor Movement and the National Liberation Movement Against Imperialism on Behalf of Social Progress" (Berlin, 20-24 October 1980).

FOOTNOTES

1. "World Bank Atlas," 1979.

2. "World Development Report," 1980.

3. Nicolae Ceausescu, "Romania on the Path of Construction of the Fully Developed Socialist Society," Vol 16, Political Publishing House, 1979 p 528.

4. Frank Barnaby, in THE GUARDIAN (England) 21 May 1980.

5. Nicolae Ceausescu, op. cit., Vol 13, Political Publishing House, 1977 pp 211-212.

5186
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PUBLIC OPINION MUST BE AROUSED AGAINST ANTISOCIAL ACTIONS

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 21, 5 Nov 80 p 49

/Article by Stefan Ionescu/

/Text/ As we know, alongside their effort to perfect social-political and economic management our party and state attach particular importance to basing social relations on the lasting principles and standards of socialist ethics and justice, protecting the citizens' public and private property, and providing all conditions for the normal course of social activity and work.

The measures for more intensive involvement of the masses and public opinion in the trial and punishment of antisocial acts are important in this respect. In adopting a long series of legal provisions to reeducate those who have committed various violations and to restore them to society, the Romanian state has shown great understanding and clemency especially toward youth and minors with deviant behavior and has based the good influence and efforts of the community upon their reeducation.

But this attitude toward violators of the law is sometimes interpreted even by the latter as laxity and as an opportunity to continue their antisocial conduct unhampered. Socialist humanism and concern for the individual are certainly not to be confused with tolerance of legal violations, acts of hooliganism, social parasitism, delinquency or the behavior of those who have made a veritable "trade" of their refusal to work. Most often the parasitism of individuals and their desire to try to create an "easier" life by illegal means lie behind this refusal to join any socially useful activity or to observe the standards of conduct.

In this respect the recent telecast of an expression of civic spirit strikingly entitled "Hooliganism in the Court of Public Opinion" is in keeping with the effort of the press and journalism in general to form strong public opinion against violation of the laws. The telecast undertook to answer such questions as: Does public opinion oppose acts of hooliganism spontaneously, and is it effective? Do we pass by hooligans indifferently or do we intervene promptly, with or without the help of the organs of law and order? Does hooliganism disturb you?

Such questions, asked of some citizens by a reporter, are actually limited to the requirement to arouse public opinion against any hooligan, antisocial acts. One of those asked declared, "Public opinion should be more forceful. Prompt action is not always taken for collective censure of these acts." And as the said telecast

also indicated, the citizens do not invariably display civic disapproval of those who repeatedly disregard the norms of social coexistence. To be sure it is the task of the organs of law and order primarily to intervene in such situations, but we often overlook acts of huliganism indifferently, evading the civic obligation of prompt and firm intervention.

By bringing these cases to public discussion, the said telecast confronts the perpetrators of the acts of hooliganism with their victims. The images on the small screen, the discussions held, the reporter's questions and the culprits' answers (some delivered with defiance and insolence) are not intended by the editors to constitute an action. It is clearly the reporter's wish to direct the discussion toward an explanation of the causes of such degrading acts. To that end he questions some of the parents of the youths who have lapsed into hooliganism, people beyond reproach at work and in society. But as parents? The argument brought too often by some of them that "They worked to provide their sons with an easy life sheltered from material cares and difficulties" may be a point to be considered, of course. But what have they done to educate them?

Most of the parents maintained that they knew nothing about their children's behavior, or how they wasted their spare time and their youth. When confronted with evidence of the guilt of his own son who was accused of hooliganism, one of the parents continued to believe he was innocent. "The guitar is guilty," he declared simplemidedly, trying to shift the responsibility to the instrument around which a group of boys, including his son, drank alcoholic beverages and then set upon some young classmates of the same age with their fists.

Of course it can be said that this is only one instance. And so it is. But sometimes youths are overlooked whom society has made great material and human efforts to educate and restore to the workers collectives when they have erred. The family, the school, the plant, the youth organization etc. must actively contribute to their social rehabilitation. But the family has the first responsibilities.

"Excusing" your son may be an understandable parent's attitude, but to defend him even when he is guilty of serious violations means to cover up his guilt. What is the attitude of the adolescent hailed into the court of public opinion when he sees in his parent an "ally" and a "defender"? Will he not continue in his conduct?

It is clear that those guilty of violating the law and those who commit serious acts of hooliganism, theft, robbery etc. should not enjoy society's leniency. There are youths who have benefited by the very humane and mild sanctioning system that allows for their age and the possibility of reeducating them in the environment and under the influence of the workers collective. The facts show that many of them have succeeded in reintegrating themselves in society with the help of the community. The percentage of them is high. But others ("cultivated" by some youths brought to collective trial by the said telecast) continue, often unrestricted, to disregard the laws and the standards of socialist morality and to behave antisocially. As the telecast also indicated, the reeducation effort sometimes fails. Some collectives in some work places do not make an adequate effort to supervise and check those assigned them for reeducation, who take advantage of this negligence to continue their criminal activity and to commit other and even more serious criminal acts. In such situations public opinion must be active and intolerant of legal violations. The statements of some workers at the 23 August Plant are significant in this regard. One of them said, "The law is too gentle with such delinquents. They do not all

deserve society's leniency." "Let them be tried at the work place and let them feel the anger and scorn of the collective, because it is impossible to live as a parasite in our society."

Socialist society is one of confidence in people and one based upon true humanism. But revolutionary humanism and kindness do not mean weakness or tolerance of legal violations. On the contrary, it is in the spirit of this humanism to firmly apply and carry out the laws of the state and to act with high standards and resolve to combat and punish antisocial acts and also to reeducate, correct and fully restore to their own as well as all society's useful activities those who impair the values of the new order by their antisocial acts.

5186
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'SAPTAMINA' RETRACTS VIEWS ON PUBLISHING PRE-COMMUNIST TEXTS

Bucharest SAPTAMINA in Romanian 12 Sep 80 p 1

[Editorial signed 'SAPTAMINA': "Cultural and Political Heritage"]

[Text] On numerous occasions, our review has militated for the recovery of literacy texts or texts of social importance which have remained in forgotten volumes or even in manuscripts--things which should be integrated into our literary-artistic or historiographic treasure. This operation was carried out over the years with care. The reviews MAGAZIN ISTORIC and MANUSCRIPTUM can be cited in this regard. The chapters which were reincorporated and put back into circulation have always been accompanied by adjoining texts providing comments on the content of some passages or even on the author. Unfortunately, in such operations there have also appeared exaggerations, affirmations which were not made on the basis of the Marxist positions of our party and this makes the texts presented for publications friable. Our political philosophy demands of us that the works published be judged on the basis of the author's attitude toward social progress, toward the great problems of humanity and his opposition to everything which is harmful in tumultuous contemporary history.

In this regard some information and proposals made without a critical spirit have even infiltrated into our review; for example, in the article entitled "Ideals" which appeared in our last issue. Out of good intentions, the idea was set forth that a national library should be set up. The idea in itself is not worthy of condemnation if we think that there are still some pages which are not known to the younger generation in the works of Eminescu, for example, or the works of Nicolae Densusianu or Vasile Parvan, etc. However, it was suggested that texts of Iuliu Maniu and Armand Calinescu be put into this library in an arbitrary manner, without political and scientific criteria. It is one thing to publish a text of Maniu which makes a plea for the union of Transylvania with the mother country and another thing to publish his later discourses, replete with chauvinism and therefore, contrary to our policy, not to mention the profoundly reactionary role which Maniu played in the public life of the country. It is one thing to publish the speeches of Armand Calinescu in which the Iron Guard is denounced and it is another thing to print his attacks on the communists of his time.

This is why, while forgiving the lack of experience of the author of this article and the negligence of the responsible secretary of the editorial board and the page editor, we cannot fail to say that increased attention is needed in judging our cultural and historical past and in carefully selecting that which is truly progressive,

useful and patriotic. Otherwise, such evaluations are only grist for the mill of open or secret adversaries of our policy. By patriotism we understand an energy dedicated exclusively to the good fortune of our country and not unpleasant emphases which would lead to unfortunate conclusions. A just utilization of our cultural treasure and of historic memorials will only increase our spiritual patrimony and lead to a good education for the younger generations. In this sense, we have understood how to recommend the reconsideration of forgotten pages although, as we have already written, some formulations in the article "Ideals" were completely erroneous.

CSO: 2700

CONTROVERSIAL 'SAPTAMINA' ARTICLE DISCUSSED IN JEWISH ORGAN

Condemning Anti-Semitism

Bucharest REVISTA CULTULUI MOZAIC in Romanian 1 Nov 80 p 5

[Article: "We Read in the Review SAPTAMINA"]

[Text] In its 24 October 1980 issue the review SAPTAMINA published, under the signature of Ion Lotreanu, the article "A Policy of Unity and Brotherhood--A Climate Favorable to Work and Creation," from which we extract the following excerpts:

"As part of our broad ideological front, the review SAPTAMINA acts together with the other press organs, in accordance with the guiding principles of the party. In keeping with this profile, our review has treated varied aspects of the cultural phenomenon, has promoted authentic values by adopting a critical position toward artificial improvisations, has encouraged viable, healthy creation, and has pleaded for an art with strong humanistic values. In the spirit of the revolutionary concept of the world and of life held by our party, the review has taken a stand against anti-social manifestations, superstitions and chauvinistic and nationalistic manifestations of any sort. Our readers have always appreciated the quality and the effectiveness of the materials published. We will say, however, that unfortunately, by an exception, some erroneous opinions, which could give rise to false interpretations, appeared in the pages of SAPTAMINA. We are referring to the article, "Ideals," published in No 509 of the review which, as a result of the verbose formulations of the author and the utilization of some ambiguous terms, aroused a few comments on the part of the readers. The editorial staff has analyzed these comments with a spirit of responsibility and has drawn conclusions which will be useful for the improvement of subsequent activity.

Obviously, in regard to the nationality problem, the position of the review SAPTAMINA is a single one, which is very precisely formulated, the position of our party to which we referred earlier. Moreover, we consider that the pages of SAPTAMINA a review in which both Romanian authors and Hungarian, German and Jewish and other (national minority) authors constantly write constitute by themselves an expression of a principled party-minded attitude,

one of close, association, friendship and collaboration among all men of culture in our country Acting in a critical and self-critical spirit, placing a greater emphasis on collective responsibility, giving increased attention to the conception and realization of each issue, promoting a clear and accurate language, the editorial staff of SAPTAMINA will continue to act in the spirit of the party policy, militating for the brotherhood and equality of all citizens of the country, regardless of nationality, for the good and prosperity of our entire people.

We, the editors of SAPTAMINA, just like all workers, condemn and disassociate ourselves from every manifestation of nationalism, chauvinism, racism, anti-semitism, etc., which we consider to be totally foreign to our social realities, to our socialist ideology and to the spirit in which the broad masses in Romania are educated by our Communist Party."

Rabbi Accepts Review's Explanations

Bucharest REVISTA CULTULUI MOZAIC in Romanian 1 Nov 80 p 5

[Article: "With Complete Confidence"]

[Text] The article published in SAPTAMINA of 24 October, No 516, under the signature of Ion Lotreanu, in the name of the review's editorial staff, confirms once again the firm policy of full equality among all citizens of the country, regardless of nationality, race or religion, which is one of the essential characteristics of the socialist regime in Romania.

The article condemns, unequivocally, all those who would attempt to fan racist or anti-semitic ideas and reaffirms the spirit of brotherhood and harmony which prevails among men of culture in this country.

Condemning affirmations in the article "Ideals," published in the same publication on 5 September 1980, matters are clarified without any possibility of false interpretation.

We have preserved all the time an unshakable belief in the noble and humanistic principles which serve as the ideological foundation of the socialist government of this country.

Our confidence has been fully confirmed.

Gratitude and devotion to this fatherland, which assures us of human dignity, protects us from all slander and gives us the feeling of equality and brotherhood with all her other sons.

Chief Rabbi Dr Moses Rosen,
President of the Federation of Jewish
Communities in the Socialist Republic
of Romania

CSO: 2700

PROBLEMS FACED BY WOMEN SEEKING PROMOTIONS DISCUSSED

Bucharest FEMEIA in Romanian No 11, Nov 80 p 5

[Interview with Paula Preoteasa, deputy chairman of the Central Council for Worker Control of Economic and Social Activity, by Elisabeta Moraru date and place not given]

[Excerpts] Question: What is your opinion about the progress obtained in recent years in regard to the promotion of women and about the column in our review devoted to this subject?

Answer: The attention which our party and Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu have constantly given to increasing the role of women in the economic, social and political life of the country, their promotion to positions of leadership constitutes an inseparable aspect of the strategy of social development of Romania. We are also justified in taking pride in the prestige as a scholar of world renown of Comrade Elena Ceausescu and the esteem which she enjoys for the many activities which she performs in the party and state leadership, while still maintaining her warmth and concern for the children and youth of the country and for the affirmation of women in socio-economic life.

In regard to the column "The Promotion File," I appreciate, in particular, the free dialogue between the editors and the persons interviewed, the faithful rendition of what the person interviewed thinks and says, the sincerity of the statements, which results in interesting interviews, without platitudes. The most important thing is that "The Promotion File" has proposed to be a work instrument for the factors of responsibility.

Question: Since you are among the women promoted to an organism of leadership on the central level, what would you like to add to the ideas expressed in our column?

Answer: There are still a number of areas where the process of promoting women must be stimulated because people are acting very timidly and work relations which we should think about are still being maintained. I am referring to the fact that women in the respective fields often do not receive any consideration for the work which they do. In some cases brutal discussions take place with them, with threats and other methods which, in general, we repudiate in work relations, whether women or men are involved. Such cases still persist in agriculture, in tourism, in machine building--especially in agriculture, where, as we know, the women bear the burden. The idea that the sectors mentioned are more difficult has been accredited, thus expressing "concern" for protecting women from hardships.

Of course, equality does not mean identity. Each person brings his or her own specific strength. Perhaps the woman has a greater sensitivity but this is a result, not only of her nature, but also of some attitudes of lack of confidence, and the minimalization of her contribution, with inhibiting effects. It is not a matter of a dispute between the sexes, since there can be no such thing in our country, but of certain delays, of the persistence of ancestral mentalities, which became at a certain moment, obstacles in the evolution of the emancipation of women and even of men. In some enterprises, even if women have been promoted into the leadership, certain jobs always held by men (brigade chief, master workers, etc), who do not always understand the more difficult situations in the family life of their co-workers.

In the handicraft cooperative network, trade, the peoples councils and other areas in the services sector where women are in positions of leadership--from the heads of units to the leadership of the ministry, presidents of units or deputy chairmen of central institutions--much remains to be done, in applying the existing programs of measures, not to mention the need for thorough, scientific analyses of future needs. At the same time, the food industry and light industry, the chemical industry, and the machine building industry (consumer goods) are still behind in regard to the implementation of the guidelines of the party leadership in regard to special programs, such as the development of the production of prepared and semi-prepared culinary products, the production of household apparatus and equipment, the diversification and improvement of the quality of articles of clothing. The most deficient are the cooperative and trade sectors, the principal providers of service, directly linked with the public, where the attitude of the workers influences the quality of services, which are rather limited.

Question: Some persons we have interviewed think that women have been given too much work.

Answer: In certain situations, women have been given tasks which have been regarded as "women's work." However, sometimes one goes too far with the accusation that the women's capacity for making decisions is overlooked.

CSO: 2700

FINES SET FOR VIOLATIONS OF METRO REGULATIONS

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I, No 83, 16 Oct 80 pp 4, 5

[Council of State Decree for Establishing and Penalizing Violations of Norms for Metro Travel]

[Text] Carrying out joint transportation for workers in the Municipality of Bucharest under the best possible conditions--an expression of the concern of the party and state for continually improving the living and working conditions for the capital's residents--has necessitated the state's allocating large material and financial assets to build the metro, a fast means of circulation, supplied with modern installations which provide optimum traveling conditions.

The good operation of the metro and maintenance of the installations' integrity and operativeness require particular responsibility from the personnel of the Enterprise for Metro Operation, with a view to preventing accidents, disturbance in the traffic pattern and destruction or deterioration of its equipment and installations.

The persons using this modern means of transportation must demonstrate high civic awareness in assuring order and discipline, respecting travel norms and aiding the competent organs in bringing to responsibility those who violate the norms established, with a view to the good operation of this means of transportation.

Toward this end, the Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees:

Article 1. The following acts, if they have not been committed under such conditions where, in accordance with the law, they are considered infractions, are violations of the norms for metro travel and are penalized as follows:

I. With a 400-500 lei fine:

a) Entering technological areas or places within the metro where public access is prohibited;

b) Failure to pay the fare or use of the metro on the basis of invalid travel identity card;

c) Deterioration of furniture, breaking of windows in the stations or the cars;

d) Disturbing the passengers or inappropriate behavior toward the other passengers or service personnel;

e) Smoking or drinking alcoholic beverages in the metro or dirtying the stations or cars;

f) Attaching posters in the cars or in stations without special authorization from the leaders of the Enterprise for Metro Operation of Bucharest;

g) Transporting live animals in the cars or goods which can disturb or dirty the passengers, as well as objects larger than 25 x 55 x 75 cm and 20 kg ;

h) Peddling in the stations or cars;.

II. With a 500-1,000 lei fine:

a) Forcing the doors of the cars to open while the car is stopped or is going;

b) Pulling the alarm signal for unmotivated reasons of imminent danger to the safety of traffic or of the passengers;

c) Transporting in the cars dangerous goods which are not allowed to be transported, such as inflammable, explosive, corrosive, caustic or poisonous articles.

III. With an 800-2,000 lei fine:

a) Deterioriation or destruction of parts, lighting installations in the cars and stations as well as da aging platforms, stairways, escalators and other articles within the metro, done on purpose;

b) Deterioration or destruction of telecommunications installations, parts of various installations, parts of cables or cables or signals as well as breaking windows in the voltage signaling devices and fire hydrants, done on purpose.

Article 2. Determination of violations and application of penalties is done by personnel empowered for this purpose by the leaders of the Enterprise for Metro Operation of Bucharest.

Article 3. Damages for material losses caused by the committing of any of the violations provided in this decree, together with application of the penalty, are established in accordance with legal tariffs.

Article 4. The provisions of Law 32/1968 on theEstablishing and Penalizing of Violations are applicable to the violations provided in this decree.

8071
CSO: 2700

MEMBERS OF COMMISSION HANDLING WORKERS' COMPLAINTS

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I, No 83, 16 Oct 80 pp 5-6

[Council of State Decision to Change Appendix to Council of State Decision No 1/1978 on Approval of Composition of Commission To Analyze the Activity of Solving Proposals, Notifications, Complaints and Request of Workers Addressed to the Council of State]

[Text] The Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees:

Single article. The appendix to Council of State Decision No 1/1978 on Approval of Composition of Commission To Analyze the Activity of Solving Proposals, Notifications, Complaints and Requests of Workers Addressed to the Council of State is changed and is replaced with the appendix which is an integral part of this decision.

Appendix: Composition of the Commission To Analyze the Activity of Solving Proposals, Notifications, Complaints and Requests of Workers Addressed to the Council of State

President

1. Vasile Vilcu	Member of the Council of State, president of the Central Auditing Commission of the Romanian Communist Party

Members

2. Ioana Bratu	Member of the Council of State, UTC Central Committee secretary
3. Stefania Ionescu	Member of the Council of State, president of the Putineiu Agricultural Production Cooperative, Teleorman County
4. Emilia Sonea	Vice president of the Grand National Assembly, member of the Bureau of the National Council of Women
5. Luigi Martis	Deputy in the Grand National Assembly, major general, commander of the security troops
6. Iuliu Fejes	Deputy in the Grand National Assembly, secretary of the Council of Workers of Hungarian Nationality
7. Lidia Oradean	Deputy in the Grand National Assembly, state secretary in the Ministry of Health

8.	Mecu Georgeta	Deputy minister of labor, member of the Bucharest Sector 1 Party Committee and secretary of the Ministry of Labor Party Committee
9.	Decebal Urdea	Deputy in the Grand National Assembly ;director of the Institute of Finances, Monetary Circulation and Prices; director of the Directorate for Rate Setting, Methodology and Accounting Guidance in the Ministry of Finance
10.	Gheorghe Stuparu	Vice president of the Central Council of the General Union of Trade Unions of Romania
11.	Tudor Balan	Metal pattern maker, head of a brigade, member of the Bucharest Semanatoarea Enterprise Party Committee
12.	Teodor Ciudin	Instructor in the Central Council of Worker Control of Economic and Social Activity
13.	Costica Dinu	Head of a section at the Higher Court of Financial Control
14.	Dumitru Constantin	Director of the Directorate for Organization and Control in the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Industry
15.	Adalbert Militz	Secretary of the Council of Workers of German Nationality
16.	Romica Onica	Prosecutor, head of a directorate in the General Prosecutor's Office
17.	Romul Opre	Director of the Directorate of Civil Courts, Notary Offices and Legal Profession in the Ministry of Justice
18.	Virginia Pripitu	Member of the Central Council of Worker Control of Economic and Social Activity, president of the trade union committee at the Baneasa Enterprise for Radio Parts and Semi-Condcutors
19.	Zoia Pirvu	Technical Quality Control inspector at the Bucharest Cotton Industry Enterprise, member of the enterprise's party committee bureau and workers' council
20.	Ion Rizescu	Director of the Directorate for Organization and Control in the Ministry of Education and Instruction
21.	Constantin Voinescu	Director of the Directorate for Organization and State Administration in the Committee for People's Council Problems

8071
CSO: 2700

POOR REPORTING ON NEW CONSCRIPTION LAW SCORED

Belgrade MLADOST in Serbo-Croatian 8 Aug 80 p 5

[Commentary by Branko Vukovic: "Post Festum Concerning the Passage of a Law"]

[Text] Irrefutably, none of the so-called systemic laws--with the exception of the Law on Associated Labor--has aroused as much public attention as the Law on Military Conscription. This circumstance is wholly understandable and need not be specially explained.

Among other things, the Law on Military Conscription deals with draft tours in the Yugoslav People's Army, a matter of interest to all young people who are getting ready to don the uniform. This is a matter of interest to all others, too, of course. Accordingly, the law was justifiably expected to be passed under established procedures, without undue haste and accompanied by the widest possible public discussion of the proposed solutions, with the public to be advised in an organized way of the course of the discussion. Every Yugoslav citizen would thus be in a position to influence the substance of the legislation, offering objections, proposals, and suggestions. In reality, the situation was different.

So far as the writer of these lines knows, the draft of the Law on Military Conscription was not published in the daily press, nor was it obtainable in the usual way. In other words, scores and hundreds of thousands of young people who are now or will eventually be soldiers ("subjects"!) had no opportunity to influence the substance of the law that detailedly regulates draft tours--"every citizen's highest duty and honor."

Someone will surely [illegible] anyone interested could easily inform himself in the sense that inform[illegible]media wrote at length on possible legislative solutions, proposals, and d[illegible]ms faced by the law's drafters. Indeed: the press, radio, and television kept us informed on an almost day-to-day basis of the work of those who were creating this legislation. However, what was the quality of the information?

The idea has taken root that nationwide defense is an area about which any newspaperman can write, i.e., even one lacking special knowledge. Hence, we often read articles evidencing poor knowledge of the subject. In addition, the articles are frequently dry and uninventive (if anybody wants to read, let him!). Most importantly, however, facts are distorted; in practical terms, there is misinformation. How otherwise can we explain assertions that women will be obliged to serve draft

tours, that all soldiers will serve 15-month tours after the Law on Military Conscription has been passed, that all soldiers over the age of 27 will be transferred to the reserve ("sent home"!), etc.?

This suggests the conclusion that wanting to write is not enough; you need knowledge of the subject in addition to desire and good intentions. Otherwise, good will results in distortion of the facts; so-called popularization of a legal text results in vulgarization.

We are not pointing out all this just for the fun of it. The question is of first-class significance and ought to be posed, even if in rough form. The harm is great both for individuals and for society when incompetent persons inform us about important matters. The latter, unfortunately and surprisingly, include TANJUG journalists and certain high-ranking military officers.

Right before the passage of the Law on Military Conscription, TANJUG broadcast the news--we read it in NOVA MAKEDONIJA--that all soldiers aged 27 or over (there are many such) would be released as soon as the law took effect. Soldiers, being soldiers, talk only about girls and shortening their draft tours. Accordingly, we can easily imagine how these young men felt when they learned that the item from our reputable news agency was untruthful.

Similar "information" could be heard on the radio, especially on local radio stations. In some places, even opstina-level officials were interpreting the law, and how they did so is not difficult to imagine.

Unfortunately, there have also been striking inaccuracies in the interpretations of persons who ought to be excellently informed. One high-ranking officer, for example, said over the radio something similar to the TANJUG item--to the effect that all soldiers born in 1952 and 1953 would be transferred to the reserve. The truth is that this provision of the law applies only to soldiers born in 1952 who joined the Yugoslav People's Army this year and soldiers born in 1951 who joined last year. Those are big differences!

As we can see, there is a large gap between the passage of the law and reporting on it--on the one hand--and the principles promulgated by the constitution on the other. Even if we take into consideration certain particularities of a procedural nature in this instance (we usually say "military matters") [passage missing] superficially and inaccurately informed. We can be informed about prices at the marketplace, hunting, fishing, and fashion by persons whose knowledge is not at the highest possible level. On significant social topics--by no means.

CSO: 2800

BRIEFS

KOSOVO LC OPSTINA ORGANIZATIONS--In the opstina LC organizations of Kosovo good political preparations have been made and action taken for elections in the basic LC organizations. It has been possible to conclude elections in 3,020 basic organizations, i.e., electing this number of LC secretaries, as well as 11,420 members of opstina LC organization secretariats. Of the total number of 3,020 secretaries, 64.3 percent were elected for the first time. Moreover, 20.26 percent of them were workers from direct production, 22.8 percent were private farmers, 3.67 percent were veterans and 5.6 percent were women. The nationality structure of these organizations has also improved, such that 72.88 percent of the secretaries elected were Albanians. However, despite the significant results achieved in these elections, the LC Presidency made the judgment that a number of these organizations and their leaderships are still not capable of adequately carrying out their leading role and being mobilizers, as well as the internal cohesive force of our system. Further training and strengthening of the LC is, therefore, needed. It was said at the 6 November meeting of the LC Central Committee Presidium of Kosovo that in all opstina LC leaderships, cadre changes had been carried out in the spirit of Comrade Tito's initiative and new opstina committees (made up of 11 to 15 members) had been elected, that PC opstina conference presidents had been elected for 1-year terms and secretaries of LC opstina committees, for 2-year terms. [Excerpts] [Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 7 Nov 80 p 3]

CSO: 2800

END

JPRS 77063

24 December 1980

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1836

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

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24 December 1980

EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1836

CONTENTS

ALBANIA

'Uncultured, Foreign Manifestations' Deplored
(Iliriana Mezini; PUNA, 23 Sep 80)..... 1

Better Utilization of Energy Resources Needed
(Petro Dode; ZERI I POPULLIT, 27 Sep 80)..... 3

Workers Pension Rights Discussed
(Nesim Canko; PUNA, 10 Oct 80)..... 8

Brides Criticized for Staying Home From Work
(Tashko Lako: BASEKIMI, 20 Oct 80)..... 11

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Writers' Union Head Urges More Diversity of Ideas in Mass Media
(IWE-TAGESDIENST, 12 Nov 80)..... 13

West German Book Analyzes Role of Military Education in GDR Schools
(Arnim Brux; DEUTSCHLAND ARCHIV, Oct 80)..... 14

Interior Minister Reviews 1977-80 Worker Militia Training
(Friedrich Dickel; DER KAEMPFER, Nov 80)..... 17

POLAND

'LE FIGARO' Analyzes PZPR CC Seventh Plenum Results
(Bernard Margueritte; LE FIGARO, 4 Dec 80)..... 23

Gulczynski Examines Causes of Crisis
(Mariusz Galczynski; LITERATURA, 16, 23 Oct 80)..... 26

Medical Training in Armed Forces Surveyed
(Andrzej Gryczko; LEKARZ WOJSKOWY, Mar-Apr 80)..... 46

YUGOSLAVIA

Polemic Erupts Over Stipe Suvar Article in 'DELO'
(Dejan Curkovic; BORBA, 22 Nov 80)..... 51

Drawbacks of Planning Effort Highlighted
(NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE, 12 Oct 80)..... 55

Through Legislative Mill, by Scepan Rabrenovic
Realities of Statistics

'UNCULTURED, FOREIGN MANIFESTATIONS' DEPLORED

Tirana PUNA in Albanian 23 Sep 80 p 3

[Article "Let Us Know and Implement Our Laws" by Iliriana Mezini: "Healthy Opinion Stifles Foreign Manifestations and Activities"]

[Text] Disgraceful behavior in society is a manifestation of the class struggle. It has its roots in the remnants of the old society, in the continual pressure of bourgeois-revisionist ideology and especially in persons who become the bearers of bourgeois morality and who, because of their behavior and attitudes, commit anti-moral and anti-social acts, thus, striking at the legal norms and rules of behavior in society.

This category of crimes is not a characteristic of our socialist society. Also, because of some special qualities and fine traditions of our people, the crime of disgraceful behavior in society is not widespread in our country. A comprehensive political and ideological struggle is carried out in our country against foreign manifestations of bourgeois morality expressed here and there in certain in our society; this struggle has reduced more and more the sources and causes of the rise in crime, in general, and crimes of disgraceful behavior in particular. Our penal legislation is also playing an important role in this field.

Crimes of disgraceful behavior in society harm the rules of coexistence in the socialist society. The person who executes [this kind of] crime does not seek to achieve a determined criminal purpose. In this criminal act, this person is moved not by motives incorrectly conceived, but by the desire to "please himself" and to show off before others, thus, showing his "skill" and "force" and so forth. The Penal Code of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, in its Article No 129, stipulates that "disgraceful behavior in society, because of motives of delinquency that noticeably affect the rules of socialist coexistence, are punishable by re-education through work or by deprivation of liberty up to a period of 5 years."

When do we deal with disgraceful behavior in society? Let us give one case for an example: two young workers--F.D., a cook in Zall-Daj, and L.B., a worker in the housing enterprise--went drinking one day and had more drinks than they should have had. Walking and pushing each other after this behavior, they decided to have their picture taken. Their failure to keep their equilibrium while walking in the street drew the attention of passers-by. Openly disregarding the other

people, they used indecent words and even teased the girls who passed by. As a result of having drunk too much, they were driven to committing acts completely in contradiction with the rules of socialist coexistence and the norms of our communist morality.

The behavior of some youths at the stadium during sport competitions also is a negative aspect. Of course, those to whom we refer, are elements with accentuated remnants in their awareness. Having no consideration for the masses of society, they manifest indecent manners through repeated shouts in unison saying indecent and offensive words--an aspect which is not a characteristic of the large sports-loving masses of our country. These acts committed by some youths are in flagrant contradition with the norms and rules of socialist coexistence. It is even worse when these acts, which are provoked at the stadium, are continued in the street after the conclusion of sport events, where discussions become more noisy accompanied by shouts and offensive words. Because of this open disregard for society, these youths take legal responsibility upon themselves, as they cause disturbances and disturb the tranquility of the public in the stadium or of families and others in the streets.

All these acts mentioned above and some other behavior added to them, such as, for example, answering a citizen in a taunting manner constitute the crime of indecent behavior in society. Their act is condemnable by the law, because it hurts our socialist morality.

To eliminate manifestations of disgraceful behavior in society, which also constitutes a crime, it is necessary to create a repressive atmosphere for all these acts which we encounter in our work and society. The education of the new man in the communist morality is the task of the working collective, society and of every citizen. We must not remain indifferent when we observe that manifestations of disgraceful behavior are occurring in our society; on the contrary, we must intervene immediately and must prevent our comrade from sinking into his mistake; we must make it clear to him that these acts lead to a misleading path. After this, it is necessary that the foreign acts and manifestations of some member of the collective be discussed in the collective so that the behavior and action of one person will become a lesson for another person and so they will not be repeated anymore in life.

9150
CSO: 2100

BETTER UTILIZATION OF ENERGY RESOURCES NEEDED

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 27 Sep 80 p 3

[Article by Petro Dode, chairman of the State Planning Commission: "More Effective Studies and Measures for Increasing and Rationally Utilizing Energy Resources"]

[Text] The party, in its policy for the socialist industrialization of the country, has continually given special attention and concern to the most rapid development of heavy industry, considering it as the only way which has guaranteed the introduction of natural resources and other raw materials of the country in economic circulation and in rational and effective utilization. In this regard, based on Comrade Enver Hoxha's teachings that "without energy there is no progress and there is no development of the production forces," a number of measures have been taken and executed in our country; these measures have gradually developed, but always with priority, the energy industry which has become a powerful factor for the creation of a complete and multibranch economy, as independent as possible, relying on its own forces. Our country has always provided an active balance-sheet of energy resources, satisfying the increasing needs of all branches of the economy and even exporting a part of its energy products.

This correct policy pursued by the party in the field of energy resources and its vitality appear even more, especially now, when the entire capitalist and revisionist world, including the largest countries, is taken over by the economic crisis in general and the energy crisis in particular. Our socialist economy, which has created a powerful energy base, has not known and does not know reductions of production and other negative phenomena of the cyclic and spontaneous development that characterize the very nature of the economy of the bourgeois and revisionist countries.

Our party has consistently followed the path of the creation, development and invigoration of the energy industry, as a component part of its program for the socialist industrialization of the country, as a factor of a special importance that guarantees the consolidation and further promotes the independent political and economic development of the country, both successfully unmasking and destroying the hostile activity of the deviationists within its ranks and the modern revisionists.

As it was stressed at the Eighth Plenum of the Party Central Committee, the creation and development of the key branches, such as the petroleum industry, the

gas industry, the energy industry and other important branches of the economy, have had and will always have a vital importance for the building of socialism with our own forces and for strengthening the independence of the country. In drafting the Seventh Five-Year Plan (1981-1985), we took into consideration and are studying the possibilities for further increasing investments in the petroleum industry and further improving the effectiveness of these investments, aiming at also guaranteeing in the future the increase of reserves and the extraction of petroleum and gas. In this regard, it is necessary to study and better solve, in a complex manner, the problems of a material-technical and economic-financial character. In this branch of industry, the aim will always be, by strengthening technical and scientific discipline in work, to achieve, first of all, the most rational utilization possible of the technical-material base so as to assure the increase of the drilling-research and drilling-utilization rates in order to discover as many new oil and gas fields as possible and in order to speed up their exploitation. The tasks assigned in this direction are linked with the perfection of organization and management, with the continual strengthening of proletarian and scientific discipline in work so as to eliminate those technical and organizational shortcomings which, in some cases, have led to breakdowns.

The party has worked and is continually working to develop the coal mining industry along with the petroleum industry. Today, coal mining holds an important position in the balance-sheet of fuel in our country. In 1970, compared to 1960, coal mining increased by more than two times; while, in 1980, it increased by over five times. We have fought and rejected the views that underestimated the economic value of this branch and important measures have continually been taken and implemented in order to increase the mining of coal and to promote its use to the greatest extent possible, including coal of low calorific power. The various sectors of the economy will have greater use of coal during the five-year plan. Therefore, work is being aimed at solving the important problems leading to the increase of production by every mine and the improvement of the quality of coal, where there are still problems requiring a solution, such as: the reduction of losses in coal strata and impoverishment during coal extraction and the further improvement of the level of mechanization in mines and so forth.

The problems concerning the use of coal are being attentively examined. Studies have been completed on the possibility of converting boilers using liquid fuel into boilers using coal and, at the same time, efforts are being made to implement this conversion. Also, better efforts will be made to intensify the use of coal in families in order to save firewood that is a scarce material for the economy. Of particular importance in the more rational utilization of coal is the study which is being carried out for the centralization of production and of the distribution of steam to the city industrial zones, with the prospect of extending the heating system for communal needs in heated greenhouses for the production of vegetables and so forth.

The implementation of these studies in the years of the coming five-year plan will bring to the economy important savings in raw energy liquid fuel, coal and firewood and so forth. But, at the same time, tasks arise from these studies in regard to adopting all the technical and organizational measures, both by the grassroots organizations and central departments, so as to implement them on the

shortest deadlines possible and with the smallest investments possible. In this regard, it is necessary to stress that studies in the field of the thermal power sector need to be further expanded in order to elevate them, as the Eighth Plenum of the Party Central Committee recommended, to a higher scientific level, so that the most energy possible is taken from coal and other fuel materials for the thermal equipment, in order that the adjustment or production of new boilers will be carried out in full harmony with our kinds of coal and according to a studied regional system for this distribution.

The utilization of hydroenergy resources has been and will be in the future, too, one of the most important directions for increasing energy resources and, in general, improving the effectiveness of this branch of industry. The overall production of electric power in 1979, compared to 1960, increased by 15.3 times; while, the overall production of electric power supplied by the hydroelectric power stations increased by 20.4 times. But, in addition to this, our country still has many unexploited important water resources which constitute very great reserves for increasing, at rapid rates, the production of electric power. However, in this field, too, a number of tasks are set forth, especially for the intensification of complex studies in order to determine the complete blueprints for the utilization of rivers and of their affluents in a complex manner, utilizing them not only for the hydroelectric power stations, but also for satisfying the needs of the other sectors of the economy, such as, for irrigation, communal utilities and for the new industrial centers and so forth. For this, it is necessary to provide a better cooperation between our study and design institutions and the responsible departments and Tirana State University, by harmonizing prognoses and long range studies with the study and design of the projects expected to be built during the coming five-year plan. In this framework, it is necessary that the studies produce a number of technical and economic indicators which will serve to determine the order of construction of the hydroelectric power stations.

The party has always linked the priority development of the power industry with the necessity of applying a strong system of savings to the use of its products. In the present conditions of the dynamic development of our country, when the needs for energy resources are in increasing demands in all sectors of the economy and when the energy crisis has strongly taken over the capitalist and revisionist world, it is necessary that we implement, without any negligence, the important tasks assigned by the Seventh Party Congress in the field of savings, and of the economical use, of raw materials, especially of petroleum and of its by-products, gas, and coal and electric power.

In the execution of all the measures which will guarantee the further strengthening of the system of savings in the products of the power industry, we must always guide ourselves by the recommendations of Comrade Enver Hoxha that "...the country which produces much is not always a rich country; on the contrary, it is the country which produces as much as it is necessary to produce and which uses the good material things, that it produces, sparingly and with strict calculation."

Working in this direction, the greatest attention and concern has been concentrated on saving petroleum and its by-products. Our efforts aim at extending and applying, as widely as possible, the advanced experience that we find in individuals and in the user enterprises, while combatting every manifestation of routine and

of liberalism which still exist in the work of some state and economic organs. The results achieved in saving liquid fuel and motor fuel last year and during the current year tell about the great reserves that our economy possesses.

A very important direction to save liquid fuel is the persistent execution of the program approved by the Council of Ministers on the replacement of liquid fuel with solid fuel or gas and the use of all kinds of wastes which can be used for burning. Greater efforts will be made in the transport sector, the machine tractor stations [SMT] and in other sectors in order to base the use of combustibles on the best experience obtained, because, at present, there are noticeable differences in regard to the realization of norms between the individuals, work brigades and enterprises; and these differences constitute important reserves to economize petroleum, gasoline and so forth. Other measures for saving combustibles in the transport sector are: the use, to a greater extent, of trailers, cableways, carts and oxcarts for domestic transportation and, in the future, the replacement of vehicles' gasoline engines with naphtha engines.

Great savings reserves also exist in the utilization of coal. The increase of the coefficient of the utilization of calorific power of coal in a profitable manner by the users by only 10 percent, during the coming five-year plan, would bring to the economy a saving of 150,000 to 200,000 tons of coal per year. There are cases in our enterprises showing that not burning coal results in considerable savings. Thus, for example, from 8-10 percent that is the calculated norm allowed, the quantity of burned coal in the Durres bread factories, the paper plant in Kavaje, the beer and brick plants in Korce and so forth amounts to 25-50 percent and so forth. Such losses of coal exist almost everywhere, where the burning is carried out in hollows, therefore, the return to the system with pulverization devices is an urgent task.

There are also reserves everywhere in the economy to save electric power. Although efforts have been carried out in this field, there is room for further reduction of norms for the utilization of electric power per production unit, construction unit and service unit. Attention must be concentrated, especially, on the large users of electric power, such as the chemical, metallurgical and petroleum plants and so forth. In these sectors, power is saved especially when the plants are worked at full capacity.

To draft and execute the most scientific norms for the use of combustible materials in general, it is necessary to place their measurements on healthy bases. There are many gaps and shortcomings in this field both in regard to the setting, checking and precision of apparatuses and in regard to their repair. Of course, in order that all these economy measures are properly carried out, it is also necessary to have a better trained personnel to manage the equipment that use energy resources as a whole.

The totality of problems linked with the most rational utilization of fuel and combustibles is the object of expanded discussions and examinations on the part of all working collectives so as to further promote the technical and scientific revolution in these fields. Everywhere, as the party tells us, the people must take the most mobilizing tasks upon themselves in regard to saving power products;

no one must have the idea that we swim on petroleum and that we walk on coal; on the contrary, we must deeply instill in everyone the sense of saving every drop of petroleum, every handful of coal.

Understanding more and more thoroughly the tasks set forth by the party and Comrade Enver for the future development of the economy, based on the principle of relying on one's own forces, the working collectives will further struggle, will find new roads and will discover important reserves both to increase the products of the energy industry at higher rates and to utilize them most rationally and sparingly.

9150
CSO: 2100

WORKERS PENSION RIGHTS DISCUSSED

Tirana PUNA in Albanian 10 Oct 80 p 3

[Article by Nesim Canko: "Let Us Know and Implement Our Laws": "On Workers Pension Rights"]

[Text] The basic principles of the New Constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania in the field of relationships in socialist work have found a complete and clear expression in the New Labor Code. One of the main principles expressed in the Code is the providing of material means for the livelihood of workers when they are unable to work and when they are old.

A single, advanced and complete system of pensions for workers, white-collar employees and agricultural cooperative members has been established in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. This is a great victory achieved by our people under the leadership of the Albanian Workers Party led by Comrade Enver Hoxha.

An important principle of the system of pensions is the fact that expenditures for the payment of pensions are covered by the contributions provided by the enterprises, institutions, organizations and agricultural cooperatives and by the state budget. Therefore, workers make no payment at all from their personal incomes for their insurance. Also, a failure by enterprises or agricultural cooperatives to pay their contribution does not prevent workers from getting their pension rights guaranteed by law.

Workers or white-collar employees have the right to receive an old age pension when they reach the pension age and when they have completed the years of service in work, in accordance with the category of work which they have done. A male worker who has done a heavy or difficult type of work, which belongs to the first work category, receives his pension at 50 with 20 years of service in work; while, a female worker earns her right to pension at 45 with 15 years of service. Those workers who execute the type of work of the second category receive their pensions at 55 with 25 years of service, while women of this work category receive their pensions at 50 with 20 years of service. The male workers of the third category of work receive their pensions at 60 and female workers at 55 with 25 and 20 years of service respectively.

Female workers or female employees, regardless of the category of work they have done, when they have given birth and have raised six or more children up to the

age of 8 years, have the right to get complete old age pensions at 50 after having completed 15 years of service in work.

Agricultural cooperative members have the right to full old age pensions when they have reached 65 years of age and have completed 25 years of service; while female members of the agricultural cooperatives earn their right to a pension at 55 after having completed 20 years of service.

The amount of the pensions is 70 percent of the average monthly incomes that workers have earned during 3 consecutive years in the last 10 working years, giving them the right to choose the period in which they have earned larger incomes. The old age pension for workers and white-collar employees cannot be less than 350 leks nor more than 700 leks, per month.

A worker or an agricultural cooperative member, who has reached the age for pension but has not completed the years of service in work to earn full old age pension, has the right to receive a partial old age pension, provided that he has completed the following years of service: men, no less than 12 years and 6 months, and women, no less than 10 years of service. The partial old age pension is granted in proportion to the number of years in service.

When a worker has completed the years of service in work, but has left work without reaching the age for pension, a full pension or partial pension is given to him when he reaches the age for pension.

Disability pensions are granted to workers, white-collar employees and agricultural cooperative members who become disabled in work or become disabled within 30 calendar days from the day they leave work or from the day they fail to appear for work. This pension is granted when the worker has totally or partially lost his capability for work according to the disability group determined by the doctor-worker examination commission. When disability has been caused by an accident that has taken place at work pension is given regardless of the years of service in work; when disability is the result of a general illness or caused by an accident which has no connection with work, pension is granted if the worker has put in a number of years of service determined in proportion to his age, for example: between 20 to 25 years, men must have completed 2 years of service and women 1 year of service; while, above 55 years, men must have 16 years of service and women 12 years of service.

The disability pension is granted as follows: 85 percent for the first group, 70 percent for the second group, 60 percent for the third group and 40 percent for the fourth group over the average monthly incomes received during the year or during the last 3 years, chosen by the worker himself in accordance with the highest salary that he had received.

A worker or cooperative member, who becomes an invalid in the first or second groups, because of an illness or because of an accident which has no connection with work, and who has not completed the years of service in work required for determining a full pension, has the right to receive a partial disability pension, if he has no less than one fourth of the work time required for determining full pension. This pension is granted in proportion to the years of service.

Also, the members of a family who have been unable to work and have actually been dependent on the worker, white-collar employee or agricultural cooperative member receive family pensions if their supporter dies during his working life, or within 2 years of the day he has left work, if he is a worker, and within 30 days from the moment he has been absent from work, if he is a cooperative member.

The family pension is based on the average monthly salary differentiated in accordance with the number of dependent family members. Thus, for families with three or more members, the family pension is 65 percent of the average monthly salary; for families with two members, 50 percent and for a one-member family, 40 percent.

The parents, the adopted children and the surviving spouse who, at the death of the child or of the other spouse, have not reached the pension age, but have been capable of working, have the right to family pensions when they reach the required age or when they become unable to work. The right to seek a pension is not limited, that is, it can be requested at any time.

Also, some special workers have the advantage of an old age pension for their years of service, regardless of age, provided that they have a determined number of years of service. Those who profit by this pension are military men of the permanent active service, opera soloists, ballet dancers, soloist singers of the professional variety theater, soloists and dancers of the State Ensemble and of the People's Army Ensemble and circus acrobats who have given up their work because they can no longer continue their professions. Their pensions are granted on the basis of 35, 40 and 60 percent of the average monthly salaries.

Persons who have participated in the National Renaissance Movement, in the popular movements, the Anti-Fascist National Liberation Struggle or in the revolutionary movements outside the country and have special merits, as well as the persons who have distinguished themselves in the fields of sciences, technology, culture and art and in state, social and economic activities, all have their right to pensions for special merits when they become unable to work or when they reach pension age, that is, for men at 55 and for women at 50, regardless of their years of service. The amount of the pension and the granting and stopping of these pensions are decided upon by decision of the Council of Ministers.

9150
CSO: 2100

BRIDES CRITICIZED FOR STAYING HOME FROM WORK

Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian 20 Oct 80 p 3

[Article by Tashko Lako: "On Brides Who Do Not Go to Work"]

[Text] During the first 9 months of this year, 625 brides have come in the villages of Fier District (either within the district or from outside the district); one half of these brides stayed entire months without going to work. From a calculation made, it appears that this "half" has not worked for approximately 12,000 work-days, a period during which they could have harvested beans from 600 hectares of land or raked over about 1,000 hectares of land sown with cotton or corn and so forth. These work-days, which have been lost, have had a negative influence on the fulfillment of the tasks on schedu . Nevertheless, the village Democratic Front organizations have not shown the necessary concern in regard to this fact, because they have not properly evaluated this problem of an ideological and economic nature.

As we can see, the old custom of keeping brides at home for a long period still has not been up-rooted. Of course, there are many positive examples and they are to be found precisely in those villages where negative examples are also observed. In Frakull village, for example, 10 newly married brides stayed at home for 15 days and, then, started work; in Pojan village a bride went to work 5 days after her wedding; in Agim village two brides went to work 5 days after their weddings; and eight other brides, married in Verri village, also went to work 5 days after their marriages. Nevertheless, the Democratic Front organizations are not taking advantage of positive examples in order to propagate them as much as possible and, through them, to struggle against the manifestations of the old custom that still raise their heads, keeping alive the "stains" of foreign ideology and harming the economy.

The reasonings given by these people who keep their brides at home without sending them to work are many. In Frakull village, they say: "All right, as soon as they get some rest. After all, they have come from work and they will go to work." And 12 brides from this village, by staying home several months without going to work, until "they get some rest," did not put in 750 work days, thus, they had a negative effect on the fulfillment of the tasks. The Democratic Front organization did not make this issue a family problem, a social problem. And this attitude has its reason. The Frakull agricultural cooperative is one of the agricultural units of this district which, this year, is regularly fulfilling its

tasks; and this fact has prevented the Front organization from noticing the absence of these brides who did not go to work; and it says: "we are doing well. We collected about 2,000 quintals of cotton and harvested about 180 hectares of corn." This is so; they have distinguished themselves; but, this fact does not give them the right to neglect such a problem of an ideological nature closely linked with the implementation of the pledges they have taken.

In Agim village people say: "Well...for a little while, until they make acquaintance with the people of the house...." By so saying, they want to justify, a little, the attitude toward the brides who do not go to work and toward those people who do not send them to work. But, who are the people whom the bride would like to know? They are the people she has been working with at the same cooperative, the people she met so many times when she was engaged. It is true, in the past, the bride could not have known the members of her husband's family, because she was kept closed up within the four walls of the house; while, today, it is different. She works together with other people and, in work, she has known these people and they have known her. And, because it agrees with such concepts, the village Front organization did not notice that six brides stayed home for over 2 months without going to work or that they did not put in 250 work days, during which period they could have harvested beans in 12.5 hectares of land or raked over 20 hectares sown with corn or cotton.

"We will go to work. In a little while...." And, it is with these words that in Pojan agricultural cooperative six brides managed to stay home about 4 months without going to work, thus, failing to put in about 480 work days. Those are small figures for such a large agricultural unit, they say; but, we must not forget that it is precisely in this large agricultural unit that, so far, the cooperative members have harvested only 100 hectares of land out of 305 hectares sown with corn and have collected only 450 quintals of cotton of the 5,815 quintals that they have to pick. It is not at all correct for the Front organization to tolerate such thoughts. Let us remember that here a worker or a white-collar employee goes to work immediately after his wedding, while many village brides stay at home for entire months without going to work, and the Front organization closes one eye and one ear, instead of making this issue the problem of the family, of the society.

As the Front organizations in the village of Fier District have not properly evaluated this problem, therefore, their work suffers quite a bit in this direction. The front activists in the villages busy themselves with many problems concerning the assurance of the participation of forces in work, but not with this problem. The leaders of the Front in united villages and special villages have not examined this problem; in cooperation with the women's and youth organizations, they must carry out a more concrete work with the people in order to convince them that their brides must go to work immediately and not months after their weddings, just as the new popular song has it: "Oh, you young bride, you worked on Saturday, you married on Sunday and, again, you went to work on Monday."

9150
CSO: 2100

WRITERS' UNION HEAD URGES MORE DIVERSITY OF IDEAS IN MASS MEDIA

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 169, 12 Nov 80 p 1

[Report from Berlin: "Hermann Kant Favors More Differences of Opinion in GDR Media"]

[Text] Hermann Kant, president of the GDR writers' union, criticized the mass media in the GDR for their aversion to conflict. The journalistic environment which is created in the GDR "is too narrow, is over-anxious, is determined by touchiness and suspicions which should not matter so in this world," he wrote in the East Berlin literary journal (SINN UND FORM (No 5, 1980). "More controversies must be published," according to Kant, and fear of differing opinions was out of place. At the same time Kant disassociated himself from his writer colleagues who had expressed their criticisms of certain GDR conditions over the radio and television of the FRG for lack of publication opportunities in their own country. It was "inadmissible to have conflicting political opinions blared out by a political adversary." Kant termed the "detour by the western route" a dead end.

According to Kant, the GDR writers' union attempted to intervene in previous difficult conflicts between the state and individual authors. The union's interests, he said, were not always identical with the interests of each individual writer, but neither were they by any means always identical with the "predominant interests of society at the time." He described his own role as union official as that of a "double advocate." He wanted to explain the state to his colleagues, his colleagues to the state. What the union was able to achieve in conflicts, he said, amounted to compromise, in any case.

CSO: 2300

WEST GERMAN BOOK ANALYZES ROLE OF MILITARY EDUCATION IN GDR SCHOOLS

Cologne DEUTSCHLAND ARCHIV in German Vol 13 No 10, Oct 80 signed to press 26 Sep 80 pp 1097-1099

[Review by Arnim Brux of the book "Wehrerziehung und vormilitaerische Ausbildung der Kinder und Jugendlichen in der DDR" [Military Education and Premilitary Training of Children and Youths in the GDR] by Juergen Hartwig and Albert Wimmel, No 14, Military Policy, Series of the Society for the Study of Contemporary Problems, Bonn; Seewald Verlag, Stuttgart-Degerloch, 1979, 207 pages]

[Text] In his pamphlet "Kann Europa abruesten?" [Can Europe Disarm?] Friedrich Engels demanded that "military training must be concentrated within the education of the youth, so as to achieve a reduction in the duration of military service. He added a proposal for the use of retired noncommissioned officers as instructors of gymnastics and close order drill of the students (MEW No 22, Berlin [East] 1963, p 282 f). Although the GDR can generally use professionally qualified cadres for sports instruction, it is nevertheless quite eager to accept a part of Engels' teachings and to utilize it in the training process within the educational system. This is shown not only in the incorporation of close order drill and exercises, as well as of military sports exercises into the physical education curricula, but also in the adoption of military training as a mandatory subject for the general polytechnical secondary school on 1 September 1978. It was precisely that last step that resulted in a sudden jump in the number of publications about premilitary training in the GDR within the context of sometimes vehement reactions in the East and the West.

Hartwig's and Wimmel's work does not limit itself to the explanation and analysis of military instruction, but undertakes the laudable task of demonstrating that military education is a pervasive principle and an interdisciplinary element of the entire educational and formative process of the youth of the GDR. In the introduction the authors set themselves the aim of explaining "the position of socialist military instruction within the monolithic social system of the GDR" and of "contributing to the filling of an information gap within the FRG regarding socialist military education and premilitary training in the GDR" (p 11). They also attempted to research not only the educational programs, but--as far as possible--also the educational realities. Due to the well-known lack of empirical material about the daily life in the GDR this task appeals especially to the reader's expectations. Hartwig and Wimmel concentrate on describing military education and premilitary training during childhood and adolescence, emanating from the basic assumption that "it is then that the basic attitudes and information for subsequent behavior according to norm are determined" (p 11). For the sake of completeness attention is also drawn to the pervasiveness of military training in the life of the GDR population, with the male part kept active to the 60th birthday by reservist exercises and the militia of the working class.

The authors have attempted to illustrate the problem area by the use of numerous original sources and documents that are cited extensively without comment. On the one hand this gives concrete proof for arguments, motives, aims and contents of military education and on the other it occupies the reader's attention with numerous direct quotes from the sources, which in content and terminology are often redundant and wordy.

Essentially, the work consists of three main thrusts. Chapters 1 to 3 provide an introduction to the general foundations of military training within the educational system, chapters 4 to 6 are devoted to military education in preschool and in school, while another 4 chapters deal with military education in the social organizations.

After a brief explanation of training and instruction in the GDR the talk turns to the fixing of the military education idea in the various laws and documents. With astonishment Hartwig and Wimmel realize that socialist military education is not expressly mentioned in the education law of 1965, but is evidenced only in commentaries to the law. The general guidelines for the military education of youth have been published in Chapter V of the law on youth. Like the constitution, it expressly points out that the defense of the socialist fatherland and the socialist community of nations is the right and honorable duty of all juveniles. The neglect of this honorable duty, e.g. refusal to perform military service, is punishable by imprisonment, as evidenced by a reference to the criminal code of the GDR (Article 25, Paragraph 1).

The two authors divide socialist military education into two basic areas--the emotional education could be defined as defense propaganda, in that it aims to develop the defense motives, socialist defense morale, and defense consciousness on the political-ideological and moral basis. This, as Wlater Ulbricht postulated in the second of the "Ten commandments for the new socialist man," is designed to increase love of the fatherland and the readiness to "devote the entire strength and ability to the defense of the workers' and peasants' state" (p 31). The rational education is primarily directed at the communication of military-technological knowledge and skills, as well as at the development of the physical basis.

Hartwig and Wimmel demonstrate that military education is indeed an integral part of the entire socialization process, beginning almost in the cradle, by showing the training and instruction process in the kindergarten. Since children in that stage of development are especially open emotionally, military education concentrates primarily on the emotional side. Thus the children are to develop "feelings of closeness...to members of the armed forces," and, as a contrast, have to be shown a concrete concept of the enemy, in order to develop hatred for the class enemy. The depressing demonstration of manipulation of infants reaches its nadir in the characterization of military toys as pedagogically valuable. Their use is justified with the argument that they represent within a child's play an image of reality, they evoke technical knowledge and understanding, and thus lead to an examination of technology (p 47).

With a sense of urgency the authors depict the methods and contents of military education in the kindergartens, including the contribution made by the childrens' magazine BUMMI.

The sphere of influence of military training extends from preschool to the educational and formative process within the general educational polytechnical secondary school. It is demonstrated that every subject has to perform its appropriate function. Hartwig and Wimmel differentiate between four subject areas, the social-scientific, the mathematical-scientific and technological, the cultural-esthetic, and physical education, demonstrating impressively their specific tasks within military education. As an example, they turn to the German lessons of the first to fourth grades. On the basis of stories, poems and conversations (including those with members of the army) military educational ideology is to be carried out within German instruction. It is also directed at the development of the friend-foe image, the justification for the existence of armed organs, the development of positive attitudes toward the soldiers of the NVA and the Soviet comrades-in-arms, the justification of the Wall construction, and the formulation of socialist examples.

With numerous examples from reading texts of the primary classes the authors explain the multifaceted emotional influences on the students. The picture is concluded by a description of military training of the Thaelmann Pioneers, the Free German Youth (FDJ), with special mention of the Hans Beimler games, and the Society for Sports and Technology (GST).

The reader of the book will miss two topics--first a comprehensive placing of the topic into the historical framework, to include the genesis and the constituting of the idea of military training within the GDR; second the fulfillment of an expectation raised in the introduction, that military training would not be only commented upon through laws, regulations, directives, curricula and instructional materiel, i.e. on a normative level, but that the norms would be compared to the degree of realization within daily practical education. Such an attempt was condemned to failure due to the lack of empirical evidence. And thus the final conclusion of Hartwig and Wimmel is primarily speculative, when they argue that the introduction of military instruction indicated that defense readiness was different from official pronouncements, but that nevertheless youth "is inducted into military service, better prepared physically and psychologically than is the case in countries such as the FRG" (p 165). However, this limitation only marginally reduces the informational content of the book.

9240
CSO: 2300

INTERIOR MINISTER REVIEWS 1977/80 WORKER MILITIA TRAINING

East Berlin DER KAEMPFER in German Vol 24 No 11, Nov 80 pp 1, 2

[Article by Col Gen Friedrich Dickel, member, SED Central Committee; minister of the interior; chief, German People's Police: "With Conviction and Confidence We Confront the Demands of the 1980's--Successful 1977/80 Training Period Has Created Favorable Preconditions for Task Fulfillment of 1981/85 Training Period"]

[Text] The worker militia has successfully concluded the 1977/80 training period in anticipation of the approaching Tenth SED Congress. In the struggle for the realization of the resolutions of the ninth party congress, the fighters, NCO's and commanders achieved exemplary deeds in fulfilling and surpassing the economic plan. By fulfilling the tasks of the training program so well, the worker militia secures its position within the national defense and makes an important contribution to the protection of our socialist fatherland and of peace. Thus it again proves its high class consciousness, its political maturity and its staunch loyalty to the worker party and to socialism. Members of the militia have once again in this time period shown themselves worthy of our party's great confidence.

Socialist Competition Furthered Greater Achievements

Under party leadership, the demanding goals and tasks of political and combat training were fulfilled by all units, combat collectives were universally strengthened, experienced commanders were further qualified and the required increase in combat strength and combat preparedness was achieved. All this leads to the conclusion that the 1977/80 training period will be remembered as one of the most successful in the history of the worker militia.

New initiatives grew out of a deep understanding for the necessity for the continuous and all-around strengthening of socialism, for the determined and successful fight against imperialism, against all variations of its ideology and against its peace-threatening provocations, combined with the unmasking of its aggressive goals and intrigues. The party's resolutions, orders and other instructions became even more disciplined, more creative and met with even better compliance. Both in the factories and in the units it was the communists who led in exemplary fashion.

An important part was played by the call by the Hans Beimler mechanized worker militia battalion in Potsdam and by the Franz Stenzer militia battalion in Eisenach for all militia units to join in socialist competition. The competition's tasks and goals were high. To reach and to fulfill them required strict organization, leadership and steady control from all those responsible for the political training and education, especially from the commanders. The calls for competition created a fantastic atmosphere in all the units. They demanded and promoted the combat readiness of every fighter, of every NCO and commander, and strengthened their determination to fulfill the goals to which they had obligated themselves in the competition. Of decisive significance was the political ideological work organized under the leadership of the party and continuously brought up to date, in close cooperation with the responsible officers of the People's Police, with commanders and government leaders in the respective factories. All this proves that socialist competition has reached a new level in the 1977/80 training period.

The main efforts were directed successfully to the further intensification of overall combat training. This was done through extensive, qualified political work which took into consideration the steadily intensifying international class struggle. The struggle for the total fulfillment of the tasks and goals set forth in training documents and in the socialist competition thus received a convincing and inspiring political motivation. The effects were seen in production, in the exemplary conduct of militia members in their fight to increase work productivity, for the most frugal use of materials, energy and fuel, for order, discipline and safety at work, for the fulfillment and surpassing of the economic plan. But above all, all members of the militia were made more conscious about the pitiless and uncompromising harshness of any possible combat action with the enemy and the absolute necessity for high and harsh demands for combat training and combat preparedness which result from that.

The regular participation by militia in training, and by commanders in extracurricular qualifications, the outstanding results in combat-, rifle-, and special training, attest to the fact that militia members, NCO's and commanders actively support our party's policies and have drawn the correct conclusions from the international situation, which has been aggravated by United States imperialists and by NATO.

In the 1977/80 training period, essential progress was achieved regarding increased planning, tighter organization, improved quality and effectiveness, and especially a greater complexity and greater realism in training.

Reflected in this is the continuous qualitative improvement of commanders and NCO's as well as of comrades of the People's Police responsible for the training of the militia. They were even more successful in optimally using the short training period, in teaching knowledge and skills more intensively and more effectively, and in avoiding, i.e. not permitting, shutdowns in production.

Day of Combat Preparedness Proved Everywhere

The total training results achieved prove that all units struggled successfully for highest achievements in armament, equipment and technology. This was especially manifest in the antiaircraft units which reached their best results yet during Combat Shooting 1980. Good to very good progress can be noted in achieving combat preparedness. Proof of this is the compliance with and even improvement of time limits allowed after sounding the alarm, the results of checking over weapons, technology and equipment, the "Day of Combat Preparedness," which has already become a tradition, and other measures. Through goal-directed political-ideological work and the closer cooperation between all those responsible for the worker militia, the organizational, material and leadership prerequisites, which enable the units to fulfill their mission promptly, at any time and under any conditions, were further improved under the leadership of the party.

The party continues to pay a great deal of attention to the qualification and proper employment of the commander cadre. Based on the long-term cadre development and employment programs worked out by leading party members in bezirks and kreises, a large number of younger commander cadres have been trained in recent years in accordance with their functions. They have successfully passed their examinations in practical service, especially by checking combat preparedness, and in the 1980 tactical maneuvers.

The high point of the 1977/80 training period was the tactical exercises at the conclusion of the 1980 training year. It was up to every unit, from independent platoon to mechanized militia battalions, to account to the first secretaries of the SED bezirk and kreis management how not only the last training year, but the entire training period had been used. These tactical exercises imposed noticeably higher demands. It was very impressive how these demands had been met by most of the units, men and commanders. Combat preparedness, the will to achieve, military knowledge and know-how all convincingly demonstrated an increase in combat strength and combat preparedness in the worker militia.

Source of All Successes--Leading Role of the Party

Successes in military conduct by men and commanders, in organized cooperation, in the optimal use of firing power and the uniformity between combat collectives were obvious. The commanders acted quickly, with circumspection and with consistency. They demonstrated their improved capabilities in the successful leadership of their units. It became convincingly clear that they are able to meet all requirements and are able to master even complicated situations through well-founded decisions, precise combat orders and quick actions.

In evaluating the results of the 1977/80 training period, the following can be objectively noted: Increased combat strength and combat preparedness of the worker militia can be seen in all areas. This is primarily the result of the expansion of the party's leading role. This continues to be the decisive source and basic prerequisite for all successes of the worker militia, their continuous further development and strengthening. The increased combat strength of the party collectives in the units, the exemplary conduct of the communists, stronger military discipline and order as well as stricter individual leadership resulted in most units in a measurable increase in military strength.

The more goal-directed development in the competitive and innovative movements has affected this just as much as the greater emphasis placed on tradition. They had considerable influence on combat preparedness, the will to achieve and to gain military knowledge and skills.

Using Experiences

Partnership relationships between militia units and units of the NVA, of the People's Police and of the Soviet Army have again proved highly successful. This also applies to work with sponsored schools. And it must be noted that the influence and the effectiveness of militia units within the framework of socialist defense training, especially on our youth, have increased significantly, both in quality and depth.

The 1977/80 training period, and the tasks and goals set out in the training documents were demanding without a doubt. They challenged men as well as commanders by placing higher demands on them. The good and very good results are a success of which all participants can rightfully be proud.

In the past 4 years, much was achieved, much was created and many new things were learned. The experiences gathered in all areas are of immeasurable value. This will become manifest, especially in the next few years. At the 12th session of our party's Central Committee, Comrade Erich Honecker emphasized that it is the primary objective of the preparations for the Tenth SED Congress "to orient the party organizations and all comrades politically-ideologically in the requirements of the 1980's."

For the first time in militia history, the 1981-1985 training period will cover a 5-year period. It is thus organically integrated into the five-year cycle on the basis of which all decisive political and social activities are organized in our GDR under the leadership of the party. Based on all past experiences and under the goal-directed leadership of the party, and in close cooperation among all, those responsible for and within the worker militia will succeed in fulfilling the missions set forth in the training documents and in reaching the set goals.

What It Depends On Now

The following are important prerequisites for this:

Based on an extensive and in-depth study of the training documents, an objective evaluation of the results is to be carried out by the party in every unit and in every kreis. Especially the reasons and causes for good experiences and positive examples are to be evaluated thoroughly and conclusions are to be drawn.

The main efforts are to be directed to the highest achievements reached in the fulfillment of the gasks set forth in the training documents. This requires that the greatest attention continues to be paid to the intensification of overall training.

It must be assured that in every unit the results achieved so far are not accepted as final but rather than they are further improved. To this end, the heads of bezirk and kreis offices of the People's Police, in close cooperation with the NVA's defense commandos, must create all prerequisites and must continuously give the commanders instruction and support, especially through further improvement of extracurricular training.

All militia members are to be taught the pitiless laws and hardships of modern battle through effective political-ideological education, and through complex and more realistic combat training. Physical and psychological stress is to be increased deliberately. Trainers and commanders must guarantee that the men and crew completely master their weapons, equipment and technology, that they perform at their highest potential and that they are capable of hitting the target with the first shot.

All available knowledge must be employed in order to further improve methods, standards, quality and effectiveness of the NCO's. There must not be an hour of training without thorough preparation. Organization and effectiveness of material as well as technical and medical supplies are gaining more and more in significance and must be improved further in accordance with growing demands. It is important to assure the most sensible use of available funds.

The content of partnership and sponsorship contracts must be made more precise in the interest of increasing combat value and combat preparedness of every unit, and of increased socialist defense training of our youth, respectively.

The "Day of Combat Preparedness" should be carried out in all units and kreises in order to achieve a universal coordination of measures.

The Ernst Thaelmann Central Militia School, the Ernst Schneller Militia School in Gera and all other schools must give commanders, NCO's and militia specialists even more practical knowledge, must improve their skills, create a sufficient elimination process in the entire education and training process, and support the further development of the militia through their own scientific-theoretical research.

On the basis of the central call for competition in honor of the Tenth SED party congress by the mechanized Ernst Thaelmann militia battalion in Rostock, the competition must be conducted rigidly in every unit, accounted for publicly, a goal-directed exchange of experiences must be pursued, and an enthusiastic, competitive atmosphere must be created, in order to increase broad-scale efforts in support of highest achievements in all areas.

Applying New Criteria

The party's resolutions for the 1981-85 training period show to everyone the criteria and demands for the increase in combat strength and combat readiness which the worker militia must achieve. They are higher, because the international class struggle has become more intense, because--as comrade Erich Honecker emphasized in his opening speech for the 1980/81 training year in Gera--the

fight for peace--mankind's greatest treasure--has entered a new phase of greater conflict. Great alertness, order and discipline are necessary everywhere. It is the task of every man, NCO, commander and everyone responsible to do justice to the new increased demands on the GDR's defense preparedness in the 1980's. The motto for our actions is the reliable protection of our socialist fatherland, of socialism and of peace. The worker militia as well as the people's police, closely allied with all workers of our republic, are determined to make this motto a reality through their dedicated work and actions: "The best for the tenth party congress! Everything for the people!"

9328
CSO: 2300

'LE FIGARO' ANALYZES PZPR CC SEVENTH PLENUM RESULTS

LD051429 Paris LE FIGARO in French 4 Dec 80 p 3

[Dispatch by Bernard Margueritte: "Poland: Nothing Has Been Resolved"]

[Text] Following the Seventh Polish Party Central Committee Plenum you can only feel compassion for Kania and his friends--everything indicates that they know what should be done but have, unfortunately, been affected by a paralyzing impotence. But perhaps, as the hero of Wyspianski's "The Wedding" says, it would be sufficient to "want to have a will of your own?"

The seventh plenum gave the present leadership the last chance to increase its credibility and recover public confidence somewhat. Let us say that this opportunity has been missed almost completely. The Central Committee has again shown that it was only able to deal with personnel questions, making changes here and condemning there. However, the leaders have again shown that they are incapable of finding any answer to the fundamental questions which the country is asking itself.

Is it an attitude worthy of scientific socialism merely to exclude Gierek from the Central Committee or dare to envisage the sacking of Jaroszewicz from the party ("This would be something extraordinary," a very excited activist told me, "because it would be the first time that such a thing had happened to someone decorated with the Order of Lenin")?

If Gierek's rule--just like that of Gomulka--ended disastrously, was this not because of the failure of a system which should, therefore, be subjected to analysis?

Nor has anything concrete emerged with respect to the future. The program remains nebulous, vague, and uncertain. What is more, you would look in vain for any draft agenda for its implementation. It is, therefore, understandable that a feeling of bitterness and disappointment now prevails everywhere, including the party.

Many party organizations have already reported this to the Central Committee and the Central Committee organ TRYBUNA LUOU. This plenum of dupes has increased the risk of destabilization within the party itself.

So for want of anything else, some personnel changes have been made. It is true that steps have been taken in the right direction, but it is generally believed that they have not gone far enough. The departure of Kruczek, the former trade union boss, Karkoszka, who was Warsaw first secretary until recently, Werblan who was in charge of ideology, and security chief Kowalczyk was expected, as was the promotion of General Moczar to the Politburo and Fiszbach's appointment as Politburo candidate member.

Four Trends...

It has been obvious since Sunday that so far Kania has saved his post. He owes this mainly to two calming statements made just before the plenum by Walesa and Solidarity leaders in Warsaw, for which, I was told, the party leadership had assiduously asked.

However, can it be said that Kania has achieved success? It is true that he has saved his job, but he has had to pay a high price for it. There existed hitherto four trends in the party--that of liberals wanting profound reforms, that of Kania which favored a cautious renewal, that of the center-right which wanted to reconcile democratization with regaining control, and, finally, that of the advocates of a return to orthodoxy.

In his report, the first secretary had to give the center-right important pledges by clearly coming out in favor of "renewal without anarchy." What is more, he had to agree to appoint to the Politburo General Moczar and Mr Grabski, both of whom, together with Mr Olszowski, are among the main leaders of a faction which is now playing a determining role among the party leadership.

In view of all this, it is understandable that in this plenum speech General Moczar could afford to praise Kania and the content of his report. This is also probably why, contrary to expectations, two moderate leaders--POLITYKA chief editor Rakowski and culture minister Tejchma--have not become Politburo members. It is not in their direction that the party is moving.

...And Four Objectives

What policy will this new leadership pursue? It has set four fundamental objectives for itself:

First, eliminating corrupt and incompetent elements from the party. The steps taken at the plenum with respect to Gierek, Jaroszewicz, and other former leaders have confirmed this;

Second, achieving a broad national unity among reasonable patriots, in particular, in conjunction with the Church and moderate "Solidarity" members. The presence of Kania with Walesa and Cardinal Wyszynski in Gdansk on 16 December at the inauguration ceremony of a memorial to workers killed 10 years ago would be a symbolic gesture which is now being considered and which could create a great stir;

Third, continuing with the implementation of the renewal and democratization program;

And, fourth, pursuing a policy of firmness to restore discipline in the country, as demanded by many participants in the plenum discussion.

This final aspect could exert a positive influence by inducing "Solidarity" leaders to continue to draw closer to Kania, especially in view of the fact that, as they know, the majority of Politburo members is now in favor of regaining control. It is clear how narrow the path is which Kania must follow, at least until a congress is held.

Especially since, even though any trouble in the country is likely to alarm the Soviets, the latter could well become even more alarmed by any attempt to reach an agreement among reasonable Poles with a view to implementing a more democratic brand of socialism, the delaying tactics favored by Kania, who seems to be a kind of a Kutuzov of politics, are unlikely to arouse enthusiasm, but let us admit that his position is far from enviable.

CSO: 3100

GULCZYNSKI EXAMINES CAUSES OF CRISIS

Warsaw LITERATURA in Polish Nos 42, 43; 16, 23 Oct 80

[Article by Mariusz Galczynski: "To Understand the Crisis"]

[No 42, 16 Oct 80 pp 1, 10]

[Text] Without exaggeration we can say that at present the main task is to work out those ways of overcoming the next sociopolitical and economic crisis in our system, in order that at last we may overcome the tendency towards cyclical recurrences, as designated by significant months in the Polish calendar: October 1956, December 1970, and August 1980. And less significant ones too, because they turned out to be trivialized signs of the swelling of the crisis: in the form of the events of March 1968 and June 1976.

After all, it is not enough for there to be good intentions, which, after all, were not lacking before, either. What is essential is a correct definition of the sources of crises and the programming of a strategy which promises that they will be consistently eliminated. Therefore, an understanding of the causes of crisis and its nature is an essential condition to endowing actions aimed at restoring our system to functional operation with a nature which is more rational and which promises greater hope for improvement which is more lasting than that which has followed previous crises.

A qualitatively different course and reaction to the current crisis and the forms involved in it favors such an understanding and therefore victory: Free of unbridled spontaneity on the part of those protesting distortions. On the other hand, on the part of the deciding parties, it would take the form of well-considered measures, which is undeniably better than those methods adopted during the previous crises, methods which were comparable to lashing out at waves. But the beginning of the departure from the peak phase of the crisis also turned out to be free of the former euphoric delight and excessively glib hopes for immediate improvement.

This at the same time creates the demand and climate for intellectual mastery of the crisis, and therefore also the rationalization of efforts aimed at overcoming it. On the other hand, this can be accomplished only by allowing public opinion to test the attempts to understand the reasons for the crisis and the proposals for ways out of it.

Nature of the Crisis

Let us start by stating the obvious.

The symptoms of the crisis appeared with increasing clarity during the latter half of the 1970's in all key spheres of our social organism:

In the sphere of production, in the failure to balance the production of interdependent sectors and enterprises, which led to interruptions in work and shut-downs (far in advance of the strikes, and harder to remove) and a related breakdown in the relationship between plans and their fulfillment, a problem which was by no means resolved but which became worse as the result of a voluntaristic policy of "open plans" and so-called manual control;

In the sphere of distribution, in the increasing imbalance between the demand for (or total material and cultural needs of the society) and the supply of goods and services to satisfy these needs, an imbalance worsened by the granting of privilege to certain regions, professions, echelons of the service hierarchy, and persons, all which created the ground for the popularization of a climate of struggle for the satisfaction of one's own needs better than others' and at the cost of others' unscrupulously;

In the political sphere, in the growing injustice of institutional mechanisms of socialist democracy as revealed in the replacement of the process of openness and coordination of the basic aspiration of the forces of our society with upper-echelon autocratic inflicting of programs which were the result of back-room bargaining among various pressure groups; in replacing the elective system in the party and other organizations with the system of coopting people; in replacing the system of assessment and control of the various institutions with self-evaluation of bodies responsible for carrying out tasks, and in turning the mass information system into a tool of inefficient manipulation of public consciousness, which, taken altogether, blocked the possibility of revealing, analyzing, and overcoming manifestations of crisis in a conscious and organized way and led to paralysis in the party, state, trade unions, and other related organizations.

The glaring intensity of the above-mentioned manifestations of crisis and of others omitted for the sake the the necessary brevity creates the danger of the focusing of efforts aimed at reforming the republic to combat these symptoms, while neglecting the detection and combatting of their more deeply-rooted causes, after the example of the proverbial treating of the fever instead of the tuberculosis or treating hoof-and-mouth disease instead of hepatitis. Most of the sphere involved in the crisis is threatened with the danger of dispersion of the energies of interested parties to make piecemeal repairs through mutually uncoordinated measures.

Another type of trap, which we also fell into in the previous attempts to overcome the crises, is to be found in the conducting of efforts toward positivist measures, a special sort of patchwork with all sorts of different corrective measures. To be found in this and the more highly developed capitalist countries, measures which can be monitored that way for organizing the society but not adaptable without a comprehensive change of political system. As everyone knows, on the other hand, nobody of any consequence expects that. It is possible to combat the threat of eclectic improvements only by developing a complex strategy for the improvement of the socialist system of our society in keeping with the requirements of the present day and the future.

The next type of trap on the road towards improvement consists of assessments which treat all people fighting against distortions of socialism during the past period as people fighting against socialism itself, and therefore they equate the defense of socialism with an uncritical attitude and the defense of everything socialist, including the distortions. The creation of such false fronts, instead of a real categorization into: a) those attacking the distortions on behalf of the improvement of socialism, b) those attacking distortions which are essential properties of socialism and therefore undermining and weakening socialism, and c) those defending socialism together with the distortions, can be and is beneficial to antisocialist forces, regardless of the subjective intentions. The fact that spokesmen for the defense of socialism along with the distortions determined the policy of the party and state right up to the Fourth Party Plenum foreordained the paralysis of possible action on the part of a substantial share of the activist group calling for a consistent combatting of distortions on behalf of the improvement of socialism and created a situation making it also possible for antisocialist elements to join the spontaneous workers' movement on the behalf of the improvement of socialism. The universality of prosocialist attitudes in the working class made it necessary for these individuals to camouflage their antisocialist intent and made the essence of the workers' protest a struggle to purify socialism of the distortions. In order to combat the trap of false categories, it is necessary not only to combat the opinions and views of this type held by the adversaries but also to compromise them in the essence of interpretation in the realm of the prosocialist activist group.

The next type of trap, the one I believe to be the least dangerous in practice, but it runs the risk of pushing part of the prosocialist forces on the track of bitterness and glaring opposition, is the apologetics for the irrevocable, idealized past from the time of the political revolution or the birth of socialist industrialization and the call for a return to the virtues and rules of behavior of that time. It is to be expected that the activists who during the previous crises allowed themselves to be pushed into the position of tragic and plaintive ex-revolutionaries will be joined by new ones complaining about the past shape of the trade unions or other institutions rather than fighting for the socialist content of new bodies. This is why it is so important to be forewarned about such a trap and to take action favoring the joining of everyone in favor of making the socialist transformations deep and lasting, into the process of thinking and acting aimed at overcoming the crisis.

The obvious remedy for this type of trap, the detection and overcoming of the causes of the crisis, still is not free of one extremely important dangerous rocky area. This is personification, limiting the causes of the crsis to the lack of skill or the dishonesty of certain decision-makers of our past policy. This faulty course neglects analysis, in keeping with Marxist rules, of the social forces supporting this policy. This inevitably creates the tendency to limit remedial measures to changes in personnel and neglects a more thorough-going analysis of the causes of the distortions, failing to demand that the new teams making the decisions carry out a concrete program to consistently overcome these causes. This trap is not illusory. It was first reflected in the drafting of an assessment of the distortions of the Stalinist period, an assessment which individually blamed the leader without any Marxist assessment of the underlying ground providing the soil for the existence and repetition of this type of deviation. On the other hand, in our country, twice (in 1965 and 1970) after being satisfied with a change of leadership, the leader's contacts with the society were reduced to one-sided monologues, first applauded with genuine enthusiasm, and then, owing to the bitterness of the organizers, there was no thorough analysis of the causes of the crisis or any program promising to eliminate them. In order to get through the rocky shoals we must associate the changes in personnel in the decision-making circles with the setting up of profound discussions in the party and in the society, discussions to reveal the capability of understanding the origin of the distortions, the nature of the interests of the basic forces of our society, and skill in organizing progressive compromises.

The definition and compromising of the above-mentioned traps, dangers, and rocky shoals on the way to improving the people's republic are justified by the desire to channel the search for the causes of the crisis, which we are living through once again and set it on a difference course from previous history.

After all this is not and hever has been in the past a crisis in the socialist formation of the society. This is shown by the fact that loans and adaptations from capitalism and also a deep commitment to the international division of labor in the capitalist world without sufficient prior reflection have made our crisis worse during the past ten-year period rather than overcoming it as had been intended. It is also proved by the fact that capitalism is currently going through a deep crisis in various areas of social life and up until now has found no way out of it. It would therefore be absurd to expect theoretical or practical solutions to our problems from that source. We should also call to mind the obvious circumstance that, except for little fringe groups with inheritor or foreign agent tendencies, none of the important political forces is calling for a change in the socialist formation of our society. Instead they are all fighting for changes which will be beneficial for them within it.

This was not however, as was thought in October 1956 and December 1970, merely a crisis created by inadequate flexibility in the formulation of the strategy for further socialist development. Flexibility led each time to eclecticism, the search for all sorts of different solutions, from one end to the other, which, after short-lived delight in eclectic freedoms (along with "slack"), led to disappointments and the more the innovations inculcated failed to coincide with the socialist logic of the system, the deeper the disappointment.

Nor was this only a crisis in carrying out proper strategy which suffered as the result of lack of skill or dishonesty on the part of the organizers of social life. The negative decision-making elements usually became apparent when the inadequacy of the strategy was revealed in the unmet requirements for the development of the society, that is, the need to choose between a revision of the strategy and attemp s to force its realization stubbornly in spite of objective capabilities, hence, using the strength of all sorts of means, with priority given to excessive zeal while eyes were closed at the same time to dishonesty.

In the implied context of the negation of the above assessments of the sources of crisis and the ways to improve the republic is the hypothesis that the root of the causes is to be found in the "birth pangs" related with our society's transition from a lower phase of socialist revolution to a higher one. These pains are made greater by the forcing of priorities and principles which are contrary to the new requirements and are appropriate for the previous phase of socialist transitions, and modifications contrary to the logical of our system, aided by the uncritical borrowings of economic, technological, and ideological solutions which have grown up under the conditions of various political systems.

In order to overcome the repetitive nature of the crises, it is therefore necessary to define the original socialist strategy for further development, one free both of the encumbrances of our own past and of the apparent modifications stemming from capitalism.

Social Sources of Crisis

The following circumstances make it difficult to accomplish this task, that is, they hamper the advancement of socialist societies which have built the foundations for making industrialization universal in the higher phase of revolutionary changes:

a) the existence of social forces interested in making permanent the situation appropriate for the preliminary phase which assigns priority to the sector of the means of production for the production of the means of production and not those branches which directly serve the population's consumer needs;

b) weaknesses in the forces objectively interested in the industrialization of branches serving consumer needs, factions of the working class from those sectors, employees from the services sector, and peasants, people slow to become aware of the nature and demands of progress, which they are supposed to bring about, people who are dispersed and do not have intellectual and political representation adequate to meet the requirements;

c) education of the block of social forces interested in treating the manifestations of the natural extinction of the effectiveness of the regulations for operation from the times of socialist industrialization as proof of the limited effectiveness of socialist ways to further progress, forcing converging modification through the adaptation of technological and political solutions and a consumption model taken from the highly advanced capitalist countries. Alongside the remnants of the petty capitalist sector in our country we find certain factions of the young intelligentsia. But at the same time it must be admitted that the greater they are the more negative the effects are of continuing a strategy from a phase which actually belongs the past but has not been overcome, and this has compromized the solutions identified not with a transition period but with the essence of the social method of management and political organization of the society.

It would be very interesting to compare the above-mentioned schematic system of forces with the network of events which has taken place in our country. It will be necessary to do this in the very near future, in order to understand the essence of our most recent history. Now, being governed by the discipline of the requirement to give a brief presentation of the model features and abnormalities in our development, I will limit myself to saying that both in October 1956 and in December 1970 we failed to overcome the conflicting aspirations and compromise easing

of conflict situations. First of all in both cases with corrections in favor of the forces calling for a change in priorities to favor the production of the means of consumption and socialist regulation of distribution and political relations. Later this changed quite a bit.

After all, in the 1960's we were dealing with attempts to ease the increasing conflicts of interest by using short-sighted defensive tactics for every economic development tendency, a policy which wound up leading to the threat of mass unemployment of those from the so-called demographic rise who were entering the work force and the notorious attempt to eliminate a host of enterprises and complete branches of industry, all this ending in the events of December 1970.

On the other hand, in the 1970's, after a basically successful definition of the need to change the accent from economic development to socio-economic development at the Sixth Party Congress, which was a political contribution to the essence of tasks in the new phase, a rather rapid regression took place in two ways, because there was a special sort of compromise of the forces interested in continuing the fundamental assumptions of the strategy from the phase of the construction of the bases of socialist industrialization with the forces in favor of overcoming the deficiencies of such a strategy and practice through uncritical adaptation of solutions from the highly developed capitalist countries. The basis of this paradoxical compromise of the enduring aspects of socialism with the solutions of another self-overhaul was the broad influx of credit from the west to help satisfy the appetites of both sides, credit which paralyzed the forces interested in creating an originally socialist strategy for further development with short-term spectacular effects.

The association of elements of strategy suitable for a past, accomplished phase of construction of the foundations of socialism with the adaptation of foreign models disintegrated into an eclectic practice which dominated the 1970's, a practice which ran contrary to the requirements of rational development of our society. The inadequacy of such a policy to deal with the possibilities and necessity of further development of our society led and was bound to lead to crisis, the results of which had a negative impact not only on the factions of society which had been harmed from the beginning but also those which had initially been favored, because the complementary nature of our socialism organism makes it impossible in the long run to give priority to certain sectors over others, and therefore to certain social groups at the cost of others. The resulting inconsistency in the aspirations of the various factions of the working class and its allies inevitably also carries with it inconsistency in action, and therefore the increased disharmony and lack of functionality of the key links in social life.

And if it is generally known, this very fact creates chances for commitment to overcoming the sources of crisis, commitment not only on the part of those factions of the working class and its allies which have been wronged but also on the part of the more mature groups which prefer the previously beneficial special-interest policy, which ultimately has been responsible for a backlash situation which is unfavorable to them too.

What to Overcome and How

In order to overcome the essential, not just apparent, and recurring sources of disharmony in the functioning of our economic and political system and the resulting general social dissatisfaction, it is necessary to overcome the basic elements of both sides of the predominating sick compromise which has held sway during the past period in all key areas of our social life. I am emphasizing that it is both sides or tendencies, and not just one, because there are already signs of attempts to reduce the attack to compromised elements of remnants of the strategy from the previous phase, which are all the easier to combat in that they show up more clearly by virtue of their archaic nature and degenerative tendencies. At the same time criticism of the adaptation of the capitalist models is silenced, and further borrowings of this type are called upon as a remedy for the crisis.

Above all this requires the compromising and combatting of two assumptions which have been directing our practical efforts during the past decades: generalization of the gradual staged task from the previous phase of the socialist revolution, and uncritical borrowing from other political systems providing a model for progress in the productive forces.

The generalization of a phased task consists above all, as I have already mentioned, of giving priority to the expansion and modernization of the sector of the means of production for the production of the means of production, to a far greater degree than this sector has provided the other spheres of the national economy with the possibility of a growth in items meeting the consumer needs of the society. As a result, the substantial expansion of this special sort of "fly-wheel" of expanded reproduction of material conditions of social life did not bring about the projected essential effects in the form of overcoming the archaic level of the means of production and expanding the productivity of light industry, food industry, agriculture, construction, services, and so on. This sector still consumed more energy and resources than it turned out. The permanent nature of this sort of severe difference deepened the already earlier existing imblances between the supply of consumer items and the demand.

These imbalances were heightened rather than being lessened, as had been expected, by the uncritical adaptation of the model of progress of the production forces in the highly advanced capitalist countries, along with engineering and technologies imported therefrom in an uncritical way and basically without any real plan. This model came into being, expanded,

and was approved by its relative functionality under qualitatively different conditions which caused priority to be given to time-saving, energy-intensive solutions requiring raw materials of the highest quality. This is at least open to discussion as to whether these values are consistent with our objective capabilities and whether they favor the optimal use of the trump cards at our disposal. On the other hand there are undeniable detriments which such marvelous imports have brought to our economy in the assumption, imports which were marvelous in the assumption but dismal in results, such as enormous livestock installations dependent on imported feed, which cause the pollution of the environment instead of the fertilization of the soil, like the elimination of local dairies which have given way to gigantic plants which require greater transportation and which make it harder to get the milk, like the purchase of the Massey-Fergusson tractor license instead of cooperative production with Czechoslovakia to make an improved version (from all accounts a splendid one, according to the experts) or the license for Ferliet to resurrect our miserable urban transportation instead of cooperative production of the undeniably better Ikarus with the Hungarians.

It was no accident that the policy for the development of production forces during the past decade was directed by the above two briefly defined tendencies which conflicted with the requirements of the rational industrialization of our economy. Nor was it the result of ill will or insufficient knowledge. It was predestined by the special interests of large, important factions of our society, and this is both factions of the large-industrial working class and the technical and administrative intelligentsia having a predominating influence on the people at that time in the decision-making units and on the programs for the development of the country. And it was this food which nurtured the increasing inadequacy of such a policy which abounded with instances where absurd or harmful decisions were made as the result of an intimate clique or of an indulged tendency to gestures of great power.

The fact that the development of the complementary whole, our socioeconomic organism, was subordinated to special interests of a part produced negative results ultimately for all, including factions of the society which previously had preferred such a policy, creates the possibility of reassessing it. The consistent overcoming of negative elements by reducing them and, most important, the creation and inculcation of a strategy to fit our capabilities and needs, a strategy to restore the balance between the major sectors of our economy, a strategy to take into account our natural strong points, for example such resources as coal, sulfur, and copper, and therefore the possibility and necessity of achieving more lasting effects by basing our efforts to a greater extent on processing them rather than on exporting them in the raw state, appreciating the objective fact proved by experience that optimum opportunities for entering into an international division of labor are created by expanding our strength in competitive cooperation with capitalism (let us be aware of the fact that there is no noncompetitive cooperation and there cannot be any!) through the actual and not declared

expansion of joint production bonds linking us to our natural partners in CEMA, a strategy creating opportunities for taking maximum advantage of the most important element of our productive forces, personnel more numerous in our countries than in other, mostly young, educated, sensible workers, members of the intelligentsia, and peasants.

The source of progress necessary for expanded reproduction of social life in the area of the development of production forces so crucial to that reproduction is the development and inculcation of a strategy for the industrialization of all branches of our national economy, a strategy which is optimally rational from the viewpoint of our country's objective capabilities and the requirements of its development to satisfy all the members of the socialist society.

It is obvious that such a reassessment of the strategy cannot occur in the form of the unveiling of a program thought out up above in the hush of the offices of scholars or politicians, a program handed down to be believed in by the rest of the nation. It needs profound, universal discussion in which all politically active Poles take part. In calling for a ho-holds-barred discussion to bring to light all the negative aspects of the recent past and check all possible variants for rationalizing our further development, I am paying particular attention to the need not to limit ourselves merely to the above-mentioned sphere of development of production forces. It is necessary to overcome both sorts of deviation peculiar to the 1970's by creating and inculcating original ways of progress consistent with the requirement of the next phase of development of socialism also in such key areas as improved satisfaction of the material and cultural needs and the improvement of the democartic nature of the institutions of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The second part of this article treats this aspect.

[No 43, 23 Oct 80 pp 4, 15]

Understand the crisis in order to overcome it effectively in a lasting way. To do this it is necessary to overcome the deviations peculiar to the 1970's by creating and inculcating original ways of progressing which are consistent with the requirements of our next phase of socialist development, ways like: 1) development of production forces to insure rational industrialization of all sectors of production and services; 2) improvement of the satisfaction of material and cultural needs consistent with socialist rules of distribution; 3) improvement of the democratic nature of the institution of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

I say that only a comprehensive approach to and implementation of the tasks of progress consistent with the requirements of a higher phase of socialist revolution in these three key areas, and therefore also in other areas of social life derived therefrom, will permit any consistent

overcoming of the crisis, a way out of this special sort of "vicious circle" of incomplete, inconsistent changes peculiar to the past 2 decades, a way out of the "spiral" of further socialist development.

In the first part of this article, published a week ago, I focused on the first of the above-mentioned spheres. Here I will try to take up the causes of the crisis and the ways out of the last two.

Deviations and Corruption in the Sphere of Distribution

During the 1970's social practice in the sphere of the distribution of goods was dominated by a special sort of association of a) the generalization of the principles in force in the industrialization phase, and b) adaptation of models of prosperity from the highly advanced capitalist countries.

The generalization, or treatment of principles correct under certain conditions and therefore within a certain timeframe as correct for all time, by the nature of things took on a shape that was deformed and even absolutely degenerate. And so the principle of relatively low labor force costs was also justified under conditions where there was a need to accumulate funds to accelerate the construction of the foundations for industrialization, and this principle was possible, because it provided most employees with advancement in their standard of living in relation to the previous situation (prewar unemployment and wartime hunger). To maintain this principle for the majority of employees as a fixed rule was an anachronism, and the failure to overcome it in a conscious, calm way was bound to lead to the push for new worker wage demands through strikes. Similarly the limiting of employees' influence on plant management might be relatively justified under conditions where most of the employees had recently arrived from rural areas and small towns, employees who had to be taught factory work discipline and qualitatively different rules for organizing the production process. On the other hand, this became absurd as the workers matured to the point where they had intellectual mastery not only of their piecemeal activity but also of the processes coming about in the plant and the society. The absurdity was all the greater in that the maintenance of the previous status had to assume the form of autocratic moves breaking any attempt at evolution in the inculcation of new principles. And it was out of this that was born the necessity also in this sphere to manifest a new working class maturity during the strikes and to fight for the need to overcome the old principles by inculcating qualitatively new ones.

On the other hand, in terms of the feelings in the society, the most disturbing form was manifested in the principle of privileged access to higher level goods by way of exceptions for certain people and echelons in the service and professional hierarchies. Although of doubtful moral status, always, such privilege could be justified, when it was aimed at releaving famous scholars or organizers of social life of the need to

spend a lot of time securing for themselves the necessiti s of life. I It was also possible to recognize the rationale behind attracting people to the professions which were of particular social importance or burdensome by giving them privileges over others (as we can see, for example, in the "Miner's Card").

Nevertheless, the generalization of this principle in relation to a situation requiring not so much that the privileged be freed from a state of insufficiency as using this means to make prosperity available to them proved to be a distortion which is probably already evident. We should not therefore be surprised that various sorts of deviations and depravations grow out of the fertile humus soil created by a muddled system of the most varied sorts of privileges (Jerzy Chlopecki, who wrote in PRAWO I ZYCIE, 31 Aug of this year, was right when he said that nearly all of us avail ourselves of some sort of privilege).

Judgment must be passed on all those who have revealed how shallow their character is by availing themselves of opportunities to enrich themselves at the cost of others, and the bodies of people's power created for this purpose must be consistent in eliminating from our landscape the "heirs" of the 1970's ready to sit on the porches of their luxurious country cottages or behind the window panes of their special dwellings and ridicule the honest people for being naive. Nonetheless, in order to overcome the sources of these distortions and depravations, it is necessary to do away overall with any sort of privileges for people, service echelons, professions, or plants. We have already matured to the point where clear, unequivocal rules can be introduced for distribution according to essential needs for all and according to work in relation to needs which are aspirations.

The increase in the distortion of the principles of distribution of goods was caused to a great extent by the surrender to the effect of the demonstration of models of prosperity taken from the highly advanced capitalist countries. I wrote in more detail on this subject in LITERATURA (No 37, 38 of this year), so I can leave it at merely a brief mention that this model, although tempting to many, has no chance of being popularized in countries which have exploited others in the past or are doing so now (thanks to their superiority in terms of capital), and it is not possible to maintain it in the long run where it has been created. I refer as proof to a fact which is probably already obvious: the attempt to focus our economic potential on adapting the most spectacular aspects of that model, the private motorcar in particular, led to drastic neglect both of public transportation and of housing construction and the industrialization of agriculture.

It is essential that we take into account the fact that what we need is not just any sort of progress in production growth nor just any sort of industrialization of the branches producing the means of consumption. What is essential is to create and inculcate a strategy promising what from the point of view of our economic potential and the real chances

for its development is the most rational, to liberate all members of society from material shortages, and to encourage vocational activity by making higher-level goods available to every serious employee, regardless of his profession or echelon in the service hierarchy.

In other words, it is necessary to direct the further development of our economy by working out in a public discussion with all Poles a model of prosperity which is more promising than in capitalism for the working force's industrial-level consumption.

Those which are more promising than under capitalism means those which:

Insure each person able to work not only a job but work which is well-organized on the scale of the plant and the country, work which provides satisfaction owing to the fact that all have a shared role in programming a rational plan for collection action;

Assure that all members of the society are freed of material shortages by guaranteeing each person the satisfaction of his essential needs on the level of the social minimum;

Awaken vocational activity by giving surpluses over and above essential needs as bonuses to provide access to goods of a higher order for any more productive work, regardless of the profession or function;

Insure an adequate level of and improvement in the infrastructure of collective consumption in such spheres as education, transportation, health care, and recreation, in which it is possible in the most rational way to eliminate all shortages and achieve prosperity accessible to each person;

Block chances for depreciation of the values of the wealth achieved by all those honestly working, by having the proper legal efforts of the state bodies make it impossible to achieve prosperity by means other than more productive work or to create elite islands of ostentatious luxury;

Liberate from the competitive race appropriate to the capitalist method of production all elements of the economic process in processing natural products into goods, a race which leads to economic crisis; permit the adoption of the strategy laid down for rational adaptation of nature to people's living needs now and in the future. The rules in effect during the first phases of the socialist revolution for the just liberation of all people from shortages have proved to be inadequate for the new situation, which requires a just distribution of access to prosperity.

There is no other way to achieve progress in this sphere, just as in the previous one, than democratization of the method by which

aspirations are coordinated and therefore by which the program negotiated in public discussions is carried out in a conscious, organized way.

Requirements of Democratization

The heart of the transformations which must be made in the sphere of the democratization of political relations is the consistent reduction, compromising, and overcoming of everything which has made it difficult or impossible for the party, and therefore also the state, the trade unions, and the youth organizations, to fulfill the role of instruments of the dictatorship of the proletariat and organizers of this class's alliance with the peasantry and other strata of our nation.

This requires above all the elimination of both a) a paternalistic attitude toward the working class and b) manipulatory managerial methods borrowed from capitalism for guiding production and social life.

In our country paternalism has taken the form of treating the working class and its main ally, that is, the peasant class, as unimportant, immature children incapable of understanding their own interests, of selecting organizers of social life and control and implementors of the results of social activity by having the decision-making political, administrative, and ideological elements make the choice. This is why the managerial elements have assumed the whole realm of decisions in these spheres, with organization along the lines of the patriarchal family model, in which the all-knowing father, who is always objective, makes all the decisions and organizes the whole structure of social life, with the aid of hierarchial structures of "uncles" and "older brothers" who accept his authority.

This style of exercising authority developed in a situation where the sudden rise in the number of people in the working class as the result of socialist industrialization made its largest factions a "class in themselves" without maturing subjectively to a role of the leading force which only a "class for itself" can play. Meanwhile there was a special sort of need for the political, ideological, and administrative representatives of the working class and its peasant allies to play the role of the leading force, and also to rely on habits appropriate for production groups based not on learned qualifications but experience acquired with age, making it necessary to become subordinate without any appeal either to the head of a farm or to a foreman. It is my contention that this was the soil out of which the so-called cult of the individual grew and was maintained. As the objective circumstances came into being for overcoming this situation through the maturation of the working class, especially its younger members education in the socialist schools, the circumstances for becoming a "class for themselves," a conflict developed between the style of exercising authority, which was now inadequate for the new situation, and the new possibilities and needs.

And this conflict was not only between the new requirements and the ways of exercising political, ideological, and economic authority from conditions irrevocably lost to the past, but also between these requirements and the interests of the large social groups using the paternalistic systems, because as such a style of exercising authority became objectively a relic of the past as the result of the disappearance of the social base in the form of factions of the working class on the level of a "class in itself" and the peasantry maintaining an archaic management method, maintaining it required support in those factions of the society which used the fixed nature of paternalistic limitations on democratism to supply the means for making their own special-interest needs predominate at the cost of general social needs. The building of the conflicts between such a style of exercising authority, the possibilities and necessity of improving the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the requirements of directing the working class and its allies and of developing them in keeping with all their interests led to a dual sort of attempt to maintain the archaic system.

The first was the expansion of an artificial social base for paternalism in the form of a bureaucratic machine and a special sort of "worker aristocracy" of privileged groups of the so-called lower- and intermediate-level supervision.

The second was the apparent modernization of the style of exercising authority through adaptation of methods developed under capitalism for easing social conflicts within a plant and coordinating interdependent actions among plants. The root of these modernization efforts in relation to social conflicts was their shift to the plant and individual level, an unloading with the aid of manipulatory measures and subsidiary participation in the firm's profits through the expansion of recreation facilities, and so on, along with the simultaneous uncritical transfer of methods developed under capitalism to expand labor productivity by using a system for squeezing more effort out of the workers. Hence, in this area too, as in the adaptation of technology, the fascination with solutions useful under the conditions of other political systems blocked out the critical thinking necessary to process that experience and work out original paths of progress adapted to the properties and requirements of socialist management.

The rejection of modernization efforts of this sort is all the more essential at the present time, in that, as many symptoms show, there are within our society rather substantial forces trying to utilize the compromising of paternalism and its related distortions in the form of bureaucratic centralism to force a cure in the form of bureaucratic decentralization, and hence to replace the division into factions related to various sectors and regions, a division which weakens the working class, with a division into the interest groups of various plants, which division would create still greater chances than before for manipulating the workers and playing them off one against the other.

These are by no means original concepts. They are a reflection of the conservative current currently predominating in the developed capitalist countries, a current of criticism of the ineffectiveness of state interference and the forcing of neo-laissez-faire programs assuming that corporations will be treated as absolutely autonomous, obliged both to pacify the working forces by various sorts of participation (in profit-sharing, stock-sharing, and management) and to prove their raison d'etre by meeting the requirements of absolute market competition. One must take a good look at these concepts to reduce the likelihood of having the ideas come to birth on our soil, especially since, as shown by the experience of Great Britain, where these concepts became the program for conservative governments, there is doubt, to say the very least, as to the effectiveness of these solutions even there.

The real remedy for deviations of nature of the paternalistic version of bureaucratic centralism and also adaptations of capitalist methods and ways of manipulating society in general and the working forces in particular is to be found in a return to the principled fundamentals of the dictatorship of the proletariat on a new level, to fit the possibilities created by maturity which is probably already evident, permitting the working class to play the role of the leading force in the higher phase of the socialist revolution.

The root of the dictatorship of the proletariat, like that of all the class dictatorships ruling under previous systems, is "to thrust on the society the conditions for their class existence" ("Communist Manifesto") with the aid of the instruments of political, economic, and ideological authority.

The difference between the dictatorship of the proletariat and the previous dictatorships is based on the fact that this class does not aspire to assume a position of privilege at the cost of other classes or strata but to do away with all privilege and class divisions. This foreordains that both the party of the working class and socialist states can represent general national interests better as they are more consistent in adopting long-range and current interests of the working class as a whole as the basis.

And because nobody understands the interests of the working class better than it does itself, starting with the time which it again became a "class for itself" on a mass scale, the improvement of the process of detecting and coordinating the aspirations of this class and therefore also coordinating them with the aspirations of allied forces in the peasantry and the intelligentsia becomes the point of departure for the democratization of the institution of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This makes it necessary to take into account the fact that an irrevocable end has come not only to the time when the working class was unable to articulate its aspirations in a mature way but also to

the time when this was not a need of the first order, owing to the obvious needs which the socialist revolution had to assume at that time. The creation of this special sort of social consensus using paternalistic methods by giving consideration in the programs to the implementation of various demands for improvement in living conditions in keeping with the force of the pressure of the social groups competing for these improvements, on the basis of a special sort of "concert by request," led ultimately to cacaphony in the form of imbalance in development and production in various sectors of the economy vis-a-vis one another and social needs. It is therefore essential to review publically the various variants of commitment and development of the economic potential and to compromise in that public discussion those tendencies which even though attractive are unrealistic and ultimately useful only for a few people, and we need, on the other hand, to select in a conscious way the most rational program for further development, and in this sense it is essential to inform the society about the state of our economy and its possibilities without secrets and lies, to give up prejudgments, using censorship, concerning which ideas and aspirations are correct and which are wrong, to put specialists not in the role of advisers whispering to paternalistic decision-making groups but in the role of real experts, who present various aspirations and concepts for the use of public discussion, provide information about the existing possibilities and limitations, and balance the effects of the national debate to provide the basis for the elements of political power to judge the programs.

The guarantee that such a process of drawing up a program will not be monopolized by intelligentsia groups with a petty bourgeois, proconvergence attitude can and must be the party's assumption of the role of organizer and synthesizer of the results of the public discussion. In order to do this, the past policy of paralyzing the party by putting its activist group into the role of spokesman for programs decided on ahead of time must be replaced by the rule of reaching unity in a discussion presenting different variants of development to be judged within the framework of the party, so that the variant adopted in keeping with the rules of democratic centralism can be propagated by the majority, with real conviction.

The maturity achieved by the working class and its allies also creates the possibility and necessity of replacing traditionally shaped rules for creating and dissolving the organizers of social life. Let us recall that the old rules in effect come from times when the number of people with procommunist attitudes and with the ability to wield economic, political, or administrative authority was so very small that without exaggeration the defense of having certain people hold key positions was the equivalent of the defense of socialism. At the present time, in the situation where prosocialist attitudes are universal and there is widespread education equipping people to assume managerial positions (as we can see from the fact that a million Poles are post-secondary gradu-

ates), the maintaining of the traditional rules is an archaic practice which we cannot stand in the long run. And in this sphere the forces interested in maintaining archaic principles have reached out for ways to make them permanent, ways which undercut socialist democracy, for rules, for example, which have changed elections essentially into autocooptation adjusted more by the decisions of higher decision-making groups than by the act of voting.

After so many crises it has probably already become undisputed that the dilemma between the personal danger of those exercising managerial functions and the danger, functional quality, and development of socialism must be settled in favor of the latter, and the antiquated rules of appointing and removing managerial staff must be eliminated. Without going into too much detail, we must state the necessity of limiting the number of terms for political functions, to provide the possibility that a deserving person with knowledge and experience can assume a position in other areas of social life and there can be alternative candidate choices for all functions from top to bottom in periodic repeated competition for administrative positions.

In this sphere too the guarantee of democratic practice in the selection of managerial personnel in social life is the achievement of progress on this matter within the party, because the party is both the source and the executor of the rules of democratic centralism in the society, and nobody else will discharge essential duty for it

And finally the third main plane for progress in democratization which is possible and essential owing to the higher level of maturity of the working class and its allies is the socialization of control or the monitoring and execution of actions in keeping with the programs for socialist development negotiated in public discussion.

Departures in this sphere, which have been growing during the past decades, under conditions of the domination of special-interests vis-a-vis the society in general, have taken two forms: a) "groupization" by which I mean actions favorable to the working forces of certain plants but contrary to the role which is the reason for their functioning as a component part of the national organism, and b) privatization, the appropriation by certain people, including those appointed to handle and guard public property, of fruits of social work, so that in this way they can achieve a standard of living above legal income and legal ways of gaining assets to goods.

This was fostered by the bureaucratization of the decision-making units of control and by their transformation into bodies of internal self-control (the most explicit proof of which was the subordination of the NIK [Supreme Chamber of Control] to the government). The ineffectiveness of such self-control is demonstrated most eloquently by the fact that nine-tenths of economic offenses are detected not by expanded bodies of internal control but by external investigative bodies, which undoubtedly place

in doubt the usefulness of the existence of the former groups, especially since they have no use at all in the sphere of detecting and combatting tendencies toward "groupization." It is unusual for an industrial association or ministry to question products which may not be in keeping with the interests of consumers or to sound a reproach for negelct of producer obligations or service requirements to obtain unjustified profits. A glaring example of this are the deformities of all the branches of industry, such as the furniture industry which supposedly produces for the rational furniture needs of Poles but actually produces to make profits in the easiest way.

It is not possible to combat this situation without setting up external control bodies to represent the public interest, having this essential role filled by representative institutions such as the Sejm and national councils and linking them to supervision by the society through the shaping of the culture of public analysis and coping with regard to all deviations.

To do this it is necessary to do away with "protective spheres" for any sort of people or groups fostering either distortions or opinions which exaggerate suspicions of depravity, especially for those persons or groups whose lives are secret, or accusing those who are innocent. It would therefore seem wise to require public disclosure of all income and documentation vis-a-vis social control bodies concerning the legality of ways of acquiring goods of great luxury, and also to consistently eliminate from the decision-making bodies all those who have treated their obligation to organize social life as the privilege to enrich oneself easily with impunity in a manner contrary to the accepted rules of distribution, and we should exact a return of the goods and demand that an inquiry be made into the legality of the origin of those goods whose origin cannot be proved, and in this way we should vindicate undisputably the overwhelming majority of the economic, administrative, and political personnel who have lived through this difficult period in an honorable, honest way.

And in this area as in every other the party's ideological and organizational leadership in this work is essential. In this way it will prove, as in all the other ways, that it is capable of defending the good name of the absolute majority of honest communists which make up the party, and of cleansing itself consistently of the few whose shifty acts on their own behalf can serve as the basis for the wider society to make the unjustified generalizations of the assessment "pars pro toto." This also means combatting the special-interest tendencies toward "groupization," actions contrary to the general social interest on behalf of benefits for the plant or sector, actions which ultimately ricochet in all; overcoming them by shaping, under the conditions of democracy, a unity of the party's aspirations and so too its actions and thereby identical principles within the framework of the working class and in alliance with the people's forces which make up the Polish socialist nation.

It is only by meeting the requirements for the democratization of the institution of the dictatorship of the proletariat that we can eliminate both having them paralyzed by the functioning of archaic methods and deviations and the false tendencies to borrow from capitalism solutions of the bureaucratic-managerial decentralization type.

In summing up the discussion of this sphere and therefore the analysis of the causes of key deformities in areas of social life and proposed directions for improvement, we must say that the way to restore the functional operation of the socialist political system in keeping with the requirements of the next phase of revolutionary changes passes through 1) democratization of the process of coordinating aspirations in the party, working class, and alliance of people's forces, which means coordinating the way of drafting programs for further development, 2) democratization of the process of appointing and removing organizers of social life in the party, the state, the trade unions, and the youth, self-government, and cooperative organizations, and 3) democratization of the process of control and of seeing that actions are consistent with the socialist rules and programs negotiated in public discussion.

Only such a path which takes into account the maturity of the working class and its allies and their ability to take a greater share in the decision-making not only concerning the realization of our social life but also determination of its direction will make it possible to expand the potential of the prosocialist forces through a deepening of the democratic nature of unity, and therefore to get around the danger of bureaucratic centralism which paralyzes the ability of the institution of the dictatorship of the proletariat to understand, express, and realize the interests of the working class and its allies and to get around the no less threatening danger of bureaucratic decentralization and the pluralism of opposing political forces which inevitably will run the risk of destroying the unity of the working class, changing it into groups with special fragmented interests, groups entangled in alliances and networks with forces with antisocialist orientations and doubtful affiliations.

The task of the truly progressive forces which represent the current in its pure as it predominates in discussions within the party and the society in connection with the Eighth Party Congress and in the changes forced by the strikes is the consistent struggle to purify the aspirations for further development of socialism and to accomplish the third phase of the socialist revolution, which is difficult but which promises greater satisfaction, a phase in which we should prove the superiority of socialism by creating and inculcating a better way than capitalism has for using the industrial production forces to liberate each person from want, providing the opportunity for prosperity for all those doing honest work but only them, and upgrading the political institutions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, so that their democratic nature is expressed not only in the fact that they operate in the interest of the people but also in the fact that they create for the people directly the optimum opportunities for coordinating their aspirations and seeing that they are realized.

MEDICAL TRAINING IN ARMED FORCES SURVEYED

Warsaw LEKARZ WOJSKOWY in Polish No 3-4, Mar-Apr 80 pp 93-97

[Article by Lt Col Andrzej Gryczko, physician in the Medical Service Command of the Chief Quartermaster, Polish Army: "Army Medical Training"]

[Text] Basic medical training, which in an integral component part of army combat training, is of fundamental significance to the effective medical safeguarding of the subunits and units in combat operations on the modern battlefield. We must not underestimate the significance of proper organization and the level of the rendering of first aid within the framework of self-help and mutual assistance under the conditions of massive medical losses, particularly within the tactical zone, where the promptness and skill in rendering assistance will have a decisive influence on the future fate of the affected people, the effectiveness of their treatment in the medical evacuation stages, and their return to the ranks. On the one hand, the meager means and forces of the health service at the subunit level and the limited capabilities for them to make full use of them in battle dynamics, and, on the other hand, the continual improvement in the existing means of destruction and the development of new weapons force us to treat medical training extremely seriously and with total responsibility, not only in the health service but also, to an equal extent, in the command element. We realize that the development of military techniques and the resulting need to use increasingly more complicated equipment, as well as the rise in the requirements in the sphere of the soldier's general combat training, create a systematic intensification of training of the armies in general and within the realm of tactical, special-tactics, gunnery, sapper-engineering, chemical, and combined-arms training above all have a fundamental effect on the structure of programs and the distribution of hours over the various sections and subjects of training and do not make it possible to increase the number of hours of military training, despite the existing needs. On the other hand the above-mentioned development of military technology and the improvement in the means of destruction place special tasks right before the health service in the area of medical protection and the related medical training of the armies.

A basic program goal of the medical training curriculum is to see that all soldiers acquire practical skills in performing first aid within the framework of self-help and mutual assistance, using the soldier's individual medical equipment, the first aid kits of combat vehicles and means at hand, and instruction in the pursuit, recovery, and bearing of the stricken from the battlefield, from combat vehicles, and so on, and in protecting them from further injury. The training takes into consideration the rendering of first aid during combat operations during which conventional weapons are used and during which weapons of mass destruction are used.

The selection of the subject matter for the planned classes and exercises in medical training fully correspond to the projected training goals. The proper implementation of the program satisfactorily insures that soldiers will be prepared to give first aid. All the material handled is included in the following subject categories (an example of the number of hours allocated for each section is given in parentheses):

1. Personal medical equipment of the soldier and of the first aid kits in combat vehicles, and how to use them (2 hours);

2. Giving first aid for wounds, stopping hemorrhages (2 hours);

3. Giving first aid for fractures, dislocations, and sprains (2 hours);

4. First aid for burns and frostbite (1 hour);

5. Recovery and removal of injured from the battlefield and from combat vehicles, and their protection from further injury (2 hours);

6. Effect of elements of weapons of mass destruction on the human organism. Giving first aid to those affected by nuclear weapons (2 hours);

7. Giving first aid to those affected by toxic agents (2 hours);

8. Performance of medical procedures (1 hour);

9. First aid in other sudden instances. The principles of resuscitation (2 hours).

Owing to the limited number of medical training hours, the other subjects, for example, in the realm of care and prevention of contagious diseases, are usually handled within the framework of the work of departmental health education commissions, the way the subjects of alcoholism, drug abuse, venereal disease, and the like are handled.

The subjects listed in points 1-9 take 16 hours of program training altogether. In certain units, and usually in the training subunits, the number of hours allocated for medical training is still fewer.

We realize what this means in terms of the scope of theoretical information which the soldiers must assimilate and especially in terms of the broad range of practical skills the master of which sometimes requires that the individual soldiers repeat certain exercises many times. For example, the difficulties encountered during the conduct of the training program can be proved by the fact that only 2 hours are devoted to the subject of the recovery and removal of the injured from the battlefield and combat vehicles (and this is true of most of the programs), and 1 hour of this is usually devoted to teaching the recovery and removal of the injured from the battlefield, while the other is devoted to removing the injured from combat vehicles, such as tanks and armored personnel carriers. These are subjects which basically do not require theoretical discussion except for a presentation of a few minutes as introduction, leaving almost the entire 2 hours to be devoted to the practical exercises. Assuming that there are about 30 soldiers (a platoon, for example) in the training group and that we have one tank and one armored personnel carrier available, we can see from a simple computation that one person (even an experienced physician) cannot conduct these exercises properly. The trainees must be divided and the exercises conducted simultaneously in three smaller groups of ten persons each, which means that two more instructors are needed (but this is not always possible). It is only at the given "work point" that each of the ten soldiers within about 30 minutes has a chance to perform the assigned task properly (under supervision) at least once.

The extent varies, but similar difficulties and problems occur in the handling of the other subjects, especially, for example, when the platoon leader, even if he has been provided with a perfectly drafted summary, has only a superficial meritorical knowledge of the subject and poor methodical preparation for conducting this sort of exercise. This is why well-conceived and precise organization along with very carefully, perfectly selected training methods to insure that maximum effects may be achieved in a limited time take on particular importance in medical training.

In summing up, we should state that the achievement of the projected training goals within the framework of the curriculum hours under the existing system of training is not easy and depends above all upon the following factors:

-- the physician's personal commitment to organizing the training process and carrying it out;

-- the selection of the proper training methods;

-- the preparation of younger leadership personnel to carry out the medical training exercises;

-- the condition and level of utilization of the training base.

The fundamental training methods and those most frequently employed are the following: lecture, lecture with demonstration, and practice. During the lectures it is most common to use charts and tables mainly, films and slides less frequently. During the practical exercises personal bandages, IPP [chemical decontamination kits], IPR [radioactive decontamination kits] (for practice), pantocides, bandage materials, splints for immobilizing fractures, pressure compresses, and so on are used, along with infantry combat vehicles and tanks. Basically, the level of supply of equipment and materials necesssary to provide for the training process is not considered adequate at the unit level. Nonetheless, in a number of units there is also a shortage or absence of any fully suitable medical training instruction rooms which can hold at least a platoon. There is also a general shortage of dummies for training in resuscitation. Some units do not have enough training IPR-2 kits, IPP kits, pantocides, and personal bandages allocated for training purposes.

Unit physicians are required to give instruction to subunit commanders who are to conduct the medical training exercises. The instruction is usually not given more than 1-2 days before the exercises. During this instruction, alongside going over the summary, one should discuss in detail the organization and method for conducting the exercises and provide for the training material, and also as need be give the necessary explanations and instructions of a meritorical nature. In the training subunits the exercises are usually conducted personally by the physicians. Sometimes medical petty officers conduct them.

On the other hand, the practical skills acquired in the rendering of first aid should be upgraded during the course of the tactical and special-tactics exercises in the field, firing, and so on, to the extent possible using injury simulation. This is clearly discussed in the annual "Organizational-training guidelines of the Chief Quartermaster of the Polish Army for the armed forces" and the "Detailed instructions for the work of the Medical Service Command of the Chief Quartermaster of the Polish Army." On the other hand it should be stated that both combined-army commanders and certain physicians fail to appreciate this form of training, because it requires time and commitment on the part of the physician, and the platoon or company commander "complicates" normal exercises. This is the reason for the sporadic use of this way of upgrading skills.

Nevertheless the level of the armies' medical training is considered satisfactory, but for several years no real progress has been observed in this area. Here there is rather a substantial difference in the training level from one subunit or unit to another and also in the level of mastery between one subject to another. For example, familiarity with the principles of bandaging wounds stopping hemorrhages and immobilizing fractures and the familiarity with the soldier's personal medical equipment are on a rather good level. Usually the subjects

less well known include the giving of first aid to those affected by nuclear weapons and toxic agents and knowledge of the principles of resuscitation.

In the light of the above, it would seem useful and even essential to treat the 16-hour program in basic medical training as a "minimum program" required of all soldiers regardless of type of army or nature of the unit. The fundamental core subject-matter should be supplemented with additional training according to the specific nature of the army, spanning about 2-4 hours, as needed. In addition, during the training process particular attention should be given to the consistent and systematic improvement of practical skills during tactical, special-tactics, firing, and similar exercises. This is an essential condition to the acquisition of the desired training effects. This is tied in directly with the problem of proper instruction and methodical preparation of the younger command personnel for the conduct of medical training exercises. A separate issue is the matter of insuring that the exercises are adequately attended, particularly in the rear support subunits. According to need (and also in keeping with cost effectiveness), there should be consistent efforts also to expand and modernize the training base for medical training and to make ongoing improvements to compensate for shortages in the realm of material provisions for the training process.

We need to discuss separately the question of applying the "training standards" drawn up several years ago for medical training. These standards do not work completely in assessing the extent of the soldier's medical training. The performance of first-aid tasks "within the allotted time" introduces the element of sport competition and as a result has a negative effect on the quality of the first aid rendered. It would seem that the time in which, for example, an arm or leg should be immobilized will still depend in most cases not so much on the technical skills of the person giving the first aid as on the type of fracture and the general condition of the injured. There is a rather prevalent opinion regarding the need to monitor the above-mentioned norms, because one cannot compare, for example, the handling of a piece of ordnance with the handling of the injured. The logical view would seem to be that these standards should apply above all, but not exclusively, to the handling of medical equipment and the use of medical techniques, and to the development of medical posts and equipment.

Owing to their significance to the medical security of the armies, the above-mentioned problems would seem to merit particular attention. It would seem useful to have comments on these subjects from other physicians engaged in the practical execution of the medical training process, physicians who surely have a great deal of personal experience and observations, and conclusions to offer which may help improve the effectiveness of training.

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POLEMIC ERUPTS OVER STIPE SUVAR ARTICLE IN 'DELO'

Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 22 Nov 80 p 11

[Article by Dejan Curkovic: "Who Is Who and What Is What in the Current Polemics Between Suvar, Matvejevic and Rupel"]

[Text] When an extensive interview with Stipe Suvar appeared in DELO of Ljubljana on 25 October and thereafter was reprinted by other papers, it was obvious that it would be received in differing ways: it consisted of a very polemical and at times accusatory series of statements and judgments of contemporary social phenomena and groups of people and individuals mentioned by name, along with more or less frank allusions to certain social forces, groups and individuals to whom it was left to recognize themselves. Of this latter group Predrag Matvejevic and Dimitrij Rupel have so far made themselves known, Suvar has responded to them, and the contours of a possible disputation which could have broader social importance are already becoming outlined.

Interlopers

Aside from those we have mentioned, Suvar's interview also evoked two other reactions: from Gajo Petrovic and Carl Gustav Stroehm. They might be characterized in the dispute as interlopers, that is--those persons who become involved in someone else's law suit, since they have an interest in its being decided in favor of one of the principals. By contrast with the interloper Petrovic, whose article, at least so it appears, has the sole purpose of besmirching Suvar as an individual without entering into any of the fundamental issues which he raises in his interview, interloper Carl Gustav Stroehm attempts in DIE WELT on 7 November to emphasize the "key" statements and on the basis of them to draw a fundamental conclusion on signs "that a new disputation could arise in Yugoslavia between the intellectuals and the party." By contrast with Petrovic, who defines Suvar's interview, at least so it appears, as the product of the exclusively personal traits of its author's character and intellect, which the interloper judges to be most base and ugly ("the way dear little Stipe imagines his role in our revolution")--Stroehm identifies Suvar with the LCY and relates the very appearance of the interview in DELO to the petition, of which our

public knows little, "which was signed by more than 100 Yugoslav intellectuals and which demanded revocation of that article of the Criminal Code concerning what is referred to as hostile propaganda," and the intentions of the Serbian writer Dobrica Cosic, also little known, to start a newspaper entitled JAVNOST [THE PUBLIC].

Personally and as a Matter of Principle

Even one who is little informed about this petition and the intentions of the writer Cosic can still detect that the two interlopers are more concerned with what stands between the lines of Suvar's interview than with what is written there.

Suvar's interview, however, is unambiguous to a considerable degree and consists of a great number of statements supported by varying amounts of argumentation. If we ignore the attacks on Suvar as a person, Matvejevic takes exception to the following in his response:

a) the statement that our elite intelligentsia can be divided in Manichaean fashion into just two tendencies--traditional petit bourgeois nationalism and the sloganeering of humanistic New Leftism; (Majvejevic does not mention that Suvar expressly states that he is confronting "certain forces in our elite intelligentsia");

b) the "amazingly" simplistic judgment of the "conflict on the literary Left";

c) the right of the "minister of culture" to express esthetic judgment and to decide "who is and who is not a writer" and to describe someone's contacts with certain editorial offices as "connections big and small throughout Yugoslavia in editorial offices, even by telephone";

d) to the assessment of all criticism of the way in which the school reform is being implemented as an antiparty, opposition, petit bourgeois-nationalistic or New Left view;

e) the constant challenging of individuals and institutions in the field of culture instead of working with them for the general good.

Rupel assessed Suvar's statements in general as "cavilling, vengeful and private," but from his response there are few counterpositions to be drawn that do not distort or falsify Suvar's own. When Suvar says that the free exchange of labor is not possible if the income of the OOUR [basic organization of associated labor] is everywhere distributed in advance and moreover "nearly 80 percent externally," Rupel speaks of Suvar's split personality in being a "truly divided individual: he who is unable to attain free exchange of labor is the same who distributes 80 percent of income externally." When Suvar points up the well-known Yugoslav paradox of personal incomes acquired outside regular employment in excess of total

personal income earned through regular employment, Rupel finds it suitable to regard this as a charge which should be dismissed by reminding the plaintiff that he himself earned some income outside his regular employment. Rupel's entire article abounds in primitive substitutions of arguments of this kind, so that one can barely find three authentic confrontations;

f) over the reform of the educational system;

g) over the "conflict on the literary Left";

h) over how the phenomenon of our dissent is to be described.

Rebuttal of the Rebuttal

One can conclude from this list of Matvejevic's and Rupel's counterpositions that the polemic began with little interest in the numerous fundamental issues which Suvar raised and exhausted itself in the efforts of individuals deprecated in the interview to deprecate the one who insulted them. It would seem at first glance that the others, the interlopers, those whose names were not called, showed more feeling for the general importance of the suit which Suvar conducted in DELO.

In answering Matvejevic and Rupel Suvar himself devoted a great deal of space to settling personal matters. He argues at length and marshals the evidence that he is an honest man, that he does not play any sort of "games with individual politicians and republic groups," he interprets some "incident in 1975" (unidentified) as a private joke, he presents examples of his lack of vengefulness as an author, he repudiates the assertion that he has ever applied for a teacher's job at a university, and so on, without noticing that he is playing his opponents' game. At this point even the inquisitive eye of C. G. Stroehm might recognize the utterly personal nature of Suvar's interview in DELO and the groundlessness of his judgment "that a new polemic could come about in Yugoslavia between the intellectuals and the party."

Drawing himself up in unnecessary indignation because of the public mudslinging against him as an individual, unnecessarily begging Savic, member of the academy, to forgive him for mention of his name, and unnecessarily explaining to Rupel that like other writers of books, he, too, is entitled to financial compensation for this work, Suvar even counts up the total number of our republic "ministers," using this as an argument as to how little his personal power really is. He himself seems to have forgotten what he said in DELO. He said that he did not have any real political power that one ought to fear. When Rupel asks: "Who will believe a minister who says of himself that he does not have real political power; who will believe a self-manager who asserts that it does not pay to wage a fight as a professor at the university?"--Suvar takes these imputations at face value and, abandoning the line of the ideas which he set forth in

DELO, he gets lost in details, going so far as to explain from whom he borrowed the expression "semi-intellectual," or clarifying the differences between the words cobance and pastir ["shepherd"] in the Croato-Serbian language which are unknown in Slovenian,... and so on and so on.

A dispassionate reader surprised by Matvejevic's and Rupel's low blows will be equally surprised by a certain ebbing of Suvar's polemical attitude and his adoption of the role of "defendant" who must justify and defend himself. In his response Suvar held to few of his fundamental positions and overlooks the obvious mistakes of his adversaries (Matvejevic says of the school reform: "The balance sheet is almost catastrophic." Rupel describes it as "experimentation with live people."), and instead of returning the blows, at least on "his own" ground, he behaves the whole while as though he were "paying a visit" and on his best behavior. One can imagine another biased interloper who might even be tempted to defend Suvar from Suvar.

What Is Involved Here

Yet there is no reason for amazement. The position of Matvejevic and Rupel is clear: they have been attacked and insulted. Suvar referred to them both publicly as dissidents, as petit bourgeois intellectuals who "dress according to the latest style" (Rupel) or petit bourgeois semi-intellectuals whose spiritual world is restricted to occasional trips "between Zagreb and Paris and between Belgrade and Dubrovnik" (Matvejevic). Both resorted to the polemical technique of answering "insults for insults," disputing less what Suvar said than his right to say it. In this approach to the dispute they have indirectly offered Suvar new arguments, but he obviously has not taken advantage of them. Does this mean that Suvar is a poor polemicist? Or is something else involved?

Only one thing is certain: neither can what he said be simply labeled as the product of base and improper motives, nor can it be evaluated as a hint or expression of the "official" position of the party or government. This is obviously a personal statement, personal in both the good and the bad sense of that word. It would be worthwhile to shed light on both purposes of Suvar's statements, just as it would be worthwhile to examine in more detail the full content of the responses of his opponents. A more detailed analysis of everything that has been said could take the polemic which has begun, in spite of its obvious weaknesses, to the point where it is no longer personalities but issues that matter.

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DRAWBACKS OF PLANNING EFFORT HIGHLIGHTED

Through Legislative Mill

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1554 12 Oct 80 pp 16-17

[Article by Scepan Rabrenovic]

[Text] Until now we have prepared nice plans that were composed of lists of desired objectives, but all of those plans had one and the same shortcoming--they were unattainable.

Sukrija Uzunovic, a member of the Federal Executive Council, stated: "In this complicated and unfavorable economic situation, in which we now find ourselves, failure to prepare plans or the lack of plans has meant that we have been unable to open the prospects that would permit a gradual extrication from the existing situation and difficulties, and the workers are waiting impatiently for that rescue."

Dr Berislav Sefer, a member of the Croatian delegation in the Council of Republics and Provinces of the Yugoslav Assembly, said: "There truly are justified needs, as pointed out by the federal Presidium, that require that a plan be approved by year's end, but clearly that cannot be the basis for approving any sort of plan no matter what the price."

Marko Bule, a member of the Slovenian delegation in the Council of Republics and Provinces of the Yugoslav Assembly, put it this way: "We have no choice but to demand that the work on reaching an agreement be intensified, and at least the appropriate interrepublic committees should be in session day and night so that the main deadline for approving a plan can be upheld if possible."

These 3 evaluations were expressed on the same day, at nearly the same time, during a session of the Council of Republics and Provinces of the Yugoslav Assembly that took place last week. The session was devoted to discussion of the Social Plan for the Country's Development in the period 1981-1985.

From these three evaluations it can be concluded, without knowing anything else, that little time remains for the preparation and approval of this document. The time has actually nearly run out, for the delegates should have had the basic document in their hands 4 months ago.

A Delayed Plan

This time the delegates have not blamed the Federal Executive Council for the delay. They had reasons for that: so far only one republic has prepared its basic document concerning its development in the coming period. How can a plan for the country be made, when the planning of each republic and province is not known and when additionally, the plans of associated labor are also unknown?

Some delegates doubted that such a major task can be completed in the coming three months, and still be valid. That is particularly so because it is clear that viewpoints on such important matters as the development of insufficiently developed republics and the province of Kosovo have not yet been coordinated; without such agreement the plan cannot be an entity. Neither the priorities nor the number of priorities have been determined yet, and each one requires a separate agreement. Many other things are likewise still unknown, such as the amount of income to be set aside for general and mutual public needs and the development of insufficiently developed areas, the manner of utilization of funds that have been newly created, the matter of whether the federal budget will show a deficit again, the nature of credit and monetary policy, the conditions and possibilities for incurring foreign debt, and the primary distribution policy.

All of these things were mentioned at the session, in a rushed manner, of course, because there is no time remaining to work meticulously. True, it was stated that agreements have not yet been achieved on the rate of production growth, price increases (or inflation rates), or social product, but at this session all of these factors were overshadowed by the short time available.

Most of the delegates, nevertheless, believed that the deadline for approving the Social Plan for Development should be met, even if the plan were not complete. It was suggested that minima be adopted, and that the signers accept the obligation to determine maximum values later.

Such an action would be nothing new. The plan that runs out this year was approved late, with some social agreements on the development of priority activities being agreed upon with delays ranging from one and a half to three years. (Perhaps this fact explains why the development of priority activities has only been 50 percent realized and why Yugoslavia continues to be so dependent on imported raw materials and semi-processed materials.)

There was also a delay in approving the resolution on development for this year, which came only in mid-year, just before the annual vacation period, concerning some questions.

The debate was completed by the presentation of the vice president of the Federal Executive Council, Zvone Dragan: "At the session of the LCY Central Committee, direct criticism was expressed about the existing plan documents for the period 1976-1980. It was said that the plan was one of the causes of inflation, and that we had a long list of desires that we agreed upon, but that list pushed us into an even greater degree of instability and inflation.

The magnitude of that list now is unknown, but one thing is known: every one will put his own desires in front, naturally, at the level of republics and provinces. The debate at the session of the Council of Republics and Provinces was characterized to a degree by the notion that it would not be bad to do this, as long as the time for recognizing mutual interests is not lost from sight.

Not only Basic Assumptions

Only a few days earlier, at another meeting, the new Social Plan of Development was also discussed, when in the Yugoslav Economic Chamber business representatives spoke with members of the Federal Executive Council, led by its president Veselin Djuranovic.

Here the conversation was entirely different, for not once were factors such as the rate of growth or individual interests brought up. On the other hand, the urgency of approving the Social Plan of Development was not avoided as a discussion topic, but rather it was discussed from another angle. All were in agreement that the approval of the Social Plan for the next 5 years must come as soon as possible, but there was less talk about lists of desired objectives, and more about the conditions under which the plan objectives would be accomplished.

Concerning those conditions, not even hypotheses are known, and that was the major topic of discussion for the businessmen. The director of the Rade Koncar plant in Zagreb, Ante Markovic, said: "The greatest problem is that we do not know what to expect by year's end and the first months of next year." He continued, "Unfortunately, the effects of devaluation have quickly been used up. When that decision was made, our estimates were that it would happen by the end of the year, but it actually happened sooner than expected."

Under conditions where there are constant changes and no one knows what the operating circumstances will be in 3, 4, or 5 years, or even in a few months, can long-term developmental plan be made at all?

Milenko Bojanic, director of the Crvena Zastava factory in Kragujevac, attempted to answer that question: "Decisions for 1981 are not needed in January of that year, but immediately. The process of self-management planning advances from the basic organization to a complex organization of associated labor, and at least 6 months are needed for the process. We all know how many phases are involved in planning. If we want to make realistic plans, we must know the basis assumptions much sooner."

There are many such basic assumptions. One of them, for example, would indicate the degree to which the state will continue to intervene in the constitutional rights of associated labor. It is not by chance that at the same meeting, Milojko Veljovic, president of the Serbian Economic Chamber, said: "We must transfer the system of authorization to associated labor as soon as possible and provide for its expanded influence on pricing policy. In many areas, prices would be lower if they were determined by the economy." He continued, "Prices are set without consultation with the economy. As a result, there is a tremendous transfer of resources from one sector to another, thus putting people into various situations that are independent of the product of their labor."

Measures Without Speculators

At this meeting, Veselin Djuranovic told the businessmen among other things: "The Social Plan will be the document and the battle program for economic stabilization that will contain all the basic determinations, as well as a clear agreement on the responsibilities of republics and provinces and all other participants in the process of approving the plan. It will also contain operating conditions and elements of common economic policy."

At this time Velesin Djuranovic also promised the business representatives that new measures would insist upon "the preparation of economic motivation, and the establishment of market principles and market factors."

Does this represent a great deal or very little? It is insufficient when we consider how many unknowns are still present, among the lasting conditions of economic functioning, but is is quite a bit compared to what has been offered by previous developmental plans that were lists of nice wishes that were calculated by speculators.

This reporter can still recall the statement of one businessman at the end of 1975, when the present plan was approved: "The plan is excellent, but it has one small fault: it will not be able to function. It is all too nice for actual practice to accept it."

Realities of Statistics

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1554, 12 Oct 80 pp 16-17

[Text] The present five-year plan will expire in 2 and one half months. Final data have not been collected and calculated to see how much of the planned objectives were met, but the results are all well known.

Have we lived and worked according to the plan in the past 5 years? No. Not only has much in the plan not been achieved, but the areas of overfulfillment cannot even be regarded as plusses, particularly when among them are to be found the figures for investments and for prices.

The plan called for the social product to grow by 6.9 percent annually, while the results showed a growth rate of 5.6 percent. Industrial production also grew more slowly than planned: instead of an average annual growth rate of 8 percent, it grew at a 6.9 percentage rate. When compared to the plan, however, the greatest underfulfillment is found in agriculture, where instead of an additional 4 percent more food annually, we produced only 1.9 percent more.

The development of so-called especially significant activities was also slower than planned. Energy was to grow at an annual rate of 9 percent, but achieved only a 6.9 percent rate of growth; ferrous metallurgy was to attain a growth rate of 11 percent annually, but only achieved a 4.6 percent growth rate, while non-ferrous metallurgy had an even worse shortfall. Coal production was to increase by 9.5 percent annually, but we only dug 4.9 percent more coal each year.

Spasoje Medenica, director of the Federal Institute for Economic and Social Planning, commented on these data as follows:

"It is said that we did not have enough money and that therefore, we did not achieve the planned levels of development in activities of special significance. When all activities are regarded separately, that is really true. When, however, we look at the country as a whole, we see that we did have enough money, for in the first 4 years the real growth of basic capital investments in the economy averaged 9.3 percent annually, a figure that considerably exceeded the plan. Furthermore, that took place in a situation where we had a lower rate of growth in the social product than planned."

The question then arises as to where that money went.

"There were no obligations requiring the investor to provide for raw materials, semifinished materials or energy when building processing installations, no matter whether he was involved in direct investments, association of resources or acquiring foreign exchange for imports. Everyone developed his own economic endeavor independently and asked that someone else provide the raw materials, semifinished materials and energy for his economic endeavor. Most often, such needs were supplied through imports, independently of export capabilities. Here is the explanation for the high deficit in the balance of payments and for part of the foreign debts that were incurred."

Spasoje Medenica continued to tell how part of the resources were channeled into non-economic investments: "If we include housing construction, non-economic investments grew at an average annual rate of 8.5 percent, instead of at the 6.6 percent (planned), and that took place in a situation where the social product was growing at a rate slower than planned."

For the past 5 years, prices have increased an average of 18 percent annually.

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